

THE HISTORY

John Hygate 1720. OF THE
CHURCH,

FROM

Our LORD'S Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperor
MAURICIUS TIBERIUS, or the Year of CHRIST 594.

As it was written in GREEK by

K EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS,

Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*;

S O G R A T E S S C H O L A S T I C U S,

Native of *Constantinople*;

AND

E V A G R I U S S C H O L A S T I C U S,

Born at *Epiphania* in *Syria Secunda*.

Made *English* from that Edition of these HISTORIANS, which VALESIIUS
published at *Paris* in the Years 1659, 1668, and 1673.

Also, the LIFE of CONSTANTINE in Four Books, Written by EUSEBIUS
PAMPHILUS; with CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION
OF THE SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS'S SPEECH in Praise of CONSTANTINE,
spoken at his TRICENNALIA.

VALESIIUS'S ANNOTATIONS on these Authors are done into *English*, and
set at their proper Places in the Margin; as likewise a Translation
of His Account of their LIVES and WRITINGS.

With Two INDEXES; the One, of the Principal Matters that occur in
the TEXT; the Other, of those contained in the NOTES.

In this **Second Edition** are added,

- I. TWO MAPPS, containing all the Places mention'd in these Ecclesiastical Histories.
 - II. Some OBSERVATIONS in reference to the Geographical Part of these Ecclesiastical Histories,
and to the aforesaid Mapps: Both by ED. WELLS, D. D.
 - III. The Order of the Presidency of the *Patriarchs*, taken from Bishop *Beveridge's* Pandeets.
 - IV. A CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX of the Popes and Emperors, taken from *Cabassutius*.
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THE PUBLISHER

OF THIS

ENGLISH Translation

TO THE

READER.

VALESIUS has spoken so fully and satisfactorily concerning what He has done in *His Edition* of these following *Ecclesiastick Historians*, as to *His Amendments of the Greek Text*, as to *His Latin Version* of them, and as to *His Explanation of the obscurer passages that occur in them*; and besides, has added such compleat *Accounts concerning the Lives and Histories of these Authors*: (All which particulars, because they were judged necessary to be made known to the *English Reader*, are done into His own Language, and prefix'd before each Writer whom they concern:) That 'tis needless to give the Reader any farther trouble here, than barely to acquaint him, for *what reason* this *English Translation* was at first attempted, and by *what Helps and Assistances* this Attempt has at length been finished.

It cannot be supposed a thing unknown to any Person, though He may have been but meanly conversant amongst Books, that this is not the first time wherein *these Church-Historians* have appeared in *English*. For 'tis now almost a Compleat (a) Century, since *Meredith Hanmer Doctor of Divinity*, first published *His Translation* of them all; excepting only *Eusebius's Four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, and the *Two Orations* subjoined thereto: Which, by a *Dedication to Sir John Lambe Knight, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the Arches of Canterbury*, seem to have been made *English* several years after Doctor (b) Hanmer's death, by one Mr. Wye Saltonstall.

After *Four Editions* of Doctor Hanmer's *Translation*, a *fifth*, whereto was added Mr. Saltonstall's *Version of the Life of Constantine and the Two Orations*, was published in the Year 1650. Which Impression being sold off, and the Book become Scarce; the Person whose Propriety Dr. Hanmer's *Translation* was, some few Years since resolved to reprint it. This Resolution he communicated to some Friends, whom He knew to be able Advisers and Directors in an Affair of that nature. From them He received answer to this effect: That in Doctor Hanmer's *Translation* they saw many things that wanted Correction, which they supposed were not so much to be attributed to the Doctor, as to the Imperfection and Mistakes of the *Greek Text* and those *Latin Translators*, which the Doctor had made use of: That now there was a fair way opened, whereby the Errors in the Doctor's *Translation* might be corrected, in regard the *Original Text* of *these Historians*, after it had been compared with several *Ancient Manuscripts* of the best Note, (whereby the imperfections in it were

(a) His Epistle Dedicatory to Robert E. of Leicester bears date December the 15th. 1584.
(b) He dyed at Dublin, of the plague Anno 1604. See Fuller's Worthies of Wales. Flintshire. pag. 39.

supplied, and the faults committed in *other Editions* amended;) was, together with an excellent *Latin Version* thereof, published at *Paris* by *Henricus Valefius*, a Person of such eminent Learning, that by the unanimous consent of the *Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Gallican Church*, He had been pitcht upon and employed as the fittest Man to undertake a work of this Nature: And therefore their advice was, that the *Doctor's Translation* should be compared with *that Edition of these Historians* which *Valefius* had published, and that, where-ever it differed, it should be made to agree with the *Greek Text* thereof.

After receipt of this advice, 'twas resolved it should be followed. And accordingly a *Reverend and Learned Divine* was prevailed with to undertake this Work. Who, after He had done some *few Chapters* only of the *First Book of Eusebius's History*, for reasons best known to Himself, desisted. But by this Tryal of His it plainly appeared, that (besides its being an invidious attempt to go about to *interpolate* what another Person had long since put his last Hand to;) it was a work of far greater labour to bring *Doctor Hanmer's Translation* to an agreement with the *Greek Text* of *Valefius's Edition*, than to make a *New One*. On which account this latter was resolv'd upon; and by Divine assistance being now finished, is here presented to the *Reader's* view.

The *Reader* having been acquainted with the *Reason* why this *New Translation* was at first attempted, 'tis fit He should know farther, by what *Helps and Assistances* this attempt has at length been finished.

This *Version*, as has been intimated, was taken immediately from the *Greek*, according to *that Edition* which *Henricus Valefius* set forth at *Paris*: Whence this advantage will accrue, that whatever Errors are found in it, will be Errors but of one descent. Besides *Valefius's Edition*, *That which Robert Stephens Printed at Paris in the year 1544.* was likewise all along consulted. Nor were the *Latin Translators of these Historians* refused or neglected: Namely these four; *Musculus's Version* Dedicated to *Edward the Sixth, King of England*, and Printed at *Basil* in the Year 1549; the Translation of *John Christopherson* (heretofore (a) *Master of Trinity College in Cambridge*, afterwards *Bishop of Chichester*;) Printed at *Coloigne*, in the Year 1570; *John Curterius's Version*, or rather his *Emendation of Christopherson's*, Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1571; And lastly *Grinæus's Translation*, set forth at *Basil* in the Year 1591. All which *Versions* were all along inspected; and in all places that required it, their Disagreements or Consents are (as the *Reader* will find,) taken notice of; unless the *Learned Valefius's* diligence had made those Remarks needless.

(a) See
Godwin
de Prasulibus Anglie, pag 561: and Fuller's Worthies. Lancashire.

As for the *Notes* they are in a manner all *Valefius's*: nor is any Remark of his left untranslated (though perhaps some times made shorter;) that was judg'd of use to an *English Reader*, and becoming an *English Translation*. If the *Reader* does, as now and then He will, meet with a Note that has not *Valefius's* name set at the bottom; He may conclude that not to be *Valefius's*; however, He generally meets with some intimation or other, whereby notice is given him, on what authority such a Remark is grounded. But whereas in *Valefius's Edition*, His Notes on all *these Historians* are placed together in a Body by themselves, at the latter end of each Author whereto they belong: Here the *Reader* has them embodied with the Text, and by the Letters of the Alphabet He is shown the passages in the History, whereof they treat

To the Reader.

treat. In which method the Reader's ease was consulted; that He might not have the trouble and interruption given Him, of turning forward and backward, from *the Matter* to *the Notes*, and from thence to *the Matter*.

How far *this Translation* is beholden to *That done by Doctor Hammer*, will quickly be discovered by any, that shall take the pains to compare them. It need not be dissembled, that the *Doctor's Version* has been seen; and 'tis as needless to detain *the Reader* in shewing Him by tedious instances, that He has not been, nor could have been followed, without a departure from the *Original Greek* as published by *Valesius*.

It only remains, that the *Reader* be entreated, as He peruses *this Translation*, to excuse and amend what Errors may have escaped the Press; which that He may the easier be perswaded to, He is desir'd to be mindful of this Excellent Saying :

Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ Θεῷ, καὶ πάντα ἁρπάζειν.

'Tis God's property to mistake in nothing, and to correct all things.

28 SE 60

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ANCIENT Writers were wont, before their Books, to set an Index [or, Contents] of the Chapters ; to the end, the Readers might know, at first sight as 'twere, what was treated of in each Book. Now this was usually done by them two ways. For they either prefix'd the Contents of all the Books together, before their whole Work ; as *Plinius Secundus* has done in his *Books of Natural History*. Or else their usage was, to set the Contents of the Chapters before each Book ; as *Our Eusebius* has done in his *Ecclesiastick History*. For 'tis not to be doubted, but *Eusebius* did himself make these Contents or Titles of the Chapters, and set them before his *Books of History*, as they now occur. We may indeed observe, that in these Contents *Eusebius* does always speak of himself in the first Person. For instance, after the Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book, these words occur : Σὺν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ βίβλος, ἡποδὸς Κλήμεντος, Τερτυλλίου, Ἰωσήφου καὶ Φίλωνος. That is, Note, that this Book was collected by us, out of the Writings of *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, *Josephus*, and *Philo*. Besides, in his Seventh Book, these are the Contents of the Last Chapter ; Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς διατεταγμένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, &c. That is, Concerning those Ecclesiastick Persons who were famous in our own Age, &c. Whence it may plainly be gathered, that *Eusebius* the Compiler of this History, was the Author of the Contents of the Chapters also. Besides, *Rufinus*, who rendred the *Books of Ecclesiastick History* into Latin, about six hundred years after *Eusebius's* death, found the same Contents in his Greek Copy, which now occur in our Copies. And this is apparent from *Rufinus's Manuscript Copies*, one of which, written out above seven hundred years since, I have in my custody. For in them the Contents of the Chapters are always set before every Book, in the same order wherein they are now placed in our Greek Manuscript Copies. And *Rufinus* calls them *Capitula*. But *Cassiodorus* in his Preface to the *Tripertite History*, terms them righter *Titulos* ; as does likewise *St. Cyprian*, in his Exhortation to Martyrdom, [written] to *Fortunatus*. *Compendium feci*, says he, *ut propositis titulis, quos quis noscere debeat & tenere ; Capitula Dominica subnecterem*. Where you see that *Tituli* are distinguish'd from *Capitula*. Moreover, *Suidas*, in the word κεφάλαιον, and in the word τίτλος, remarks, that *Tituli* differ from *Capitula*. For instance, *St. Matthew* [he says] contains sixty eight *Tituli*, but three hundred fifty five *Capitula* ; and so concerning the other Gospels. *Capitulum* is properly a Part of a Book, which contains the entire Narrative of some one thing. But *Titulus* is an Index set above the *Capitulum* ; and sometimes one *Titulus* or Title contains many *Capita* or Chapters, as may be seen in the *Pandects of the Civil Law*. The same thing was heretofore visible in *St. Matthew's Gospel*, which had more Chapters than Titles, as *Suidas* does attest. So also in the other Gospels. For, that Passage which occurs in *Suidas*, namely, that *St. Mark* had forty eight *Tituli*, and but thirty six *Capita*, is faulty, and instead of thirty six, it must be mended thus, two hundred thirty three, as may be plainly gathered from the *Canons of the Gospels* which *Our Eusebius* composed. But sometimes each *Titulus* does answer each *Capitulum*, as 'tis in these *Books of Ecclesiastick History*. And in the *Mazarine* and *Medicean Copies*, the *Tituli* or Contents of each Book are prefix'd, together with the *Numeral Notes* or *Figures*. But in the *Euketian Manuscript*, after the *Titulus*, κεφάλαιον is added, together with the *Numeral Note*. But this term never occurs in those Excellent Copies which I have mentioned : Yea, instead thereof, I found the word περιεχόμενα placed in the Beginning of the Fourth Book, over the very Contents of the Chapters ; Ἀπὸς τετραδὲς περιεχόμενα. That is, The Contents of the Fourth Book. Vale.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus,
IN TEN BOOKS.

Made *English* from that Edition set forth by VALESIIUS, and
Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are done
into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life and Writings* of the foresaid *Historian*; Collected by
VALESIIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.



L O N D O N:

Printed by J. M. for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-
Row. MDCCVIII.

V A L E S I U S S P R E F A C E, To his Edition of E U S E B I U S S H I S T O R Y.

HAVING performed the Office of a Solemn (a) Dedication, 'tis now time, *Most* *Illustrious Prelates!* That I should give *You* a particular Account of my Work. For, whereas this Labour was undertaken by me, on *Your* Account chiefly, and by *Your* Command; I do both wish, and also hope, that before all others, *You* will be the Readers and Judges of my Work. There are three things therefore, which I have endeavoured to perform in *this Edition*. The first is, an Amendment of the *Greek Text*: The second, a Latin Version of it. The third is, an Explanation of the obscurer places. As touching the Latin Version, after three Translators of *Eusebius's History*, I have made a fourth. But no person before us, had attempted an Amendment and Explanation of the *Eusebian Work*. But, that I may speak more distinctly concerning each particular in its Place and Order, I will begin first from the Emendation. Whoever attempt a new Edition of old Writers, those Persons must of necessity begin their Labour from an Emendation. So *Origen*, after he had undertaken a New Edition of the *Seventy Interpreters*, and had found many passages in them that were doubtful and disagreeable by reason of the diversity of Copies, in the first place Laboured in an Emendation of them. And having compared the Copies of the *Seventy Seniors*, partly with the *Hebrew Text*, partly with *three other Editions*, namely *Aquila's*, *Theodotion's*, and *Symmachus's*; He took out all those Errors which had crept into the Edition of the *Seventy Seniors*. For this He himself intimates, in *His Eighth Tractate on St. Matthew*, in these Words. (b) *In Exemplaribus quidem Veteris Testamenti, quacunque fuerunt inconsonantia, Deo prestante coaptare potuimus; utentes judicio ceterarum Editionum. Ea enim quae videbantur apud Septuaginta dubia esse propter Consonantiam Exemplariorum, facientes judicium ex Editionibus reliquis, convenientia servavimus.* Indeed, in the Copies of the Old Testament, whatever [passages] were disagreeable, by God's assistance we have been able to make fit; using the judgment of the rest of the Editions. For those [passages] which seemed in the *Seventy* to be doubtful by reason of the agreement of Copies, making a judgment from the other Editions, we have preserved agreeable.

(a) *Valesius* dedicated his first Volume, (which contains *Eusebius's Ten Books of History, His life of Constantine, Constantine's Oration, and His own*) to the *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the Gallian Church.* (b) See *Origen's Works, second part, pag. 46. Edit. Paris 1619.*

Origen's Example was afterwards followed by *St. Jerome*, who bestowed a new Edition of the *Seventy Translators* mended by Himself, and distinguished by *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, on the Men of His own Language, as He Himself attests in several places. And that I may speak also concerning profane Writers, *Crates* and *Aristarchus*, *Grammarians*, who set forth most accurate Editions of *Homer's Poem*, have done nothing else in a manner, but mended and distinguished that Work. In like manner therefore, when I had resolved to publish a New Edition of the *Eusebian History*, I used my utmost Industry and diligence in its Emendation. Two Editions only of *Eusebius's History* have hitherto come forth in *Greek*. The one is the *Paris-Edition*, which *Robert Stephens* Printed; a Person who on this very account has deserved highly of Learning, because He was the first that published the Body of *Ecclesiastick History* in a most *Excellent Letter*. The other is the *Geneva-Edition*. But *this* has in the *Greek Text* every where expressed that Edition of *Robert Stephens*: save only, that it has various Readings and Emendations set at the Margin, [taken] out of the Copies of Learned Men; and, that out of those Copies it has supplied some imperfections which occur in the *Books concerning the Life of Constantine*. Therefore, my pains was to be bestowed upon that one Edition only of *Robert Stephens*. Which, with as much diligence

V A L E S I U S ' S P R E F A C E .

diligence as I could, I have compared with *Four Manuscript Copies* of the best Note, and have restored it in many places. Two of these *Four Copies*, the *King's Library* furnish'd us with. The former bears the *Arms of Francis the First*; written on *Silken Paper*, about four hundred years since; and it does sometimes exhibit singular Readings, and very different from the other Copies. This is that, which in *my Notes* I have named *The King's Copy*. The other is out of the *Medicean Library*, which being now removed into the *King's*, is called by one and the same name of the *King's Library*. This, to distinguish it from that *former Copy*, is in *Our Notes* termed the *Medicean Copy*. Which, though it be something less ancient, is nevertheless transcribed from an excellent Copy, and by a Learned hand. *Robert Stephens* had made use of *Both these Copies*, in *His Edition* of the *Eusebian History*. And in *His Printing* of the *Text* it self, He has almost every where followed the *King's Copy*, and very seldom departs from its footsteps, as I have remark'd in *my Notes*. But in the distinction of the *Chapters*, He has express'd the *Medicean Copy*, wherein the Contents are set before each Chapter, and are written in *Red-Letters*. There is, besides those, a *third Copy*, belonging to the most *Eminent Cardinal Julius Mazarinus*. Before I speak concerning the Goodness and Excellency of *which Copy*, it is requisite, and You (Most illustrious Prelates!) with importunity seem to crave this very thing of me, that a few words should be said concerning the *Most Eminent Cardinal*, by whom *that Copy* was lent me. For, whereas this Most Eminent Prince, born to every thing that is Great, does embrace Learning with a singular affection and benevolence; We, who from our infancy have applied our Minds to the Studies of Learning, should doubtless be ungrateful, should we not, both in our own, and in the name of all Learned Men in general, study to render Him all possible Thanks, as well in Words, as in our Writings. Farther, with what favour and how great a benevolence He does honour and respect Learning, His bounteous Liberality and Munificence towards Learned Men does attest; which, to speak nothing concerning other Persons, (a) He was lately willing should be extended even to me also, when I neither hop'd for, nor thought of any such thing. The same thing is declar'd by His most compleatly-furnish'd Library. Which having stor'd with innumerable Copies of the Best Writers, partly Printed, and partly in Manuscript; He does not keep it perpetually shut like some Sepulchre, as those old Senators of the City *Rome* did, whom (b) *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth sharply reprove on that very account: but opens it, as 'twere some publick House, to all the Learned; and voluntarily invites each Person to it; and freely imparts the use of His Manuscript Books to the Studious, as often as they shall have need. What shall I say concerning His other Virtues and eximious Accomplishments of Mind? What concerning His wonderful Moderation and Lenity, whereby He hath allayed intestine Commotions and Tumults without the blood of any Citizen? But, these things will be spoken by me more fitly at another time, or more Rhetorically by others. For at present I have resolv'd, to pursue those Praises of His only, which do apart belong to the Studies of Literature. Nevertheless, I can't possibly refrain my self, but must speak something here concerning that Peace, which the most Eminent Cardinal, with all imaginable earnestness and industry, does now chiefly urge and promote, and which we hope will in a short time be made publick by His Majesties (c) Proclamation. For, this thing is of great concern to the advantage of Learning; which every one knows to be the Child of Peace, and to repose it self under its Umbrage and Defence. Whereas therefore the most Eminent Cardinal, when first placed at the Helm of State, had not Himself rais'd a dismal War with the *Spaniards*, but had found it already rais'd: by various Councils (as 'tis requisite] in so Great an Affair,) long and accurately weigh'd, at length He hath resolv'd upon this; that the *Spaniards* are to be broken by a lasting War, and must really be made to know how powerful the *French* are in Arms, Riches, Valour, Constancy, and the other necessary Provisions and Helps for a War: that the Enemy, made sensible of their own weakness and power of the *French*, might be slower in future to provoke Our Nation, either by Arms or Injuries. For [twas His Sentiment,] that a firm and secure Peace could no otherwise be made with the Enemy, than till such time as by their frequent Overthrows and Losses they had perceived, that they were inferior to the *French* in waging War. Therefore, when the *Spaniards*, no otherwise than the *Phrygians*, had at length understood that; then the most Eminent Cardinal, perceiving a fit opportunity of entring into a Peace presented it self, refus'd not to make it with the Enemy, and to recede something from Our Right, from the chief point of the whole War; lastly from that Hope and Victory which we had now almost in our Hands; that thereby He might [promote] the Good of the People, [answer] the wishes of all good Men, and gratifie the desire of the whole Christian World. In which Affair I can't indeed enough admire His singular Prudence, and His Wisdom that was salutary to the State. For the Peace was for no other reason deferred so long, than that in future it might be lasting and more firm. And let thus much be said by the by, concerning the praises of the most Eminent Cardinal. Who having, during the War, never desisted from cherishing Learning and Learned Men in a most gracious manner; 'tis much more to be hop'd, that in the time of His Own Peace, He will embrace the same Arts with a choice Affection and Care: and will bring it to effect, that Our *French*, who for the Glory of Arms have been always eminent above other Nations, may now excel for the praise of Learning.

(a) He allowed Valesius a yearly Pension of 1500 Livres: which summ the Cardinal sent him yearly, as long as he lived; and by his Will continued it till Valesius's death: See Valesius's Life, written by his brother Hadrian.
(b) See Amm. Marcellinus, Book 14, p. 14. Edit Paris 1636.
(c) Or, Cryers.

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Learning, and in Studies of the best Arts. But, 'tis now time, that we should return thither, whence we have digress'd. That *third Copy* therefore, which the *Library of the Most Eminent Cardinal* hath furnish'd us with, is far the best and ancientest of all those Copies of *Eusebius* which I have seen. For, whatever Emendations we found in other Copies, are all shown us by that Manuscript: And many other Amendments occur in it, which I found not in other Copies, as the Studious Readers will be able to perceive from my Annotations. It is written in Parchment, [transcrib'd] about seven hundred years since, most neatly and also most correctly. It has likewise (a) *Short Expositions* now and then set at the side, sometimes in an ancient, some-^{(a) Scho-} times in a more modern hand; which Expositions we have set down in Our Notes, at their due^{lia.} places. Many other things also are to be taken notice of in that Excellent Manuscript. partly in the *Accents*, partly in the (b) *Distinction* or *Punctuation*. For, as to the *Accents*, in that Manu-^{(b) He} script Words are often *acuted*, which in other Copies have a *Circumflex Accent*. For instance, *πῶ* means, the *distin-* and *ῥητορ* in that Copy are always *acuted*. But on the contrary, *σφῖσι*, which in other Manu- guishing scriptes is marked with an *acute Accent*, is *Circumflexed* in that Copy. And this in my judgment the Pe- is righter. But, as to the *Distinction*, which we vulgarly term the *Punctuation*, this Copy is so accu- riods one rately *pointed*, that from this very one Manuscript you may understand the whole manner and know- from ano- ledge of *pointing*, which is a thing of no small moment. Indeed, before I had procured this Co- ther, and py, I was not thorowly acquainted with the usefulness and necessity of the *Middle distinction*; Members the Cau- with which, that very one Book, diligently inspected and examined, hath at length made me ac- of each ses and quainted. But, we shall speak more hereafter, concerning the *Distinction*. This moreover, I Period, by points. have observed in that most ancient Manuscript, as often as a (c) *full distinction*, or *πελὲα σῶμα* is^{(c) Full-} set in any Line, the first Letter of the following Line appears without the order of the rest, and points. touches upon the very outward Margin. And this is a sign, that a new Chapter, or a new Pe- riod is begun after that *final distinction*. I have observed the same in the other Manuscript Co- pies also. Indeed, in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*, which contain *Eusebius's Books con- cerning the Life of Constantine*, I have found that 'tis always so, as often as a new Chapter is be- gun. We had, besides, a *fourth Copy* out of the *Library of that most illustrious Personage Nicho- las Fuket*, who bears the Office of Procurator General in the Senate of Paris, and at the same time manages the *Præfecture of the Royal Treasury*, with the highest commendation. And these four Manuscript Copies we have made use of, in order to our amendment of the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*. But, we have compared the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, with three ancient Copies. The first is *that Copy of the King's*, concerning which I have spoken a- bove, in which Manuscript, before the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*, occur the *four Books con- cerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, written, though not in the same, nevertheless in an ancient hand. The second place belongs to the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*. So I call cer- tain Papers, which are digested into *Quaternions*; but they are loose, and are not made up into the form of a Book. In *these Sheets*, besides *Eusebius's Books concerning the Life of Constantine*, and the *Oration of the same Emperor to the Saints*, occurs the *first Quaternion of the Ecclesiastick History*; whereof I have likewise made frequent mention in my Notes. All the rest of it, by what accident I know not, is lost. The *Fuketian Library* furnished us with the *third Copy*. Wherein, before the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, is prefixt *Eusebius's Panegy- rick*, spoken to the same *Constantine*, in the thirtieth year of His Empire. *This Copy*, tho' of the meanest Antiquity, is nevertheless of the best Note, and in many places more correct and larger than those two former, which *Robert Stephens* made use of in in *His Edition*. Besides these Ma- nuscript Copies, we were assisted by those various Readings and Emendations, which learned Men had with their own Hands noted at the Margin of *Robert Stephens's Edition*. Of which sort many Books are now to be found. But we made use more especially of three, which are likewise often mentioned in our Notes. The first was *Hadrian Turnebus's*, which with great exactness He had compared with *The King's*, and *The Medicæan Copy*. But the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, had been compared with an *English Copy*, either by the Hand of *Hadrian Turnebus* Himself, or that of *Odo Turnebus*. The second Copy was *Vulcobius's*; which, because *Renatus Moræus* a Physician of Paris had lent me, I am wont in my Notes to term *Moræus's Copy*. This Book contains some few other Emendations, besides those which occur in *Turnebus's Copy*. The third was *Sir Henry Savil's Book*, a Person of incomparable Learning; it was sent me out of England by *James Usher Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. For, whereas I had perceived, that in *Usher's Notes on the Martyrdom of the B. Polycarp*, a Manuscript Copy of *Eusebius's History* out of Sir Henry Savill's Library was quoted; and had found, that, by some passages produced by *Usher*, *that Copy* was of the best Note; I made my request to Him by Letter, that he would transmit to me the various Readings of *that Copy*; for I did suppose, that the whole Copy had been compa- red by him. But he wrote back to me, that the Copy it self, written in filken Paper, had been given by Sir Henry Savil to the *Oxford Library*. But he presently sent me *Robert Stephens's Edi- tion*, in the Margin whereof Sir Henry Savil had noted the Emendations taken out of that *his own Manuscript Copy*. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to conjecture, Sir Henry Savil hath not set all the Readings of the Manuscript Copy at the side of *that Edition*; but those only, which

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he thought to be good and undoubted. For some Readings are produced by *Usher* out of that Manuscript Copy, which I afterwards perceived were omitted by Sir *Henry Savil*. Farther, the same Sir *Henry Savil*, at the Margin of *that Edition*, hath written many Amendments, out of a Book of *John Christopherson's*; which Book *Christopherson* had compared with some Manuscript Copies. These are the Helps from Books, wherewith we were furnished, when we undertook to mend the Books of *Eusebius's History*. But lest any one should perhaps think, that any thing hath been alter'd by us rashly and at pleasure, we do before all things desire the Readers should know, that we have done nothing without the consent and authority of the best Copies. And so scrupulous were we, of making any Alteration in these Books, that when it appear'd most evidently, that the place was corrupted, we refused even then to favour and follow our own Conjecture. For proof hereof may be [produced] a place in the Close of the *Tenth Book of the Ecclesiastick History*, pag. 399 [of Our Edition;] which runs thus: *ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρεπὴς μέγιστος* &c. *νικητὴς κωνσταντίνου*. We could very easily have restored the true Reading here, and instead of *ἐκπρεπὴς*, mended it in this manner, *ἐκπρέπων*. For so *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, in (a) his Second Book, cites this place of *Eusebius*: nor is it otherwise written in *Eusebius's Second Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, Chap. 19; where this Passage is repeated almost in the very same words. Lastly, no place is mended in *this our Edition*, concerning which I have not advertised the Reader in my Notes, and have not given an Account of mine Amendment.

(a) Chap.
i. pag. 45.
Edit. Paris, 1590.

Distinction, or *Punctuation*, is not the least part of Emendation; concerning which I must say something, lest peradventure the Readers should be confounded by a new kind of *Pointing*, which was first brought into *this Edition* by me. Although, if we would speak properly, this is not a new sort of *Distinction*, but the oldest, and made use of by all the Ancients, as well *Greek* as *Latin* Writers: Which being wholly disused and lost by the negligence of more modern Authors, I have, at least in part, endeavour'd to restore in *this Edition*. Those Ancients indeed (the Figures of Letters being then newly invented,) wrote in one continued form, without any *distinction* at all. Which thing contained much of difficulty both in reading and pronouncing, the ancient *Grammarians* found out three Postures or *Distinctions*, whereby, as 'twere by certain Stations and Inns, the continued Journey of Speech might be distinguished and divided. The first they termed *ὑποσημνήν*, that is a *Sub-distinction*: The Second *μέσην*, that is a *middle Distinction*: The Third *τελείαν σημήν*, that is a *final or full Distinction*. Now they noted them by three Points placed in a different site. For a Point set at the bottom of a Letter, denotes a *Sub-distinction*: a *middle Distinction*, which the *Latines* have termed (b) *Moram*, is shown by a Point placed at the middle of a Letter. But that Point which is set at the head of a Letter, denotes a *final Distinction*. What the Import and Design of these *Distinctions* is, the *Grammarians* do inform us; *Donatus*, and *Merrius Victorinus*, and *Diomedes* in his Second Book. Which Author last named, at this place shall be to us instead of all. *Lectioni*, says he, *Posituras accedere vel Distinctiones oportet, &c.* To Reading must be added the Positures or Distinctions, by *Græcians* termed *Σέσεις*: which, during our reading, give a liberty of recovering Breath, lest it should fail by a Continuation. These are three, a *Distinction*, a *Sub-distinction*, a *middle Distinction* or *Pause*, or, as some will have it, a *Sub-middle*: The Diversity of which [three,] is shewn by three Points set in a different place. And after some few words: A *Distinction* is a token of silence, when, the Sense being ended, there is a liberty of resting longer. The Mark hereof, is a Point set above the Verse, at the head of the Letter. A *Sub-distinction* is a Sign of a meet and convenient Silence, whereby the Course of Pronunciation (the Sense remaining) is so stop'd, that what follows, ought to succeed immediately. The Note hereof, is a Point placed under the Verse. A *Pause* is a small Separation, interposed in the Continuation of Senses, and possesses the middle place of a meet *Distinction* and *Sub-distinction*, in such manner that it may seem neither perfect in the whole, nor omitted, but by a Signification of Staying, may want the beginning of another Sense. And it attends this Office only, that by the shortest Respiration it may recover and nourish the Reader's Breath. For, in pronouncing every one ought in such wise to be silent, that, because the Breath it self is changed by a kind of decay, it may afterwards be recovered. As thus;

(b) A
Pause.

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
Extulit, & rauco strepuerunt cornua Cantu.
Utque acres concussit equos, utque impulit arma,
Extemplo turbati animi.

(c) *Actus*
verborum.

For, there are many middle Clauses of this Reading. First, lest those be confounded, which are put as double-membred and treble-membred [Clauses,] and the like. Then, that the (c) Emphasis of the Words may be more eminently apparent and conspicuous, which may be moved by some Affection, either by Indignation, or Commiseration compared, &c. Such Marks therefore of Distinctions and Punctations as these, all the Ancients, as well *Greeks* as *Latines*, made use of in their Books: which also, as 'tis manifest, were still in use, in the Age of *Isidorus Hispalensis*. For this we learn

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learn from *His Origines*, Book 1. Chap. 19. In Manuscript Copies likewise, which are somewhat ancients, the same way of distinguishing is always observed. But more modern Writers, whether by Unskilfulness, or a kind of Sloth and Negligence, have changed them all. And instead of a Sub-distinction, they have put (*d*) *little Rods*; for the mark of a middle Distinction, (*d*) *Com. two Points*: But they have cast the Note of a final Distinction from the Head to the Feet of a Letter. Which ill way of Pointing almost all Printers have follow'd, except *Aldus Manucius*. For he in his Edition of *Greek Books*, whereof he printed almost an innumerable company, hath always retained that Punctuation, which he had found in Manuscript Copies. As to the *Little Rods*, I would not condemn them: For 'tis of very small moment what Mark we should make use of, to denote a *Sub-distinction*, provided that Mark be placed at the Feet of a Letter. Indeed, in that excellent and most ancient *Manuscript belonging to the Mazarine Library*, whereof I have made mention before, I found a *little Rod* placed sometimes for a *middle*, sometimes for a *final Distinction*; that is, sometimes at the middle of a Letter, sometimes at the top. And not only by a *little Rod*, but also by a *Sicilicum* or *ἀπλῆ*, turned backwards, a *middle Distinction*, was sometimes denoted, as *Victorinus* informs us in his *First Book of the Art of Grammar*. But, whereas we now-a-days put a Point at the Feet of a Letter for a *final Distinction*, in my judgment that can in no wise be born with. For it does not only contradict Antiquity, but Reason also. For Reason requires, that a Mark placed in the same site, should denote the same *Distinction*. A Point therefore placed in the bottom ought to signify the same that a *little Rod* does, which is set at the bottom of a Letter. For, not the Mark it self, but the Site of the Mark alters the *Distinction*. Whence 'tis made evident, that a *final Distinction* is not rightly shown by us, by our setting a Point at the foot of a Letter. Wherefore, 'tis not without reason that I have endeavour'd to restore the old way of *Punctuation* in this Edition. I have indeed retained the *Little Rod* it self, in regard it denoting a *Sub-distinction* it serves for the same purpose with a Point: but from the Authority of the *Manuscript Copies*, I have, by way of Recovery as 'twere, put the *middle Distinction* into possession of its own places. The Advantage and Necessity whereof, the Studious, I hope, will soon acknowledge. For, *that middle Distinction* does not only serve for this purpose, that breath may be taken in order to the continuing the beginning of another Sense, and *that the Emphasis may be more eminently apparent and conspicuous*, as *Diomedes* writes; but also, to denote the difference of Persons and Dignities. So somewhere in *these Books*, where the reading is *ἐπισκοπῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων*, the *Most Eminent Cardinal's Manuscript*, after the word *ἐπισκοπῶν*, adds a *middle Distinction*. Besides, in many places I have set a Point at the head of the Letter, to denote a *final Distinction*: and would have done that every where, had not the force of old custom diverted me from my Attempt. But, what I have in part only performed in this Edition, that (I hope) will at length be perfected by others endued with greater Learning and Authority, who shall in future publish the Books of the Ancients. And thus much may suffice to have been spoken briefly concerning *Our Emendation* and *Punctuation*. Come we now to the *Latin Translation*.

I doubt not but there will be many who will admire, why, after three *Latin Translators* of *Eusebius*, and those not meanly vers'd in the *Greek Tongue*, I should have made a *fourth Version*. To whom in the first place I answer thus: If after *Rufinus*, who first turned the *Books of Ecclesiastick History* into *Latin*, *Musculus* might have leave to make a new Translation; if again, after *Musculus*, *Christophorson* might have leave to do the same, why should not I also have the like liberty with others? Amongst the *Jews*, after the *Edition of the seventy Seniors*, confirmed by the Religion of so many Oaths, by the Authority of so many Ages; first *Aquila*, then *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, did each of them publish new Versions of the *Old Testament*. Also, some Persons are found to be the Authors of a *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh Edition*, whose names are unknown: and all these Translations *Origen* hath placed in *His Hexapla*, that they might be read by Catholics. That therefore which the *Jews* were free to do in the *Old Testament*, why may not I have leave to do in *Eusebius*? Especially, in regard 'tis less dangerous to attempt that in *Eusebius*, than in the sacred Books of the Divine Scriptures. Indeed, many and those cogent Reasons enforc'd me even against my will, to undergo the burthen of this new Translation. For, whereas by (*e*) Your Command and with Your Advice I had undertaken a new Edition of the *Ecclesiastick History*; and perceived, that the Versions of former Translators, by reason of their frequent Mistakes and ill Renditions, did in no wise satisfy the Desire of Learned Men; as it has been (*f*) already declared by the Testimony of *J. Curterius* and *Peter Halleixius*: One of these two things was of necessity to be performed by me, that I should either correct the old Translation, or else make a new one. Farther, to correct the Translation of others, as it is in it self a thing troublesome and difficult, so also it seem'd invidious. For, His own Praise and His own Honour, is from us due to each Person. They have done as much as in them lay, and by their own Pains have endeavour'd to lighten and lessen our Labour. Therefore, the Work of each Translator ought to be commended by us, rather than *interpolated*. *Rufinus*, altho' he follows the Sense of *Eusebius* rather than his Words, is nevertheless neat and clean, and not unpleasant to the Readers: And even on this very account highly to be commended, because he was the first that bestow'd the *Ecclesiastick History* on Men of the *Latin Tongue*; whose Translation the *Western Church* has made use of till our own Age. *Musculus* keeps closer to the words, and in translating is short and clear, and in many

(e) He mean the French Clergy.
(f) In his Epistle Dedicatory.

many places more happy than *Christophorson*. *Christophorson*, as He is more diligent and learner than *Musculus*, so also is more verbose, and has something of the Stile of *Cicero*. Besides, He used Manuscript Copies in the making his Translation; and was the first that published *Eusebius's Panegyrick* spoken at *Constantine's Tricennalia*, in *Latin*. Which the *Geneva-Printers* afterwards printed in *Greek*. Some body will be ready to say here; What need then was there of a new Version? whenas those Translators abound with so many and such high Commendations. I rehearse their Praises, but do not detect their Errors; which I had rather should be discovered by the Testimony of others, than mine own. But, if any one will read my *Notes*, or shall have a mind to compare my Translation with their Version, He will doubtless understand, with how many and how gross Mistakes their Translations are stult; and that 'twas not without reason, that you had ordered me to make a new Version of *Eusebius*. But, because I am fallen upon this Discourse, not willingly but by necessity, I will say something briefly concerning the Errors of former Translators. For, should I have a mind to reckon up all their Mistakes one by one, my Discourse would be stretch'd to a vast length. To begin therefore with *Rufinus*: Who knows not, that, at his pleasure, he has added many Passages to *Eusebius*, has taken away many Passages from him, has changed many; and in most places is rather a *Paraphrast* than a *Translator*? For instance; In the *Seventh Book* he has inserted a tedious Narrative concerning the Miracles of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, which occurs not in the Copies of our *Eusebius*. The same Person, in the *Ninth Book*, rehearses a Speech of *Lucian* the Martyr, spoken before the Judge in defence of our Faith: Which Speech the Copies of *Eusebius* do not acknowledge. He has omitted almost the whole *Tenth Book of the Ecclesiastick History*, in his Version. I say nothing here concerning the Chapters altered by him in the *Sixth and Seventh Book*, in as much as I have given the Reader notice of this thing, in my *Notes*. How many places of *Eusebius* are misunderstood and ill rendred by him? This is he, who of *Zacharias* the Priest, of whom mention is made in *St Luke's Gospel*, has made us a Martyr of *Lyons*. This is he who hath confounded *Biblias* with *Blandina*. This is he who has made the most Noble Martyr *Philoromus* a Tribune of Soldiers, from his being a *Rationalist*. To what purpose is it to speak concerning *Musculus*, whose Versions (for he has translated other Writers also into *Latin*,) are not extraordinarily approved of by the Learned? I could, if I had a mind, expose his innumerable Mistakes: Amongst which this is a notorious one. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his *Epistle to Germanus*, which *Eusebius* records in his *Sixth* (g) *Book*, says, that he was taken by the Soldiers *καὶ ἡ δυνάμις*, and was brought to *Taposiris*. But *Musculus* believed *Heliodysmas* to be a Town. For thus he renders it: *Ego namque cum Heliodysmas, una cum illis qui mecum erant, venissem, Taposirim a militibus ductus sum*. For I, after I was come to *Heliodysma*, together with them that were with me, was brought by the Soldiers to *Taposiris*. Farther, the same *Musculus* in his Translation has wholly omitted *Eusebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, which is subjoyn'd to the *Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastick History*; for what reason I know not. For that *Book of Eusebius's*, is a most elegant one. The Translation of *John Christophorson* remains [to be spoken of,] which very Version wants not its Blemishes. For to omit the *Barbarisms* which do frequently occur in it, his Translation is too prolix and intricate, whilst he either adds some Words to fill up the Period, or annexes his own Explanations in order to the clearing of an obscure place. Sometimes also, of two Periods he makes but one, and puts two Chapters into one: In so much that the Division of the *Latin Chapters* in his Translation differs much from the *Greek*. Which thing, how much Trouble and Vexation it breeds in citing places out of *Eusebius*, all the Studios know. The same Translator was indeed sufficiently well vers'd in Divinity; but he was meanly furnished with the Skill of (b) a Critick, and with the Knowledge of *Roman Antiquity*. Wherefore, in the proper Names of *Roman Magistrates*, and in those Matters which appertain to the *Civil Administration*, he is always out: For instance, in rendring the words *ἡγεμὼν*, *ἐπαρχὴς*, *ἐπαρχικὴς πύξως*, and in other such like terms. Lastly, *Christophorson* has embodied *Eusebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, (which in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in the *Manuscript Copies*, is subjoyned to the *Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastick History*,) with his *eighth Book*, because he believed it to be a part thereof. Which Mistake of *Christophorson's*, the *Geneva-Printers* having afterwards followed, that they might make the *Greek* agree with the *Latin*; of two Books of *Eusebius's*, have made but one. And let thus much be briefly spoken concerning the Errors of former Translations, not with any design to disparage or lessen the Glory of any Translator; but, that all the Studios may understand, that we had good reason for our undertaking a new Translation. Which as I dare not warrant to be perfect and every way compleat, (for that would be too much confidence;) so I do boldly affirm, that it wants very many Faults, wherewith former Translations do abound. Further, whereas three things are required in a Version; namely, that it be faithful, elegant and clear; I have made it my business, that no one of these should be wanting in our Translation.

(g) Chap.
4c.

(b) Or,
Critical
Art.

The

V A L E S I U S ' S P R E F A C E .

The Translation is followed by *the Annotations*. Wherein I had an Eye chiefly to two things: First, that I might give an account of my Emendations, and might propose to the Studious the various Readings of Manuscript Copies: Secondly, that I might clear the obscurer passages in *Eusebius*, and might explain the ancient Usages and Rites of the Church, by producing and comparing the passages of other Writers. To my *Annotations* I have subjoined (a) *four Dissertations*. The *first* whereof is, *Concerning the Beginning and Progress of the Schism of the Donatists*. The *Second*, *Concerning the Anastasis and the Jerusalem-Martyrium*. This is followed by a *disputation about the Version of the Seventy Translators against James Usher Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. The *Fourth* is, *Concerning the Roman Martyrology which Rosweyde published*. And these are the things which with care and diligence I have performed in *this Edition*, in order to the illustration of *Eusebius's History*. Which if to any one they shall peradventure seem slight and of little worth, let him think, that all things which are published in this kind of Learning, are in a manner of this nature, and are either valued or contemned according to the Affection and Stomach of the Readers. For, if they find a candid and studious Reader, they are highly esteemed: But if they shall happen to fall into disdainful Ears, they are look't upon as nothing. Besides, what but that which is very ordinary and mean can be expected, from me especially, who by reason of my weakness of sight am forc'd both to read and write by other Men's Eyes and Hands: And who, whilst by reason of the greatness of the Labour I do always hasten forwards, have so hastily dictated this whole work, such as it is, that I have scarce had leisure to read it over again. On which account I am the more to be pardoned, if perhaps in any place of my *Notes* I have not so fully satisfied the Reader's desire.

(a) These four Dissertations are published at the latter end of *Valesius's first Volume of the Ecclesiastick Historians*.

28 SE 60

V A L E .

VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT Concerning the LIFE AND WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS CÆSARIENSIS.

C Concerning the Life of Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, Acacius, his Scholar and Successor in the See of Cæsarea, had heretofore written a Book, as (a) Socrates does attest. But in regard this Book, together with very many others, is lost by the carelessness of Antiquity, we, by gathering together from this place and other the Testimonies of Ancient Writers who have spoken concerning Eusebius, to the utmost of our ability will endeavour to repair that Loss. Eusebius therefore was born in Palestine, about the Close (as 'tis likely) of Gallienus's Reign. That he was a Native of Palestine, is hence prov'd, because by the Ancients he is commonly called a Palestinian. So, 'tis certain, Basilus, Theodoret, and others do term him. And although he might have been thus Sur-nam'd from his being Bishop of the City Cæsarea, yet it seems to me truer, that he drew that Sur-name from his Country. Indeed, he himself does attest, in his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, that during his being a youth he was educated and conversant in Palestine, and that Constantine was first seen by him there, whilst he made a journey thorow Palestine in the Court of Diocletianus Augustus. Besides, in the Second (c) Book of the same work (where he records a Law of Constantine's, which he wrote to the Palestinians in favour of the Christians,) he does plainly shew himself to have been a Palestinian. For, after he has recited the Contents of that Law transmitted to the Palestinians, he adds these words. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀπαπεμφθέν βασιλέως γράμμα, ταῦτα διετάχθητο. These were the Constitutions contained in the Emperor's first Edict sent to Us. But whereas I have plac'd his Birth upon the latter end of Gallienus's Reign; of this thing I have Eusebius himself for my Author. For speaking (in his Books of Ecclesiack History,) concerning Dionysius Bishop of the Alexandrians, he does attest that He had lived in his own Age, as may be seen in Book 3. Chap. 28. Wherefore, in regard 'tis manifest that Dionysius Alexandrinus departed this life on the twelfth year of Gallienus's

Empire, Eusebius must of necessity have been born then, if his age fell on those times wherein Dionysius lived. The same may likewise be gathered from the Fifth (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, about the end of it, where speaking concerning Artemon's Heresie, he writes that Paul of Samosata had revived that Heresie in (e) his age. Lastly, relating (in his Seventh Book,) those things which hapned during the Reign of Gallienus, before he begins his Discourse concerning the Error and Condemnation of Paul of Samosata, he has these Words. (f) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ἰσορίαν; φέρε καὶ τῶν κατ' ἡμεῖς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεὰν ὅποια τις ἦν, ὡς δὲ δῶκεν. But now, after an Historical relation of these things, we will deliver to the knowledge of posterity an account of our own age. Whom he had for his Parents, is unknown to us, excepting that Nicephorus Callistus, following I know not what Authors, does tell us that he was begotten of the Sister of Pamphilus the Martyr. But in Arius's (g) Letter to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, he is termed the Brother of Eusebius Nicomediensis. And although by reason of his friendship he might be called the Brother, yet it seems truer to me, that he was either the near Kinsman or Cousin-german of Eusebius Nicomedien-sis, especially in regard Arius, although many other Persons are there mentioned, yet terms only Eusebius of Cæsarea Brother to him of Nicomedia. Besides, Eusebius of Nicomedia was a Native of Syria. For he was at first Bishop of Berytus. Nor was it the usage then, that Strangers and Persons unknown should be preferred to govern Churches. What Masters he had in secular Learning, is in like manner unknown to us. But in sacred Literature he had Dorotheus the Eunuch, a Presbyter of the Antiochian Church, for his Master: of whom also he makes an honourable mention in his Seventh (h) Book. Although Eusebius at that place says only, that he had heard Dorotheus, whilst he expounded the Holy Scriptures in the Church not unfitly. Nevertheless, if any one has a mind (with Trithemius) to conclude from those

(d) See Chap. 28. at the beginning. (e) Eusebius's.

(f) Book 7. Chap. 26.

(g) Which occurs in Theodoret's Ecclesiack Hist. Book 1. Chap. 5. Edit. vales.

(h) Chap. 32.

Valesius's Account concerning the Life and Writings, &c.

those words of Eusebius, that Eusebius was Do-
rotheus's Disciple, truly I shall not very much op-
pose him. Theotecnus being at that time dead, the
Bishoprick of the Church of Cæsarea was admini-
strated by Agapius, a person of eminent piety and
large bounty towards the Poor. By him Eusebius
was admitted into the Clergy, and entred into the
strictest and most intimate friendship with Pamphi-
lus, who at that time was eminent amongst the Pres-
byters of the Church of Cæsarea. Pamphilus was
by Nation a Phœnician, born at Berytus, Scholar
to Pierius a Presbyter of the Alexandrian Church,
as Photius relates. Who (in regard he was in-
flamed with a singular love of sacred Learning, and
with the greatest diligence imaginable, made a Col-
lection of all the Books of Ecclesiastick Writers, and
especially of Origen's;) founded a most famous
School and Library at Cæsarea. Of which School
Eusebius seems to have been the first Master. Indeed

(a) Chap.
4. where
see Note
(f).

Eusebius, in his (a) Book concerning the Mar-
tyrs of Palestine, writes in express words, that Ap-
phianus, who compleated his Martyrdom on the third
year of the Persecution, had been instructed in the sa-
cred Scriptures by him in the City Cæsarea. From
that time Eusebius always lived with Pamphilus
in the closest intimacy, and continued his insepara-
ble Companion till his death: So dear to him, that
from his Friendship he got the surname of Pamphilus.
Nor did Eusebius love him whilst he lived only, but
had a singular affection for him when dead also: in
so much that after Pamphilus's death, he always
made a most honourable, and likewise a most loving
mention of him. This is attested by those Three
Books which he wrote concerning the Life of
Pamphilus the Martyr, which Books St. Jerome
terms most elegant ones. The same is likewise ga-
thered from many Passages which occur in his Eccle-
siastick History, and in his Book concerning
the Martyrs of Palestine. Lastly, in his Second
Book aganſt Sabellius, which was written by Eu-
sebius after the Nicene Council, he frequently
commends Pamphilus the Martyr, altho' he suppres-
ses his name. For even in the very beginning of his
Discourse he says thus. Puto adhuc aures obſtrepi
meas à memoria beati illius viri, &c. I think
my Ears are as yet struck by the memory of that
blessed Man, who frequently made use of that
devout word. For even your Ears do as yet
retain the sound of that word. For I think
I hear him saying, The only begotten Son of
God. For this Religious word was always
uttered by his Mouth. For it was the remem-
brance of the Only begotten, to the Glory of
the unborn Father. Now, we have heard the
Apostle commanding, that Presbyters ought to
be honoured with a double Honour; those es-
pecially who labour in the Word and Doctrine.
And at pag. 29. he speaks of him again in this man-
ner. Hæc non nos extollunt, &c. These things

(b) The re-
membrance
of, &c.

do not puff us up, (b) remembring that Blessed
Man. Now I wish I could so speak, as to-
gether with you I did always hear from him.
But these words which are now said, seem to
have been pleasing to him. For 'tis the glory
of good Servants, to speak truth concerning
the Lord; and 'tis the honour of those Fathers
who have taught well, if their Doctrines be
repeated. And again in the same Book, pag. 37.
Hæc audiebamus semper à beato illo viro, &c.
These words we always heard from the Blef-
sed Man. For they were often spoken in this
manner by him: Altho' some suspected, that
he uttered these words with his mouth, but
that in his Heart he thought otherwise. And

indeed I remember with you, that I have heard
from him, that he hath satisfied us with an ho-
ly Oath, that there was not one thing in his
Tongue, and another in his Heart. And a lit-
tle after. Sed nunc quidem paucis, &c. But
now, let thus much be said by us in short, in
memory and honour of that our Father, so
good, so laborious, and every where vigilant
for the Churches. For we have not made men-
tion of his Stock, nor of his Education, or
Learning, or of (c) the rest of his Life and (c) His o-
Resolution. Which Passages in Eusebius (that I ther Life.
may not defraud any one of his Commendation,) were
shown me by the most Learned Franciscus Ogeri-
us. Now, from what I have said it may be evi-
dently enough gathered, that Eusebius was joyned
to Pamphilus by no (d) Tye of kindred, but by the (d) Or,
Bond of friendship only. 'Tis certain, Eusebius, al- Right.
tho' he names Pamphilus in so many places, and
boasts so highly of his friendship, yet never terms him
his Kinsman or Relation. Yea, from Eusebius's own
testimony 'tis plainly made out, that Pamphilus the
Martyr was not Eusebius's Kinsman. For in the
Close of his Seventh (e) Book of Ecclesiastick (e) Chap.
History, where he makes mention of Agapius Bi- 32. to-
shop of the Church of Cæsarea; his words are these: wards the
Κατὰ τὸν ἐλλογιμώτατον αὐτῷ τε βίῳ φιλό- end.
σοφον ἀληθῆ, πρεσβείῃ τῆς αὐτόδι παροικίας
ἡξιωμένον, πάμφιλον ἐγνωμένον. In this Man's
time we knew Pamphilus (a most eloquent Man;
and a true Philosopher in the practises of his
Life) honoured with a Presbytership of that
Church. Whereas therefore Eusebius himself does
attest, that Pamphilus was first known by him,
then, it is sufficiently apparent, that they were not
joyned together by any kindred or affinity. In these
times hapned that most severe Persecution of the Chri-
stians; which being first begun by Diocletian,
was by the following Emperors continued to the tenth
year. In the time of this Persecution, Eusebius, in
regard he was then a Presbyter of the Church of
Cæsarea, resided almost constantly in that City,
and by continual exhortations instructed many persons
in order to Martyrdom. Amongst whom was Apphi-
anus, a noble Youth, whose illustrious Combat our
Eusebius does relate in his (f) Book concerning (f) Chap.
the Martyrs of Palestine. In the same Persecution 4.
Pamphilus was taken, and cast into Prison, where
he spent two whole years in Bonds. During which
time Eusebius in no wise deserted his Friend and
Companion: but visited him continually, and in the
Prison wrote together with him Five Books in de-
fence of Origen. The Sixth and last Book of that
Work he at length finished after Pamphilus was
dead. That whole Work was by Eusebius and
Pamphilus dedicated to the Confessors living in the
Mines of Palestine, as Photius relates in his Bi-
bliotheca, Chap. 118. In the time of the same
Persecution, on account of some urgent Business of the
Church, as 'tis probable, Eusebius went to Tyre.
During his residence in that City, he attests (Book 8.
Chap. 7.) that he himself was eye-witness of the
glorious Combats of five Egyptian Martyrs. And
in the Ninth Chapter of the same Book, he
writes that he came into Egypt and Thebais, whilst
the fury of the Persecution as yet raged; and that
there he beheld with his own eyes, the admirable Con-
stancy of many Martyrs of both Sexes. There are
those who relate, that Eusebius in this Persecution,
to free himself from the Troubles of a Prison, sacri-
ficed to Idols: and that that was objected against
him by the Egyptian Bishops and Confessors in the
Synod at Tyre, as we will hereafter relate. But
I doubt not but this is false, and a Calumny forged
by

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by the Enemies of Eusebius. For, had so great a Crime been really committed by Eusebius, how could he have been afterwards made Bishop of the Church of Cæsarea? How is it likely that he should have been invited by the Antiochians, to undertake the Episcopate of that City? And yet Cardinal Baronius has catch'd up that as certain and undoubted, which was objected against Eusebius by the way of Contention and Wrangling, by his Enemies, nor was ever confirmed by any one's Testimony. At the same time, a Book was written by Eusebius against Hierocles. And the occasion of writing it was given by Hierocles of Nicomedia, who about the beginning of this Persecution, when the Churches of the Christians were every where demolished, insulting as it were over the disquieted Religion, in the City Nicomedia published two Books against the Faith of Christ, which he entitled, *ῥιλαλίδες*. In which Books amongst other things he asserted this, that Apollonius Tyaneus performed far more and greater Miracles than Christ; as Lactantius does attest in his

(a) He should have said his Fifth Book; where see Chap. 2, and 3. p. 307, &c. Edit. 1^hys.

(a) Seventh Book. But Eusebius contemned the Man, rested satisfied in confuting him in a very short Book. Agapius Bishop of Cæsarea being dead during this interval, and the Persecution being now abated, and Peace restored to the Church; by the general consent of all Persons Eusebius is put into his Place. Others make Agricola (who was present at, and subscribed to the Synod of Ancyra, on the Year of Christ 314,) Successor to Agapius. So Baronius in his Annals, at the Year of Christ 314; and Blondellus in his Apology pro sententia B. Hieronymi, Chap. 19. where he writes, That Eusebius undertook the Administration of the Church of Cæsarea after Agricola's death, about the Year of Christ 315. But those Subscriptions of the Bishops which are extant in the Latin Collections of the Canons, in my judgment seem to have little of certainty and validity in them. For they occur not either in the Greek Copies, or in the Latin Version of Dionysius Exiguus. Besides, Eusebius reckoning up (in the Seventh (b) Book of his Ecclesiastick History,) the Bishops of the chief Sees, under whom the Persecution began and raged, ends in Agapius Bishop of Cæsarea, who (says he) took a great deal of pains in that Persecution for the good of his own Church. He therefore must of necessity have sat Bishop until the end of the Persecution. But Eusebius was made Bishop immediately after the Persecution was ended. For when Paulinus Bishop of Tyre dedicated a Cathedral, some time after Peace and Repose was restored to the Church; He, together with other Bishops, was invited by Paulinus to its Dedication, and made a most elegant Oration before him, as we are informed from the Tenth (c) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. Now, this hapned before Licinius rebelled against Constantine, which fell on the Year of our Lord 315. About these Times Eusebius wrote those famous Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration and Preparation. Which Books, 'tis plain, were written before the Nicene Council, in regard they are by name cited in his Ecclesiastick History, which was written by Eusebius before that Council, as we have shown in Our Annotations. In the interim Licinius, who managed the Government in the Eastern Parts, incited by a sudden rage, began to persecute the Christians; especially those that were Prelates, of whom he had a suspicion that they shewed more of favour to Constantine, and put up Prayers for him. But Constantine undertook an Expedition against Licinius, and in a short time compell'd him, after he had been vanquished in two Fights by Land

(c) See Chap. 4. where Eusebius has inserted this his Speech.

and Sea, to a Surrendry. And thus Peace was again by Conitantine restored to the Christians, who inhabited the East. But a far more vehement Disturbance was at that time raised amongst the Christians themselves. For Arius a Presbyter of the City Alexandria, in regard he would publicly in the Church preach up some new and impious Opinions concerning the Son of God, and having been frequently admonished by Alexander the Bishop, would nevertheless persist in those Assertions, was at length condemned together with the Associates of his own Error, and was expelled out of the Church. Highly resenting this his Condemnation, he sent Letters, with a Draught of his own Faith, to all the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities: Wherein he complained, that he had been undeservedly deposed by Alexander, in regard he asserted the same Points that the rest of the Eastern Prelates maintained. Many Bishops imposed upon by these Artifices, and powerfully incited by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was an open Favourer of Arius's Party, wrote Letters in defence of Arius, to Alexander Bishop of the City Alexandria, entreating him to restore Arius to his former Place. Our Eusebius was one of their number, whose Letter, written to Alexander, is extant in the Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod, and is by us put amongst the (d) Testimonies of the Ancients. Eusebius Cæsariensis's Example being presently followed by Theodotus and Paulinus, the one Bishop of Laodicea, the other of Tyre; they interceded with Alexander for Arius's Restitution. Whose Letters, as patronizing his own Opinions, in regard Arius boasted of in all places, and by the authority of such Great Men, drew many Persons into a Society of his own Error; on this account Alexander himself also was forced to write Letters to the other Bishops of the East, whereby it might be made publicly known, that Arius, together with his Associates, had been justly condemned and deposed. Two Letters of Alexander are at this present extant: the one to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, in which Alexander complains of three Bishops of Syria, who agreeing in Opinion with Arius had inflamed the Quarrel, which they ought rather to have extinguished, and had rendred it fiercer than it was before. These three are Eusebius, Theodotus, and Paulinus, as may be collected from Arius's Letter written to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia. The other Letter of Alexander's, written to all the Bishops throughout the World, Socrates records it in his First (e) Book. To these Letters of Alexander almost all the Eastern Bishops subscribed: Amongst whom the Prelates of chiefest note were, Philogonius Bishop of Antioch, Eustathius of Berea, and Macarius of Jerusalem. Now, those Bishops who seem'd to be of Arius's side, in regard they saw themselves severely touch'd in Alexander's Letters, made it their business to defend Arius with far more of fierceness and vehemency: but most especially Eusebius Nicomediensis. For our Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, together with Patrophilus and Paulinus, and other Bishops of Syria, concluded upon this only, that Arius the Presbyter should have a liberty of holding Assemblies in his own Church; nevertheless, that he should be subject to Alexander the Bishop, and should earnestly request of him that he might be admitted to Peace and Communion. The Bishops in this manner disagreeing amongst themselves, and some favouring Alexander's, others Arius's side; the Contention was incredibly heighten'd. To cure which mischief, Constantine assembled a General Synod of Bishops (such a one as no Age had ever seen,) from all Parts of the Roman World,

(d) Valesius after this his Account of Eusebius's Life and Writings, adds a Collection (which he made himself) of the Testimonies of the Ancients, both for and against Eusebius; a Translation whereof into English, was look'd upon as needless.

(e) Chap. 6.

in Nicæa a City of Bithynia. Of this Greatest and most Celebrated Council, Our Eusebius was not the least part. For he had both the first place in the Right-Hand (a) Side, and also in the name of the whole Synod made a Speech to the Emperor Constantine, who sat on a Golden Chair in the midst between the two Rows of those who sat together [in the Council;] as he himself attests in the Preface to his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, and in his (c) Third Book of the same Work. The same is likewise confirmed by Sozomen, in the First (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. Farther, when there was a great contest amongst the Bishops concerning a (e) Draught of the Creed, Our Eusebius proposed a Draught that was exactly true and plain, and which was commended by the consent of all the Bishops, and of the Emperor himself. But, in regard something seem'd to be wanting in that Draught, in order to confuting the Impiety of the new Opinion; the Fathers of the Nicene Synod judged these words as necessary to be further added, Very God of very God; begotten not made, being of one Substance with the Father. They likewise annex'd Anathematisms, against those who should assert that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not. And at first indeed Our Eusebius refused to admit of the term Consubstantial. But afterwards, informed by the other Bishops what the Import and Meaning of that word was, he at length consented and subscribed to this Creed, as he himself relates in his (f) Letter to his Diocesis of Cæsarea. Some affirm, that Eusebius, forced by necessity, and out of a fear of the Emperor, rather than from the Sentiment of his own Mind, had subscribed to the Nicene Creed. I might indeed be easily induced to believe that, concerning others who were present at this Synod. But, I can't think so of Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea. For after the Nicene Synod, Eusebius always condemned those who would assert that the Son of God was made of Nothing, as 'tis plain from his Books against Marcellus, and expressly from the Ninth and Tenth Chapter of his First Book De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Athanasius does likewise attest the same concerning him. Who (though he has often related that Eusebius Caesariensis had subscribed to the Nicene Synod, yet) does never declare, that he did that dissemblingly and in pretence only. Had Eusebius subscribed to the Nicene Council, not heartily, but by fraud and under a colour; why did he afterwards send that Letter I have mentioned, to his Diocesis of Cæsarea, wherein he profess'd ingenuously, that he had embraced that Faith, which had been published in the Nicene Council? After the Nicene Synod, the Arians out of a fear of the Emperor, were for some little time quiet. Resuming their boldness presently, after they had by subtilty crept into the Prince's favour; by all ways and arts they began to persecute the Catholick Prelates. Their first assault was made against Eustathius Bishop of the City Antioch, who was eminent both for the Glory of Confession, and was also accounted the Chief amongst the Assertors of the Nicene Faith. Him therefore they accuse before the Emperor, because he maintained Sabellius's Impiety, and because he had reproach'd Helena Augusta the Emperor's Mother. A numerous Assembly of Bishops is convened in the City of Antioch, in which presided Eusebius of Nicomedia, the Chief and Ring-leader of the whole Faction. Eusebius of Cæsarea was likewise present at this Synod. Eustathius therefore having been accused by Cyrus Bishop of the Berœans, because he held the impious Doctrine of Sabellius, and

moreover an Accusation of (g) Incontinency having been framed against him, is thrust out of his own See. On which account a most impetuous Tumult is raised at Antioch; the People being divided into two Parties, some requesting Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea might be put into Eustathius's place; others desiring Eustathius their Bishop might be restored to them. And it had come to blows, had not a fear of the Emperor, and the Judges authority repress'd them. The Sedition being at length quieted, and Eustathius banish'd, Our Eusebius (although entreated both by the People, and by the Bishops also that were present, to undertake the Administration of the Antiochian Church, yet) refused to do that. And when the Bishops by Letters written to Constantine, had acquainted him both with their own [Vote,] and with the Suffrage of all the People; Eusebius wrote his Letters also to Constantine. Whereto the Emperor Constantine gave answer, and highly commended Eusebius's Resolution. Eustathius having in this manner been deposed, which was done on the Year of Christ 330, as I have remark'd in my (h) Annotations; the Arians turn the violence of their Fury upon Athanasius. And in the first place they complain of his Ordination in the Prince's presence: then, that (i) he exacted an Impost of a Linen Garment from the Provincials: that he had broken a sacred Cup: lastly, that he had murder'd one Arsenius a Bishop. Therefore Constantine, wearied with their most troublesome Complaints, indicted a Council in the City of Tyre, and commanded Athanasius the Bishop to repair thither, to make his defence. In that Synod Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea amongst others, sat as Judge; whom Constantine had a mind should be present at that Council. Potamo Bishop of Heracleopolis (who had come thither with Athanasius the Bishop, and some Prelates of Egypt;) seeing him sitting in the Council, is said to have accosted him in these words: [Is it fit,] Eusebius, that You should sit, and that the Innocent Athanasius should stand to be judg'd by You? Who can bear such things as these? Tell me, were not you in Custody with me during the time of the Persecution? And I lost an Eye in defence of the Truth; but you appear'd maim'd in no part of your Body, nor did you undergo Martyrdom, but are alive and whole. By what means did you escape out of Prison? unless you promised our Persecutors that you would do the (k) detestable thing, and perhaps you have done it. These things are in this manner related by Epiphanius in the Heresie of the Meletians. From which words by the by it appears, that they are mistaken who relate, that Our Eusebius had some time sacrificed to Idols, and that that was openly objected against him in the Tyrian Synod. For Potamo accused not Eusebius, as if he had sacrificed to Idols; but only his Dismission out of Prison safe and whole, had given Potamo an occasion of suspecting that concerning him. Nevertheless 'tis possible that Eusebius might have been dismiss'd out of Prison by some other way, than that which Potamo has related. Farther, from Epiphanius's words it may, I think, be gathered, that Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea presided at this Synod. For he adds, that Eusebius being sorely vex'd at the hearing of these words, dismiss'd the Council. Yet from other Writers we have it for certain, that not Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, but Eusebius of Nicomedia presided at the Tyrian Synod. After the Council held at Tyre, all the Bishops who had sat together there, by the Emperor's order betook themselves to Jerusalem, to celebrate the Consecration of that Great Church, which Constantine had erected in that place, in honour

(a) Or, Wing.

(b) Chap. 1. where see Note

(c) Chap. 11.

(d) Chap. 19.

(e) Or, Form of Faith.

(f) See the Letter in Socrates, Book 1. Chap. 8. Pag. 217. &c. of our English Version.

(g) See the Story in Theodoret's Ecclesiast. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 21. Edit. Vales.

(h) See Life of Constantine, Book 3. Chap. 59. Note

(i) This Calumny the Meletians framed, investigated by Eusebius of Nicomedia; as tells us in his Apology to Constantine: See his Works, Tom. 1. p. 778. Edit. Paris 1627.

(k) That is, sacrifice to Idols.

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Honour of Christ. There Our Eusebius graced the Solemnity, by several Sermons which he made in the Church. And when the Emperor by most sharp Letters had summon'd the Bishops to his own Court, that in his presence they might give an account of those things, which by fraud and out of hatred they had transacted against Athanasius; Our Eusebius together with five others came to Constantinople, and certified the Prince concerning all Transactions. Then also he recited his Tricennalian Oration in the Emperor's own presence, in the Palace. Where to the Emperor hearken'd with the greatest joy imaginable, not so much in respect of his own, as God's Praises, whom Eusebius has magnified throughout that whole Oration. This was the Second Oration that Eusebius spoke in the Palace, as he himself attests in his Fourth

(a) Chap. 16. (a) Book concerning the Life of Constantine. For he had before made an Oration in the Palace concerning the Sepulchre of Our Lord: which the Emperor heard standing, nor could he ever be persuaded, though he was once and again entreated by Eusebius, to sit down in the Seat set for him; saying, 'twas fit, that Discourses concerning God be heard by persons standing; as Eusebius relates in the thirty third Chapter of the same Book. Farther, how dear and acceptable Our Eusebius was to Constantine, may be known both from these Matters I have mentioned, and also from many other Circumstances: For he both frequently received Letters from him, which occur inserted in the forsaide Books. Nor was it seldom that he was sent for to the Palace, and entertained at Table, and honoured with private Discourse. Moreover, Constantine related that Vision of the Cross, which he saw in the Heaven at such time as he was making his Expedition against Maxentius, to Our Eusebius; and shew'd him the Labarum, which he had [order'd to be] made, to express the likeness of that Cross, as Eusebius himself does

(b) Life of (b) attest. And when he wanted (c) Copies of the Constant. Sacred Scriptures for the use of those Churches which he had built at Constantinople, he committed the

(c) Chap. 28. Care and Over-sight of transcribing them to Eusebius; in regard he well knew him to be most skilful in these matters. Lastly, when Our Eusebius had dedicated a (d) Book concerning the Feast of Easter to him, that Present was so acceptable to Constantine, that he ordered that Book to be forthwith translated into Latin; and by a Letter written to Eusebius entreated him, that he would as soon as possible communicate the Works of this nature which he was upon, to the Studios in Sacred Matters. About the same time Eusebius comprized a Description of the Jerusalem-Church, and of the Sacred Gifts which had been consecrated there, in a small Book, and dedicated it to the Emperor Constantine. Which Book, together with his Tricennalian Oration, he had placed at the Close of his Books concerning the Life of Constantine. But this Book is not now extant. At the same time also Five Books were written by Eusebius against Marcellus: The last three whereof De Ecclesiastica Theologia, he dedicated to Flaccillus Bishop of Antioch. Now Flaccillus entred upon that Bishoprick a little before the Synod of Tyre, which was convened in the Consulate of Constantius and Albinus, on the Year of Our Lord's Nativity 335. 'Tis certain, Eusebius (in his First Book against Marcellus De Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 14.) writes in express words, that Marcellus had been deservedly condemned by the Church. Now Marcellus was first condemned in the Constantinopolitan Synod, by those very

Bishops who had consecrated Constantine's Church at Jerusalem, that is on the Year of Christ 335, or else 336, as Baronius will have it. Indeed.

(e) Socrates acknowledges but Three Books of Eusebius's against Marcellus; those namely which are entitled De Ecclesiastica Theologia: where as nevertheless, the whole Work against Marcellus, was by Eusebius comprized in Five Books. Farther, of all Eusebius's Books, the last seem to be those Four concerning the Life of Constantine. For they were written after the Death of that Emperor, whom Eusebius did not long survive. For he died about the beginning of Constantius Augustus's Reign, a little before the Death of Constantine Junior, which hapned when Acindynus and Proculus were Consuls, on the Year of Christ 340; as may be gathered from Socrates's Second

(f) Book. Now, what Scaliger says, in his Animadversions upon Eusebius, pag. 250. of the last Edition, that Eusebius's Books against Porphyrius were written under Constantius Son to Constantine the Great, cannot so easily be admitted of by us, in regard 'tis confirmed by the Testimony of no ancient Writer. But what the same Scaliger adds in that very place, that the Three last Books of the Evangelick Demonstration, the Eighteenth namely, Nineteenth, and Twentieth, were written by Eusebius against Porphyrius; therein he does manifestly blunder. St. Jerome (g) writes indeed, that Eusebius answered Porphyrius in Three Volumes, that is, in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth; who in the Twelfth and Thirteenth of those Books which he published against the Christians, had attempted to confute the Book of the Prophet Daniel. But St. Jerome does not mean Eusebius's Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration, as Scaliger thought, but the Books he wrote against Porphyrius, which had this Title, *Ἐλέγχοι καὶ ἀπολογία*, [Books] of Confutation and Apology, as may be gather'd from Photius's Bibliotheca. Farther, I am of opinion, that these Books were written by Eusebius after his Ecclesiastick History: And this I conjecture from hence, because Our Eusebius in the Sixth (h) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, where he produces a famous Passage out of Porphyrius's Third Book against the Christians, makes no mention of those Books wherein he had answered Porphyrius: Whereas nevertheless, he is wont to be a diligent Quoter of his own Works, and does frequently refer the Studios to the reading of them. But because a fit opportunity presents it self, I have a mind to make some few Remarks here concerning his Books of Ecclesiastick History. For on their Account chiefly, all this Labour has been undertaken by us. Indeed, much hath been written by Our Eusebius for the profit and advantage of the Catholick Church, and in confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Faith; partly against the Jews, and partly against the Heathens. Nevertheless amongst all his Books, his Ecclesiastick History does deservedly bear away the Bell. For, before Eusebius, many Persons had written Books in defence of the Christian Faith, and by most cogent Reasons had confuted the Jews Contumacy, and the Error of the Heathens. But there was no person before Eusebius, who could deliver to Posterity an History of Ecclesiastick Affairs. On which account Our Eusebius is the more to be commended, who was both the first that found out this Subject; and also, after he had attempted it, left it entire and perfect in every respect. 'Tis certain, although many have been found after him, who, incited by his example, have undertaken to commit to writing Ecclesiastick Mat-

(g) In his Preface to his Comments on Daniel.

(h) Chap. 19.

ters;

ters; yet they have all begun their History from those times wherein our Eusebius had closed his Work: but the History of the foregoing times, which he had set forth in Ten Books, they have left to him entire and untouched. Wherefore, should any one have a mind to term him the Father and Founder of Ecclesiastick History, truly that person would seem to give him this surname not absurdly nor without cause. Now, what way Eusebius applied himself to this Subject, 'tis not hard to conjecture. For, whereas in the Last Part of his Chronical Canons, he had accurately noted the Time of Our Lord's Coming, and of his Passion; the Names also of the Bishops who had sat in the four chief Churches, and of the famous Men who had flourished in the Church; and lastly, in their own Time and Order had digested the Heresies and Persecutions wherewith the Church had been disquieted; He was led by the hand as 'twere, by little and little to the writing an Ecclesiastick History; that he might handle those matters more largely and copiously in his Ecclesiastick History, which in his Chronical Canons he had comprized in a Summary as 'twere. Indeed

(a) Book 1. Chap. 1. he himself, in the (a) Preface to his Ecclesiastick History, does plainly shew that which I have said. Where also he requests, that Pardon may be granted him by candid Readers, if peradventure he shall not so largely and copiously pursue and finish this Subject: For [he says,] that he was the first person who applied himself to this sort of Writing, and first began to walk in a way which had not before been worn by any one's Footsteps. But this may seem to some persons, not so much an Excuse and desire of Pardon, as an Endeavour to procure Praise and Glory. Farther, notwithstanding it appears evident from Eusebius's own Testimony, that he wrote his Ecclesiastick History after his Chronological Canons; yet 'tis strange that Both those Works proceed to one and the same Limit, namely, to Constantine's Twentieth Year, which was the Year of Christ 325. That moreover may deservedly be wondred at, that although the Nicene Synod was celebrated on Constantine's (b) Vi-

(b) Twentieth year of his Empire. cennalia, yet no mention is made of it, either in his Chronicon, or Ecclesiastick History. For, whereas in his Latin Chronicon, at the Fifteenth Year of Constantine, these words occur; Alexandrina Ecclesia 19. ordinatur Episcopus Alexander, &c. Alexander is ordained the nineteenth Bishop of the Alexandrian Church; by whom Arius the Presbyter being ejected out of that Church, joyns many to his own Impiety. To confute the Perfidiousness of which persons, a Synod of 318 Bishops being convened at Nicæa a City of Bithynia, ruin'd all the subtil Devices of the Hereticks by the opposition of [the term] HOMŌOUSIOS: 'Tis plain enough, that those words were not written by Eusebius, but were added by St. Jerome, who interpolated Eusebius's Chronicon, by inserting many Passages on his own head. For, to omit that, namely, that the mention of the Nicene Synod is here set in a foreign and disagreeable place; who can ever believe, that Eusebius would have spoken in this manner concerning Arius, or would have inserted the term HOMŌOUSIOS into his own Chronicon? Which word always displeased him, as we shall see afterwards. How should Eusebius say, that there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops present at the Nicene Synod? when in his

(c) Chap. 8. Third (c) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, he writes in most express words, that something more than two hundred and fifty sat in

that Synod. Yet I don't doubt, but the Ecclesiastick History was finish'd by Eusebius some years after the Nicene Synod. But whereas Eusebius had resolved to close his History with that Peace which after Diocletian's Persecution shone from Heaven upon the Church, as he himself attests in the beginning of his Work; he designedly avoided mentioning the Nicene Synod, lest he should be compelled to set forth the Strifes and Broils of the Bishops quarrelling one with another. For Writers of Histories ought chiefly to take care of and provide for this; that they may conclude their Work with an illustrious and glorious Close, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis has long since told us in his Comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides. Now, what more illustrious Event could be wish'd for by Eusebius, than that Repose which by Constantine had been restored to the Christians, after a most bloody Persecution; when the Persecutors being every where extinct, and last of all Licinius taken off, no fear of past Mischiefs was now left remaining? With this Peace therefore Eusebius chose to close his History, rather than with the mention of the Nicene Synod. For in that Synod the Divisions seemed not so much composed, as renewed: And that, not by the fault of the Synod itself; but by their pertinacious Obstinacy who refused to acquiesce in the most wholesome Determinations of the Sacred Council. And let thus much suffice to have been said by us in reference to the Life and Writings of Eusebius.

It remains, that we speak something concerning his Faith and Orthodoxy. And in the first place, I would have the Readers know, that they are not to expect here from us a Defence of Eusebius. For it belongs not to us to (d) pronounce concerning mat- (d) Judge, ters of this nature, in regard in these things we or give ought rather to follow the Judgment of the Church Sentence. and the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers. Wherefore we will set down some Heads only here, whereon relying as on some firm foundations, we may be able to determine with more of certainty concerning Eusebius's Faith. Whereas therefore the Opinions of the Ancients in reference to Our Eusebius are various; and some have thought, that he was a Catholick; others, an Heretick; others (e) Διλωτλον, (e) Double that is a person of a doubtful and wavering Faith; we must enquire, to which Opinion chiefly we ought to assent. 'Tis a constant Rule of the Law, in doubtful matters the more favourable and milder Opinion ought to be embraced. Besides, whereas all the Westerns, St. Jerome only excepted, have entertained honourable Sentiments concerning Our Eusebius; and whereas the Gallican Church hath enrolled him amongst the number of Saints, as may be gathered from Victorius Aquitanus, (f) Ufuardus, and others; without question 'tis (f) In his better, that we should subscribe to the Judgment of our Fathers, than to that of the Eastern Schismatics. Lastly, Whose Authority ought to be greater in this matter, than that of the Bishops of Rome? But Gelatius, in his Book De Duabus Naturis, has recounted Our Eusebius amongst the Catholick Writers, and has recited two Authorities out of his Books. Moreover, Pope Pelagius (g) terms him the most honourable amongst Histori- (g) In E- ans, and pronounces him free from all spot of Here- pist. tertia sic, notwithstanding he had highly commended here- ad Eusebium Aque- tical Origen. But some body will say, that the Judgment of the Easterns is rather to be followed, for Epit- in regard the Easterns were better able to know copos i- Eusebius, as being a Man of their own language. stric. But it may be answered, that there are not wanting some amongst the Easterns, who have thought well of

Valesius's Account concerning the Life and Writings

(c) See his Defence of him, in Book 2. Chap. 21. of Our Eusebius. Amongst whom is (c) Socrates and (d) Gelasius Cyzicenus. But, if the Judgment of the Seventh Oecumenial Synod be opposed against us, Our Answer is in readiness. For, Eusebius's Faith was not the Subject of that Synod's Debate, but the Worship of Images. In order to the overthrowing whereof, when the Adversaries a little before convened in the Imperial City, had produced an Evidence out of Eusebius's Letter to Constantia, and laid the greatest stress thereon; the Fathers of the Seventh Synod, that they might lessen the Authority of this Evidence, cry'd out, that Eusebius was an Arian. But they did this by the by only, from the Occasion and Hatred of that Letter; not designedly, or after a Cognizance of the Cause. They do indeed produce some Passages out of Eusebius, whereby they would prove, that he adhered to the Arian Opinion. But they make no difference between Eusebius's Books before the Nicene Council, and those he wrote after that Council; which nevertheless ought by all means to be done, to the end a certain and just Sentence might be pronounced concerning Eusebius's Faith. For, whatever he wrote before the Nicene Synod, ought not to be objected and charged as a Fault upon Eusebius. Farther, Eusebius's Letter to Alexander, wherein he intercedes with him for Arius, was doubtless written before the Nicene Synod. Therefore, that Testimony of the Fathers of the Seventh Synod against Eusebius, although it has the greatest Authority, yet seems to us a rash Judgment, before the Matter was heard, rather than a Synodal Sentence. But the Greeks may have leave to think thus concerning Our Eusebius, and to call him a Borderer upon the Arian Heresie, or even an Arian. But who can with patience bear St. Jerome, who not content to term him Heretick and Arian, does frequently stile him a Ring-leader of the Arians? Can he be justly termed a Ring-leader of the Arians, who after the Nicene Synod always condemned the Opinion of the Arians? Let his Books De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ be perused, which he wrote against Marcellus long after the Nicene Council. We shall find what I have said, that they were condemn'd by him, who would affirm, that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not. Athanasius does likewise attest the same thing concerning Eusebius, in his Letter about the Decrees of the Nicene Synod, in these words: Καὶ πέπονθέ τι δεινόν. ὡς ὁ ἀπολοῦμενος, &c. And truly he was unhappy in that: For, to the end he might clear himself, he in future accused the Arians, because when they would maintain that the Son [of God] existed not before He was begotten, by this means they might deny Him to have existed before His Incarnation. And this is the Testimony which Athanasius gives Eusebius, who bore Eusebius a private Grudge. But St. Jerome, who had no Reasons of Hatred against Eusebius, yea, who had profited so much from his Writings; who had rendred his Chronical Canon, and his Book De Locis Hebraicis into Latin; yet brands Eusebius with this Reproach, which even his most malicious Enemies never fastned on him. The Reason of which thing I am not able to find out, unless it be, that St. Jerome, having conceived an Hatred against Origen, beyond measure persecuted

all the Defenders of his Opinions, and especially Our Eusebius. It must indeed be confest, that Our Eusebius (altho' he can't deservedly be term'd a Ring-leader of the Arians, yet) after the Nicene Synod was perpetually conversant with the Chiefs of the Arians, and together with them opposed the Catholick Bishops, Eustathius namely, and Athanasius, the principal Maintainers of H O M O O U S I O S. That also seems worthy of Reprehension in Eusebius, that altho' he always asserted the Eternity of the Son of God against the Arians, yet never heartily approved of the word H O M O O U S I O S. 'Tis certain, he has never made use of that Term, either in his Books against Marcellus, or in his Orations concerning the Faith against Sabellius: Yea, in his Second Book against Sabellius, he does plainly intimate, that that Word, in regard it occurs not in the Scriptures, is displeasing to him. For thus he says: Sicut ergo de his quæ possunt quæri, inertium est non quærere, &c. As therefore concerning those Matters which may be search'd into, 'tis Sluggishness not to enquire: So, in reference to them which there is no necessity of searching into, 'tis boldness to enquire. What things then ought to be searched into? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But, what we don't find in the Scriptures, let us not search after. For, were it behoveable that they should be known to us, doubtless the Holy Spirit would have placed them in the Scriptures. And a little after he has these words: Let us not in such a manner expose our selves to danger, but let us speak safely. But if any thing be written, let it not be blotted out. And in the end of his Oration he expresses himself in this manner: Speak what is written, and the Controversie will be ended. In which words Eusebius, no doubt, touches upon the term H O M O O U S I O S. But now, if you please, let us hear the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning Eusebius: Wherein this is chiefly to be remark'd, altho' the Judgments of Men concerning Our Eusebius have been various, in reference to the Purity of the Ecclesiastick Opinions; yet all do unanimously give him the Commendation of most profound Learning. One only Person, Joseph Scaliger, has lived in our Father's Memory; who, hurried on with a rash Boldness and Lust of Reproaching, has endeavour'd to deprive Eusebius of this Glory of his Learning, which even his Adversaries never envied him. His (d) Words, if (d) See any one be desirous of knowing them, we have Scaliger's placed amongst the Testimonies of the Ancients; Elench. not that we have any great value for his Judgment, in this Particular especially; but with this and Book Design rather, that his unreasonable Detraction might be exposed to publick view. Who having resolved to write Comments on Eusebius's Chronical Canon, in the very Entrance of that Work re- about the proves St. Jerome, because he hath termed Eusebius a most Learned Man. And at first I had indeed determin'd, to have reason'd at large against Scaliger, and to have confuted his Opinion by a more copious Answer. But in regard that Matter requires a greater Leisure, and would peradventure be tedious to the Readers, it will be more opportunely deferr'd to another time.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

in Reference to the
GEOGRAPHICAL PART
OF THE

Ecclesiastical Histories

OF

EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES, and EVAGRIUS,

And to the MAPPS thereunto adjoin'd.

FOR the better understanding the *Geographical* Part of the Ecclesiastical Histories here with publish'd, it may be of use, at least to such as have but little insight into Geography, to make the following Observations.

I. That it is very usual to have the Names of Places somewhat *varied* by various Authors, and that especially as to their Termination. Hence we find the same Place by some termed *Cyzicus*, by others *Cyzicum*; so *Astacus* and *Astacum*; *Mopsucrene* and *Mopsucrenæ*; *Arca* or *Arce*, and *Arcaæ*. And so in other Syllables besides the last, *Sardica* and *Serdica*; *Emesa* and *Emisa*; *Cyrus*, *Cyrrus*, and *Cyrrhus*, &c. And hither may be referr'd the different rend'ring of the same Word: For instance, the City, where the first General Council was held, is sometimes render'd in *English* (literally agreeable to the *Greek*) *Nicaa*, sometimes more short *Nice*; so *Antiochia* and *Antioch*, *Thracia* and *Thrace*, &c. The same *Greek* Word is also differently render'd as to spelling, *viz.* *Sardes* and *Sardis*; *Laodicea* and *Laodiceæ*; *Apamea*, *Apameæ*, and *Apamia*, &c. From this Observation the Reader may easily infer, that he is not to look on Words, that are thus a little varied, to denote presently so many various Places; and consequently is not to expect all these Variations in the Mapps hereunto belonging.

II. Names of Places are frequently *corrupted*, or falsly written, through the Ignorance, or at least Heedlessness of Transcribers. Here are not wanting Footsteps of it in these Histories. To instance but in one place, *Chap. 25. B. 3.* of *Socrates's* History, where we find mention made of the Bishop of *Zenæ*, corruptly for *Zela*; of the Bishop of *Sippi*, corruptly for *Hippi*, as *Valesius* has observ'd; and of the Bishop of *Antros* for *Adra*, as *Valesius* conjectures; and of *Εὐαγγελίου Σικελός*, or as some Copies have it, *Σικελῶν*, which Reading *Valesius* prefers, and saith, that *Siculi* is the name of a City in the East, Concerning which (adds he) *I have yet met with nothing*. Now if it seems not so probable, that *Ἀντρος* (as it is in the *Greek*) should be writ for *Ἀδρῶν* or *Ἀδρηνός*, as *Valesius* conjectures; what if it should be supposed to be rather written for *Ἀνὰρ*, the Mistake being but little, and so easie; and we have not only such a Town as *Ἀναρ* mention'd by *Ptolemy* in *Galatia*, but we there find it also writ *Andrus*, or *Antrus*; and placed not far from *Ancyra*, the Bishop whereof is mention'd in the same place, and on the same account by *Socrates*. And as to *Εὐάγγελιον Σικελός*, 'tis certain, that sometimes the Western Bishops were upon some occasion or other in the Eastern Parts, and therefore *Σικελός* may possibly be not only the common, but truest Reading, and denote that the said *Evagrius* was a *Sicilian* Bishop. And supposing *Σικελῶν* to be the true Reading, the same Interpretation may hold, as may be prov'd. But if we will with *Valesius* rather suppose *Σικελός* or *Σικελῶν*, to denote here some City in the East; then perhaps we may meet with something concerning it, when we find in *Ptolemy*, a City on the *Euphrates*, call'd *Κικιλία*; and we may suppose the Original Reading in *Socrates*, to have been *Κικιλός* or *Κικελός*, or *Κικιλῶν* or *Κικελῶν* from which *Σικελός* or *Σικελός* (or *Σικελῶν* or *Σικελῶν*) is an easie change. And

this Conjecture is made the more probable, because there are here mention'd by *Socrates* the Bishops of *Samofata* and *Urima*, both which lay likewise on the same River, somewhat above *Cecilia* or *Cicelia*. To this corruption of Names, or else to the variation of Names observed under the first Head, ought to be referr'd (as I am inclin'd to think) the words *Avares*, or *Abares*, or *Abari*, or *Abasgi*; which may not improbably have been the same People; and I find others of this Opinion. For which reason *Abasgi* is not mention'd in the Maps, but only *Abares*.

III. The Names of Countries are, many or most of them, taken in different Senses, according to the several Divisions made at several times. Thus *Illyricum*, which once denoted only a Province lying on the East of the *Adriatick* Gulf, came in time to denote many and large Provinces. Hence the Reader is not to wonder, if he finds *Sirmium* sometimes reckon'd a City of *Pannonia*, sometimes of *Illyricum*; *Sardica* or *Serdica*, sometimes stiled a City of *Thrace*, sometimes also of *Illyricum*; namely, because *Illyricum* in its largest acceptation included all *Pannonia*, and that part of *Thrace*, wherein *Sardica* stood. On the contrary, *Syria*, which most anciently denoted all that Tract, which lay from the River *Euphrates* to *Egypt*, between *Arabia Deserta* Eastward, and the *Mediterranean* Sea Westward, came afterwards to be restrained simply and properly only to a small part of it, namely about *Antioch*. Hence what is stiled by one Writer simply *Palestine*, by another is stiled *Syria-Palestine*; and the same City is reckon'd by one, as appertaining to *Phoenicia-Libanensis*, by another to *Caelesyria*, or as it is sometimes placed *Syria-Cae*, by a third, a City of *Syria* in general, &c. Now to have taken notice of all this variety of Divisions in the Maps, would only have perplexed them, and so render'd them less useful. Therefore in them I have set down only such Divisions, as are generally made use of by the Ecclesiastical Writers. The others may be best learnt from the *Notitia*, which is (I think) intended to be publish'd with these Histories; and also from the Division of the *Roman Empire*, made by *Constantine the Great*; part whereof is to be seen in *Valesius's* Notes, p. 332. 2. But because the Knowledge of that Division is of good use to the understanding Ecclesiastical Affairs, therefore I shall here give it the Reader all together in one view, so far forth as seems requisite for him to know.

The *Roman Empire* was divided by *Constantine the Great* into Four General Parts, two whereof made up afterwards the *Western Empire*, the other two, the *Eastern*, viz.

THE WESTERN Empire.

(1.) The Praefecture or Government of the Praefectus Praetorio Italiae, distinguished into three Dioceſes, viz.	The Dioceſe of Italy, or Italian Dioceſe, comprehending	All Italy, the Isles Sicily, Sardinia, & Corsica, the two Rhetia's, Prima & Secunda.
	The Dioceſe of Illyricum, comprehending	Noricum Ripense & Mediterraneum, Pannonia Prima & Secunda, Valeria, Savia, Dalmatia, & Liburnia.
	The Dioceſe of Africk, including	Africk Proper, Numidia, Byzacium, Tripolitana, Mauritania Sitifensis & Caſariensis.
(2.) The Praefecture of the Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum, distinguished into three Dioceſes, viz.	The Gallican Dioceſe, containing	All Old Gaul, with the Alpes, Graiae & Maritima.
	The Spanish Dioceſe, containing	All Old Spain, with the Insulae Baleares, i. e. Majorca, Minorca, & Mauritania Tingitana.
	The Britannick Dioceſe, including	All Britain, that was under the Roman Government.

The EASTERN Empire.

(3.) The Praefecture of the Praefectus Praetorio Orientis, distinguish'd into five Dioceſes, viz.	The Asian Dioceſe, comprehending	Asia Proper, the Hellespontick Province with the Isles, Phrygia Pacatiana & Salutaris, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycania.
	The Pontick Dioceſe, including	Bitthynia, Honorius, Paphlagonia, * Galatia, Galatia Salutaris, Hellespontus, Pontus Polemoniacus, Cappadocia Prima & Secunda, Armenia Prima & Secunda.
	The Dioceſe of the East, comprehending	Cilicia Prima & Secunda, Isauria, Syria Proper, Comagena or Euphratensis; Syria Salutaris; Phoenice Maritima, & Libanensis; Palestina Prima, Secunda, & Salutaris; Osroene, or Osdroene, Mesopotamia, Arabia Petraea, the Isle Cyprus.
	The Dioceſe of Egypt, containing	Egypt Proper, Augustamnica, Arcadia, Thebais, Libya Superior & Inferior.
	The Dioceſe of Thrace, containing	Europa, Thracia Proper, Haemi-mons, Rhodope, Maesia Secunda, Scythia Proper.

* This seems to be the same, that in the Ecclesiastical Histories is call'd *Galatia the Less*, whereof *Ancyra* was the Capital City. (4.) The

(4.) The Præfecture of the Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici, distinguish'd into two Dioceses, viz.	{	The Dacian Diocese, containing	{	Mæsia Prima, Dacia Ripensis & Mediterra- nea, Dardania, Prævalitana, and Part of Macedonia Salutaris.
		The Diocese of Macedonia, including		Achaia, Macedonia Parva or Proper, Thes- saly, Crete Isle, Epirus Vetus or Inferior, Epirus Nova or Superior, and the other part of Macedonia Salutaris.

It is to be observ'd, that before the Division of the Roman Empire between *Honorius* and *Arca-
dus*, to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici* did also belong the *Illyrican Diocese*, which
was afterwards taken from this Præfect, and added to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio
Italiae*, as is above-mention'd.

IV. From the foregoing Division may be easily learn'd the Reason, why in the Ecclesiastical
Histories, mention is sometimes made of *Mauritania*, *Libya*, *Africa*, and so of *Britannia*, *Gallia*,
and *Spania*, &c. in the singular; sometimes of the *Mauritania's*, *Libya's*, *Africa's*, and so of the
Britannia's, *Gallia's*, *Hispania's*, &c. in the Plural. Namely, Both ways of speaking amount to
the same, the former having a respect to the whole Countries consider'd together, as denoted
by their general Names; the latter having respect to the said Countries, as distinguished into se-
veral Divisions or Parts, by some Epithet added to the general Name for distinction-sake; thus
we find in the foregoing Division of the Empire, three *Mauritania's*, viz. *Tingitana*, *Cæsariensis*,
and *Sitifensis*; two *Libya's*, viz. *Superior*, and *Inferior*, &c. And so Britain was divided into *Br-
itannia Prima*, *Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Valentia*: *Gallia* into (G) *Lugd-
unensis Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, and *Quarta*; *Aquitania Prima*, and *Secunda* mention'd by *Socrates*, &c.
And here it may be of use to note, that altho' *Gallia* be sometimes translated *France*, and *Hispa-
nia* sometimes *Spain*; yet neither does *Present France* include all *Gallia* or *Old Gaul*; nor *Present
Spain* include all *Hispania* or *Old Spain*.

V. It is to be observed, that the same Division has sometimes several Names, whereof one is
used by one Writer, another by Another, accordingly as the use of this or that Name prevail'd
in the time wherein that Writer liv'd. Thus *Libya Superior* and *Inferior*, mention'd above in the *Egyp-
tian Diocese*, are sometimes stiled *Cyrenaica*, and *Marmarica*; and *Cyrenaica* again is otherwise
stiled *Pentapolis* or *Libya Pentapolitana*. And hence it is, that in reckoning up the Parts of a Coun-
try, we often find them differently expressed.

VI. I am inclin'd to think, that the Title of the 12th Chapter of *Eusebius's* Second Book is
somewhat corrupted. It stands at present thus, *περὶ Ἑλένης τῆς τῶν Ὀστρονῶν βασιλίδος*, whereas I
am apt to think, that either *Ὀστρονῶν* is a corrupt reading for *Ἀδιαβυρῶν*; or else that the Original
reading was only *περὶ Ἑλένης τῆς βασιλίδος*, and that *τῶν Ὀστρονῶν* being added (as was intended,
though erroneously) by way of Explication in some Copy, crept at length into the Body of
the Title. We find this same Person in the beginning of the Chapter stiled simply *ἡ βασιλισσα
Ἑλένη*; and at the very close of the Chapter we are told, that *τῇ Ἀδιαβυρῶν ἐθὺς εὐὴν βαλεῦσαι ἐλέγητο*.
And so she is all along stiled *Queen of Adiabene* by *Iosephus* the Historian. But *Adiabene*, or *Osro-
ene* were not the same Countries, but different.

VII. Whereas, on that Passage of *Socrates* B. 7. Chap. 22.—*When the Bishop of Chebron had ended
his Life*,——*Valesius* makes this Remark, *This City, and the Name of this Bishop, are equally unknown
to me*: I am not aware at present of any thing, that hinders us from taking this City to be no
other, than the City *Hebron* in *Palestine*, or the *Holy Land*, so famous in the History of the Old
Testament. Sure I am, that this City is writ both by the LXX Interpreters, and by *Iosephus*
Χεβρόν, just as it is here in the Greek of *Socrates*, excepting that the Accent is different, which is
of no great moment, since a Mistake therein is so very easie. To confirm this Opinion, sever-
al Considerations might be offer'd, was it needful.

VIII. Whereas *Socrates*, B. 2. Chap. 37. relates, that the *Urfacians* left Italy, went into the
Eastern Parts, and arrived at a City of Thrace, the Name whereof was *Nice*, where they published a
Creed;——their Design being to impose on the simpler sort of People by the likeness of the Cities name, name-
ly to *Nice* in *Bithynia*: Neither *Ptolemy*, nor any of the *Notitia's*, or other Geographical Books
by me, mention any such City in Thrace. In the *Peutingerian Tables*, there is indeed a *Nicea* or
Nice, placed between *Larissa* and *Thessalonica*, and so in the Road from Italy to Thrace, but then 'tis
an Error in *Socrates* to place it in Thrace, when it lay in Macedonia, West of *Thessalonica*. If the
City meant was not this, but did lie in Thrace, then perhaps it was no other than *Nicopolis*, sur-
nam'd *ad Nesum*, which lay much in the same Road, and which is a Compound, denoting much
the same as *Nicaia πόλις* or the City *Nicea* or *Nice* distinctly. And such Persons, as would go
about to impose on the simpler sort of People, by the likeness of Names, would not stick at making
use of such a Quibble, as to denote *Nicopolis* by the City *Nice*.

And

4 *Observations referring to the Geographical Part, &c.*

And thus I have made such Observations, as occur'd to me, whilst I was drawing up the Maps, and seem useful to such Readers, as are less vers'd in the Study of Geography. I shall conclude, by taking this Opportunity to offer to the Judicious one Consideration, *viz.* Whether since Geography does so much depend on the Revolutions of Governments; and the several Divisions of Countries, that have been made thereupon, through the several Ages of the World; the most proper way to bring Geography to such Perfection, as it is capable of, would not be this; namely, *To begin with the most Ancient Authors or Writers, and from them to gather (as far forth as may be) the State of Geography in their times, then to descend to the Writers of the next Age or Ages, and by comparing these with the other, to learn what Changes had been made in Geography, during that Interval; and so to compile a Body of Geography, the several Sections whereof should treat of, and by proper Maps represent the several Faces of Geography, according to the several succeeding Ages of the World.* This, I conceive, to be as proper a Method as any can be taken, not only to perfect Geography, as far as may be; but also to convey to the Studious an *easie*, and withal *distinct* and *clear* Notion of it. Besides which, there will also arise another very considerable Advantage from such a Work, when drawn up; I mean this, That whatever Historian a Man shall take in hand, he need but be inform'd, *in* what Age, or *of* what Age the Historian wrote, and then by having recourse to that Section of the foremention'd *Body or System of Geography*, which appertains to that Time, he may thereby be presently taught to understand the Geographical Part of the History he is reading. 'Tis obvious, that such a Work would require not only a great deal of *Pains* and *Time*, but also a great deal of *Somewhat Else*, absolutely necessary to furnish the Compiler with those many and chargeable Materials, that are requisite for him to have. And 'tis as obvious, that the Considerations to be expected from a *Bookseller*, will not amount to a sufficient Encouragement for such an Undertaking. And hence it comes to pass, that as History is esteem'd a most useful part of Learning, and Geography one of the *Eyes* of History, without which he that reads any History, must be necessarily much *in the Dark*; so any King that has been so happy as to consult both his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, by becoming a *Promoter of Learning*, hath hereupon judg'd it requisite, among his other Pensioners of Learning, to have also a *Régius Geographus*. And I need not stand to acquaint the Learned, what Service has been done by such to Geography, and so to Learning in general.

Colesbach, May 5.
1709.

E. W E L L S.

ORDO PRÆSIDENTIÆ

Sanctissimorum Patriarcharum :

1. Romanus. 2. Constantinopolitanus. 3. Alexandrinus. 4. Antiochenus. 5. Æliensis five Hierosolymitanus.

Ordo Præsidentiae Metropolitanorum, & Autocephalorum, & Episcoporum, sub Apostolico Throno à Deo custoditæ, hujus & Imperialis Urbis (Constantinopoleos) agentium.

Provincia Cappadociæ.
 Provinc. Asiæ.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. Galatiæ.
 Provinc. Hellesponti.
 Provinc. Lydiæ.
 Provinc. Bithyniæ.
 Provinc. ejusdem.
 Provinc. ejusdem.
 Provinc. Pamphylia.
 Provinc. Armeniæ.
 Provinc. Elenoponti.
 Provinc. Armeniæ.
 Provinc. Cappadociæ.
 Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.
 Provinc. Honoriadis.
 Provinc. ponti Polemoniæ.
 Provinc. Galatiæ.
 Provinc. Lyciæ.
 Provinc. Cariæ.
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Cappatiana.
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Salutaris.
 Provinc. Lycaoniæ.
 Provinc. Pisidiæ.
 Provinc. Pamphylia.
 Provinc. Cappadociæ.
 Provinc. Lazicæ.
 Provinc. Thraciæ.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.
 Provinc. Insularum Cycladum.
 Provinc. Æmimonti.
 Provinc. ejusdem.
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Pacatiana.

Metropolitanus Cæsareæ.
 Met. Ephesi.
 Met. Heracleæ Thraciæ.
 Met. Ancyra.
 Met. Cyzici.
 Met. Sardium.
 Met. Nicomediæ.
 Met. Nicææ.
 Met. Chalcedonis.
 Met. Sidæ.
 Met. Sebastææ.
 Met. Amasææ.
 Met. Melitina.
 Met. Tyanorum, five Christopolis.
 Met. Gangrorum.
 Met. Claudiopoli.
 Met. Neocæsareæ.
 Met. Pissenuntis, five Justinianopolis.
 Met. Myrorum.
 Met. Stauropolis.
 Met. Laodicææ.
 Met. Synadorum.
 Met. Iconii.
 Met. Antiochiæ.
 Met. Pergæ, five Sylæi.
 Met. Moceffi.
 Met. Phasidis.
 Met. Philippopolis.
 Met. Trajanopolis.
 Met. Rhodi.
 Met. Adrianopolis.
 Met. Martianopolis.
 Met. Hierapolis.

Hætenus Metropolitæ. Hic porrò incipiunt Autocephali.

Provinc. Myfiæ.
 Provinc. Scythiæ.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.
 Provinc. Asiæ.
 Provinc. Ifauriæ.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.

Autocephalus Odyssi.
 Aut. Tomes.
 Aut. Bizyæ.
 Aut. Pompeiopolis.
 Aut. Smyrnæ.
 Aut. Leontopolis.
 Aut. Maronææ.

B

Provinc.

Provincia Bithyniæ.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.
 Provinc. Galatiæ.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. Thraciæ.
 Provinc. insul. Lesbi.
 Provinc. Hellepontii.
 Provinc. Cariæ.
 Provinc. Thraciæ.
 Provinc. Insulæ.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. insul. Lesbi.
 Provinc. Bithyniæ.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.
 Provinc. Zicchiæ.
 Provinc. ejusdem.
 Provinc. ejusdem.
 Provinc. Isauriæ.
 Provinc. Eleoponti. C. F. Hellenoponti.
 Provinc. insular. Cycladum.
 Provinc. Rhodopes.
 Provinc. Europæ.
 Provinc. Hemimonti.
 Provinc. Armeniæ.
 Provinc. Abasgiæ.
 Provinc. ponti Polemoniæ.
 Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.
 Provinc. Lycaoniæ.
 Provinc. Pisidiæ.
 Provinc. Maris Ægei.
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Salutaris.
 Provinc. Pamphylæ.

Autocephalus Apameæ.
 Aut. Maximianopolis.
 Aut. Germiorum.
 Aut. Arcadiopolis.
 Aut. Betoæ.
 Aut. Mitylenes.
 Aut. Parij.
 Aut. Meliti.
 Aut. Nicopolis.
 Aut. Præconesi.
 Aut. Anchiali.
 Aut. Selymbriæ.
 Aut. Methymnes.
 Aut. Cij.
 Aut. Apri.
 Aut. Cypsæorum.
 Aut. Chersonis.
 Aut. Bospororum.
 Aut. Nicopsis.
 Aut. Cotrudorum.
 Aut. Euchetarum.
 Aut. Carpathi.
 Aut. Æni.
 Aut. Driziparorum, sive Mefenæ.
 Aut. Mesebriæ.
 Aut. Heracliopolis, sive Phylacthæ.
 Aut. Sebastopolis.
 Aut. Trapezuntis.
 Aut. Amastridis.
 Aut. Mithiorum.
 Aut. Neapolis.
 Aut. Ægenæ.
 Aut. Cotyæij.
 Aut. Selgæ.

Provincia Cappadociæ.

Episcopus.	Episcopus.
1 Cæsareæ.	2 Basilicarum thermarum.
3 Nyfæ.	4 Methodiopolis Arme-
5 Camulianorum.	6 Cisciffi. [niæ]

Provincia Asia.

1 Ephesi.	2 Hypeporum. [drum.
3 Trallium.	4 Magnesiæ propè Mæan-
5 Eleæ.	6 Adramyti.
7 Assi.	8 Gargarorum.
9 Mastaurorum.	10 Caloes.
11 Bryullorum.	12 Pittamnes.
13 Myrines.	14 Phocia.
15 Aurillopolis.	16 Nisæ.
17 Maschacomæ.	18 Metropolis.
19 Baretorum.	20 Magnesiæ.
21 Aninatum.	22 Pergami.
23 Aneorum.	24 Prienes.
25 Arcadiopolis.	26 Novæ Aulæ.
27 Templi Jovis.	28 Augazorum.
29 Sion.	30 Colophones.
31 Levedi.	32 Tei.
33 Erythrarum.	34 Clazomenarum.
35 Attadrorum.	36 Theodosiopol. sive Pe-
37 Cymæ.	38 Palæopolis. [perinæ.

Provincia Europa.

1 Haraclea Thraciæ.	2 Panij.
3 Callipolis.	4 Cherronesi.
5 Cylæ.	6 Radefti.

Provincia Galatiæ.

1 Ancyra.	2 Tabiæ.
3 Eliopolis.	4 Asponæ.
5 Berinopolis.	6 Mizzi.
7 Cinæ.	8. Anastasiopolis.

Provincia Hellepontii.

1 Cyzici.	2 Germes.
3 Pamanij.	4 Oces.
5 Barcos.	6 Adrianotherarum.
7 Lampfaci.	8 Abydi.
9 Dardani.	10 Ilij.
11 Troadis.	12 Pæonia.
13 Melitopolis.	

Provincia Lydia.

1 Sardium.	2 Philadelphia.
3 Triopolis.	4 Thyatirorum.
5 Settorum.	6 Aurilliapolis.
7 Gordorum.	8 Troallogum.
9 Salorum.	10 Silandi.
11 Mæonia.	12 Fani Apollinis.
13 Hyrcanidis.	14 Mustinæ.
15 Arcasti.	16 Apolloniadis.
17 Attaliæ.	18 Bagæ.
19 Balandi.	20 Mesotymoli.
21 Hierocæsareæ.	22 Dallæ.
23 Stratoniceæ.	24 Cerafeorum.
25 Sattalorum.	26 Gabalorum.
27 Hermocapeliæ.	

Provincia Bithyniæ.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Nicomediæ. | 2 Prusæ five Theopolis. |
| 3 Præneti. | 4 Elenopolis. |
| 5 Bisilinopolis. | 6 Dascylii. |
| 7 Apolloniadis. | 8 Adrianarum. |
| 9 Cæsareæ. | 10 Galli, five Lophorum. |
| 11 Daphnusiæ. | 12 Eristes. |

Provinciae ejusdem.

Nicæa Mysiæ in Bithynia Civitas à Lyfimacho ad paludem Ascaniam condita est. Prius Helicore dicta fuit; & à Græcis in admiratione habita propter fortitudinem & fælicitatem. Cùm fraude autem à Mysis capta esset, & viri partim deleti sunt, partim aufugerunt, & vicinas civitates inhabitârunt, & regio ipsorum penitus everfa est. Verùm post Alexandri obitum à Lyfimacho condita est, & Nicæa nominata, de nomine Antipatri filiæ. Hac oriundus est Stoicus Philosophus Apollo, Apollonij, qui Dardano successit, Discipulus: Item Lycon & Lycander Stoici similiter Philosophi: Nec non Hierax & Ilidorus, insignes Grammatici.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Nicæa. | 2 Modrinæ, five Meli- |
| 3 Linoes. | 4 Taij. [norum. |
| 5 Gerdufervarum. | 6 Numericarum. |
| 7 Maximianarum. | |

Provincia Pamphylia.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Sidæ. | 2 Aspendi. |
| 3 Ettenæ. | 4 Onemnæ. |
| 5 Cafforum. | 6 Semneorum. |
| 7 Coralliorum. | 8 Coracissij. [anopolis. |
| 9 Syethrorum. | 10 Mylones, five Justinianopolis. |
| 11 Anamandorum. | 12 Dalisandi. |
| 13 Isborum. | 14 Lybræ. |
| 15 Colybraffi. | 16 Manæorum. |

Provincia Armenia.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1 Sebastææ. | 2 Sebastopolis. |
| 3 Nicopolis. | 4 Satalorum. |
| 5 Coloniae. | 6 Beriffes. |

Provincia Elenoponti.

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Amaseæ. | 2 Amiffi. |
| 3 Sinopæ. | 4 Ibororum. |
| 5 Androporum. | 6 Zalichi, five Leontopolis. |
| 7 Zelorum. | |

Provincia Armenia.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1 Melitinæ. | 2 Arcæ. |
| 3 Cucusi. | 4 Arabiffi. |
| 5 Ariarathes. | 6 Ceomanarum. |

Provincia Cappadocia.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Tyanorum, five Chrysiopolis. | 2 Cybistrorum. |
| 3 Faustianopolis. | 4 Sasimorum. |

Provincia Paphlagonia.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1 Gangrarum. | 2 Junopolis. |
| 3 Dadybrorum. | 4 Sorarum. |

Provincia Honoriadis.

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 Claudiapolis. | 2 Heracleæ Ponticæ. |
| 3 Prusiadis. | 4 Tij. |
| 5. Crateæ. | 6 Adrianopolis. |

Provincia Polemoniæ.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 Neocæsareæ. | 2 Trapezuntium. |
| 3 Cerofantium. | 4 Polemonij. |
| 5 Camanorum. | |

Provincia Galatiæ.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1 Pisinuntium. | 2 Mericij. |
| 3 Eudoxiadis. | 4 Pitanniffi. |
| 5 Trocnadorum. [polis. | 6 Germocoloniae. |
| 7 Spaleæ, five Justiniano- | 8 Orcifti. |

Provincia Lyciæ.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Myrorum. | 2 Mastærorum. |
| 3 Telmesi. | 4 Limyrorum. |
| 5 Araxes. | 6 Aprillorum. |
| 7 Tatlorum. | 8 Arneorum. |
| 9 Sidymorum. | 10 Zenopolis. |
| 11 Olympi. | 12 Orlorum. |
| 13 Corydalorum. | 14 Canni. |
| 15 Xanthi. | 16 Acrassi. [pol. |
| 17 Marcianes. | 18 Bobi, five Sophiano- |
| 19 Comatis. | 20 Onundorum. |
| 21 Phelli. | 22 Candanorum. |
| 23 Phaslidis. | 24 Antiphelli. |
| 25 Acaliffi. | 26 Rhodiapolis. |
| 27 Acandorum. | 28 Lebiffi. |
| 29 Eudociadis. | 30 Paliotarum. |
| 31 Comborum. | 32 Patarorum. |
| 33 Barburorum. | 34 Nefforum. |
| 35 Cianeorum. | 36 Melatorum. |

Provincia Caria.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Stauropolis. | 2 Cibræ. |
| 3 Sizorium. | 4 Heracleæ Syalabicæ. |
| 5 Apolloniadis. | 6 Heracleæ. |
| 7 Lacymorum. | 8 Taborum. |
| 9 Larborum. | 10 Antiochiæ Mæandri. |
| 11 Tapassarum. | 12 Harpassarum. |
| 13 Neapolis. | 14 Orthysiadis. |
| 15 Anotetartæ. | 16 Allabandorum. |
| 17 Stratoniceæ. | 18 Alindorum. |
| 19 Mylassarum. | 20 Mezo. |
| 21 Jaffi. | 22 Barbillij. |
| 23 Alicarnaffi. | 24 Hylarimorum. |
| 25 Cindorum. | 26 Metaborum. |
| 27 Mondi. | 28 Hierî, seu Templi. |
| 29 Cindramorum. | 30 Ceramorum. |
| 31 Promiffi. | |

Provincia Phrygia Cappatiani.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Laodiceæ. | 2 Tiberiopolis. |
| 3 Azanorum. | 4 Ancyrosynai. |
| 5 Peltorum. | 6 Appiæ. |
| 7 Acadorum. | 8 Icriorum. |
| 9 Iluzorum. | 10 Tranopolis. |
| 11 Sebastæ. | 12 Eumeniæ. [ni vici. |
| 13 Timeni therarum. | 14 Agathæ come, i.e. bo- |
| 15 Alinorum. | 16 Tripolis. |
| 17 Attanaffi. | 18 Trapezopolis. |
| 19 Sibliæ. | |

Provincia

Provincia Phrygiæ Salutaris.

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1 Synadorum. | 2 Doryllæi. |
| 3 Nacoleæ. | 4 Medæi. |
| 5 Hipfi. | 6 Promiffi. |
| 7 Meri. | 8 Sibindi. |
| 9 Phytia. | 10 Hierapolis. |
| 11 Eucarpia. | 12 Lysiadis. |
| 13 Augustopolis. | 14 Bryzi. |
| 15 Otri. | 16 Lycaonis. |
| 17 Stectorij. | 18 Cinaborij. |
| 19 Cone. | 20 Scordapia. |
| 21 Nicopolis. | Æroclorum. |

Provincia Lycaonia.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Iconij. | 2 Lyftorum. |
| 3 Vafadorum. | 4 Ambadorum. |
| 5 Vomanodorum. | 6 Larandorum. |
| 7 Beretæ. | 8 Derbæ. |
| 9 Hydæ. | 10 Savatrorum. |
| 11 Cani. [dociadis. | 12 Berinopolis. |
| 13 Galbanorum, five Eu- | 14 Iliftorum. |
| 15 Pertorum. | |

Provincia Pisidia.

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Antiochia. | 2 Sagalaffi. |
| 3 Sozopolis. | 4 Apameæ. |
| 5 Cibi. | 6 Tyræni. |
| 7 Bareos. | 8 Adrianopolis. |
| 9 Limemorum. | 10 Laodicææ combuftæ. |
| 11 Seleuciæ ferreæ. | 12 Adadorum. |
| 13 Zarzelorum. | 14 Timbriadum. |
| 15 Tymandi. | 16 Conanes. |
| 17 Mali. | 18 Siniandi. |
| 19 Tytiaffi. | 20 Metropolis. |
| 21 Papporum. | 22 Parallæ, five Paralla. |
| 23 Mindevi. | |

Provincia Pamphylia.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1 Pergæ, five Syllæi. | 2 Attaliæ. |
| 3 Magydi. | 4 Endociadis. |
| 5 Telimifi. | 6 Ifindi. |
| 7 Maximianopolis. | 8 Laginorum. |
| 9 Palæopolis. | 10 Cremni. |
| 11 Corydalorum. | 12 Peltiniſſi. |
| 13 Dicytanæorum. | 14 Ariaſſi. |
| 15 Puglorum. | 16 Adrianes. |
| 17 Sandidorum. | 18 Barbæ. |
| 19 Perbænorum. | 20 Coi. |

Provincia Cappadocia.

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1 Moceſſi. | 2 Nazianzi. |
| 3 Colonia. | 4 Parnaſſi. |
| 5 Doarorum. | |

Provincia Lazica.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Phafidis. | 2 Rhodopolis. |
| 3 Eccleſiæ Abyſſenorum. | 4 Petrorum. |
| 5 Eccleſiæ Ziganeorum. | |

Provincia Thracia.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Philippopolis. | 2 Diocletianopolis. |
| 3 Dioſpolis. | |

Provincia Inſularum Cycladum.

- | | |
|----------|------------|
| 1 Rhodi. | 2 Sami. |
| 3 Chij. | 4 Coi. |
| 5 Naxiæ. | 6 Theræ. |
| 7 Pari. | 8 Lethri. |
| 9 Andri. | 10 Teni. |
| 11 Meli. | 12 Piſynæ. |

Provincia ſemimonti.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 Adrianopolis. | 2 Meſembriæ. |
| 3 Sozopolis. | 4 Plutinopolis. |
| 5 Zoidorum. | |

Provincia ejuſdem.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1 Marcianopolis. | 2 Rhodoſtoli. |
| 3 Tramarifci. | 4 Noborum. |
| 5 Zecedoporum. | 6 Sarcaræ. |

Provincia ejuſdem.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------|
| 1 Trajanopolis. | 2 Peri. |
| 3 Anaſtaſiopolis. | |

Provincia Phrygiæ Capatiana.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 Hierapolis. | 2 Metellopolis. |
| 3 Dionyſopolis. | 4 Anaſtaſiopolis. |
| 5 Antædorum. | 6 Moſynorum. |
| Marcianopolis. | Rodoſtoli. |
| Tramarifcorum. | Nomorum. |
| Zecedeporum. | Scaræ. |

Provincia Galatiæ Secundæ.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1 Amori. | 2 Philomelij. |
| 3 Docimij. | 4 Clanei. |
| 5 Polyboti. | 6 Piſſiæ. |

Avulſi ſunt autem & à Romana diœceſi Throno Conſtantinopolitano nunc Subjecti Metropolitæ, & qui ſub ijs ſunt Epifcopi.

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 Theſſalonicæ. | 2 Syracuſæ. |
| 3 Corinthi. | 4 Rhegij. |
| 5 Nicopolis. | 6 Athenarum. |
| 7 Patrarum. | 8 Novarum Patrarum. |

Hi adjecti ſunt Synodo Conſtantinopolitanæ, propterea quòd Papa veteris Romæ ſub gentibus detentus eſt. Sicut & ab Orientali diœceſi avulſus eſt Metropolitæ Seleuciæ, Iſauriæ, & ipſe cum ſuis viginti quatuor Epifcopis ſub Conſtantinopolitano agit.

*Provincia ſub gloriſſimo Eparcho Romæ, five Italiæ.**Provincia Urbicariæ Romæ.*

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Britium. | 2 Macæria. |
| 3 Luna. | 4 Neapolis. |
| 5 Garanta. | 6 Vintimilium. |
| 7 Genues. | 8 Sipontus. |
| 9 Ponturoma. [S. Lucian. | 10 Inſulæ Centucele. |
| 11 Caſtrum Euoriæ, ubi | 12 Caſtrum Amalpheſ. |
| 13 Caſtrum Getteon. | 14 Caſtrum Tiberias. |
| 15 Caſtrum Nepes. | 16 Inſulæ Comænicia. |
| 17 Caſtrum Mulium. | 18 Caſtrum Campſas. |
| 19 Caſtrum Soreum. | 20 Caſtrum Suſas. |
| 21 Caſtrum Ilbas. | 22 Caſtrum Anagnia. |

Provincia

Provincia

Provincia Campania.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Neapolis. | 2 Brettania. |
| 3 Pannonia. | 4 Calabria. |
| 5 Venetia. | 6 Mesina. |
| 7 Vicovarina. | 8 Taurata. |
| 9 Apulia. | 10 Castrum Opiterbetos. |
| 11 Castrum Samnios. | 12 Castrum Sufias. |
| 13 Castrum Regium. | 14 Castrum Taurata. |
| 15 Castrum Sygnias. | 16 Castrum Gradum. |
| 17 Castrum Patriarchias. | 18 Castrum Scylacium. |
| 19 Castrum Martyrium. | 20 Castrum Ormuvera. |
| 21 Castrum Ortonos. | 22 Castrum Oppiter ^{bitum} . |

Insula Sicilia.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1 Syracusa. | 2 Catana. |
| 3 Tærebenium. | 4 Sefena. |
| 5 Cephaludum. | 6 Thermum. |
| 7 Panormus. | 8 Lilybæum. |
| 9 Trocalis. | 10 Acragantus. |
| 11 Tyndarum. | 18 Carines. |
| 13 Leontina. | 14 Aleufis. |
| 15 Gaudus. | 16 Meleta. |
| 17 Liparis. | 18 Burcaufus. |
| 19 Didymi. | 20 Urica. |
| 21 Onarea. | 22 Basiludin. |

Provincia Calabria.

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1 Regium. | 2 Locris. |
| 3 Scylacias. | 4 Cotronum. |
| 5 Constantia. | 6 Topæum. |
| 7 Tauriana. | 8 Bilbonum. |

Provincia Annonaria.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Ravenna. | 2 Phanus. |
| 3 Olcusa. | 4 Polus. |
| 5 Pecinus. | 6 Pisaurum. |
| 7 Tergetra. | 8 Augustopolis. |
| 9 Talbitau. | 10 Castrum Terentinum. |
| 11 Castrum Sole rnos. | 12 Tulericum. |
| 13 Castrum Sanga. | 14 Castrum Nobo. |
| 15 Castrum Eurenica. | 16 Castrum Semania. |
| 17 Vicimanto. | 18 Castrum Vereles. |
| 19 Castrum Tamia. | 20 Castrum Varectelia. |
| 21 Castrum Samugia. | 22 Castrum Sora. |
| 23 Castrum Suagallia. | 24 Castrum Cifines. |

Provincia Amic (fort. Emiliae.)

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Castrum Foropompus. | 2 Castrum Brizilium. |
| 3 Castrum Brinti. | |

Sub Gloriosissimo Eparcho Africa.

Provincia Bizacia.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 Cartagena Proconfu- | 2 Sybiba. |
| 3 Campasia. [laris. | 4 Cileos. |
| 5 Junces. | 6 Taleptes. |
| 7 Cascala. | 8 Castellæ. |
| 9 Pazana. | 10 Mamida. |
| 11 Madasuba. | 12 Colules. |
| 13 Capfes. | 14 Adramytto. |

Provincia Numidia.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1 Calama. | 2 Tebete. |
| 3 Hippon. | 4 Nuzidias. |
| 5 Castamagæ. | 6 Bades. |

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 7 Meleuni. | 8 Leradus. |
| 9 Castrum Bedere. | 10 Scele. |
| 11 Egerinesium. | 12 Titeffin. |
| 13 Bages. | 14 Constantine. |
| 15 Sitiphnor. | |

Provincia Mauritania prima.

- 1 Rhinocururum.

Provincia Mauritania Secunda.

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Sephem. | 2 Septem ad partem The- |
| | nessi. |
| 3 Spanias. | 4 Mesopotameni, ad par- |
| | tem Spaniæ. |
| 5 Najurica Insula. | 6 Menyca, insula. |
| 7 Insula Sardon. | 8 Carallus, Metropolis. |
| 9 Tures. | 10 Sanaphas. |
| 11 Sines. | 12 Sulces. |
| 13 Phæfiana. | 14 Chryfopolis. |
| 15 Aristianes. | 16 Limne. |
| 17 Castrum Tutar. | |

In Ægyptiaca Diœcesi.

Provincia Augustamnica prima.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Pelusium, Metropolis. | 2 Sethroetes. |
| 3 Tanes. | 4 Thmues. |
| 5 Rhinocurura. | 6 Ostracine. |
| 7 Pentaschanon. | 8 Casium. |
| 9 Aphæum. | 10 Hiphestus. |
| 11 Panephusus. | 12 Geros. |
| 13 Itageros. | 14 Thenesus. |

Provincia Augustamnica Secunda.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1 Leonto, Metropolis. | 2 Athrabes. |
| 3 Heliûs. | 4 Bubastus. |
| 5 Carbethus. | 6 Arabius. |

Provincia Ægypti prima.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Alexandria, sub duce | 2 Hermopolis. |
| 3 Milleos. [& Augustali. | 4 Costus. |
| 5 Pflaneos, vicus. | 6 Cotrideos, vicus. |
| 7 Sais. | 8 Leontopolis. |
| 9 Naucratis. | 10 Andronicus. |
| 11 Zenonopolis. | 12 Paphna. |
| 13 Onuphis. | 14 Taus. |
| 15 Cleopatris. | 16 Mareotes. |
| 17 Manelaitarum. | 18 Schedia. |
| 19 Ternuthes. | 20 Sondra. |

Provincia Ægypti Secunda.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Cabasa. | 2 Phragonis. |
| 3 Pachnemonis. | 4 Diospolis. |
| 5 Sebennytus. | 6 Cæno. |
| 7 Busiris. | 8 Elearchia. |
| 9 Regeon Paralus. | 10 Vicus Parianæ. |
| 11 Vicus Rhimerium. | 12 Xoeos. |

Provincia Arcadia.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Oxyrinchus, Metropo- | 2 Heracleus. |
| 3 Cæno. [lis. | 4 Nilopolis. |
| 5 Arfinoetes. | 6 Memphelitus. |
| Nilus habet ostia 7. | 1 Alexandria. |
| 2 Κολινθιν. | 3 Agni. |
| 4 Parali. | 5 Chasmatitis. |
| 6 Tamiathe. | 7 Tenese. |

Provincia Thebaidis primæ.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 Antino, Metropolis. | 2 Hermopolis. |
| 3 Theodosiopolis. | 4 Polyco. |
| 5 Hypsele. | 6 Apollonius. |
| 7 Antej. | 8 Panos. |

Provincia Thebaidis Secundæ.

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Ptolemias, Metropolis. | 2 Conto, five Justinianop. |
| 3 Diocletianopolis. | 4 Diospolis. |
| 5 Tentyra. | 6 Maximianopolis. |
| 7 Thebais. | 8 Lato. |
| 9 Jambon. | 10 Hermonthes. |
| 11 Apollonos. | 12 Vicus Anassæ magnæ. |
| 13 Thebaidis Superioris. | 14 Ibaos. |
| 15 Mathôn. | 16 Trimuthon. |
| 17 Erbôn. | |

Provincia Libyæ.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Dranicon, metropolis. | 2 Paratonion. |
| 3 Tranzalensis. | 4 Ammoniaca. |
| 5 Antipyrgus. | 6 Antiphron. |
| 7 Ædonias. | 8 Marmarices. |

Provincia Libyæ Pentapolis.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1 Sozufa. | 2 Cyrine. |
| 3 Ptolemais. | 4 Teuchera. |
| 5 Adriane. | 6 Beronica. |

Provincia Tripolis.

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1 Tosibon. | 2 Leptis. |
| 3 Hyo n. | |

In Orientali diæcesi.

Provincia Ciliciæ.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Tarsus Metropolis. | 2 Pompejopolis. |
| 3 Sebaste. | 4 Coricus. |
| 5 Adana. | 6 Augustopolis. |
| 7 Mallos. | 8 Zephurium. |

Provincia Ciliciæ Secundæ.

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Anabarsus, Metropolis. | 2 Mopseuestia. |
| 3 Ægeia. | 4 Epiphania. |
| 5 Eirenopolis. | 6 Flavias. |
| 7 Alexandria. | 8 Cabissus. |
| 9 Castabla. | 10 Rhoffus. |

Provincia Isauriæ.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1 Seleucia, Metropolis. | 2 Cilendres. |
| 3 Anemorius. | 4 Titopolis. |
| 5 Lamus. | 6 Antiochia. |
| 7 Helio Sebaste. | 8 Cestra. |
| 9 Selementes. | 10 Jostape. |
| 11 Diocæsaria. | 12 Olya. |
| 13 Hierapolis. | 14 Dalisandus. |
| 15 Claudiopolis. | 16 Eirenopolis. |
| 17 Germanicopolis. | 18 Neapolis. |
| 19 Zenonopolis. | 20 Sbidæ. |
| 21 Philadelphia. | 22 Adraffus. |
| 23 Meloe. | 24 Domitiopolis. |
| 25 Nauzadeæ. | 26 Cafforum. |
| 27 Banæorum. | 28 Golgosi. |
| 29 Costradis. | |

Provincia Syriæ primæ.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| 1 Antiochia, ad Daphnen, | 2 Paltus. |
| thronus Patriarchalis. | |
| 3 Seleucia. | 4 Berrhæa. |
| 5 Chalcis. | |

Provincia Syriæ Secundæ.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Apamea Metropolis. | 2 Arethusa. |
| 3 Epiphania. | 4 Lariffa. |
| 5 Mariamne. | 6 Seleucobelus. |
| 7 Raphaneæ. | |

Provincia Euphratisiæ & Hagiopolis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Hierapolis. | 2 Cyrus five Hagiopolis. |
| 3 Samosata. | 4 Doliche. |
| 5 Germanicia. | 6 Zeuma. |
| 7 Perrhe. | 8 Europus. |
| 9 Nicopolis. | 10 Schenarchia. |
| 11 Cæsaria, ubi in exilio erat Sanctus Sergius. | 12 Sergiopolis, five Anastasiopolis, quæ hodie Rattapha dicitur, ubi sanctus Sergius Martyrium passus est. |
| 13 Orimon. | 14 Santon. |

Provincia Theodoriadis.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| 1 Laodicea, Metropolis. | 2 Balanca. |
| 3 Gabala. | |

Provincia Ofroënæ.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Ædeffa, Metropolis. | 2 Caræ. |
| 3 Constantia. | 4 Theodosiopolis. |
| 5 Batnæ. | 6 Callinicus, five Leon- |
| 7 Novavalentia. | 8 Birthon. [topolis. |
| 9 Monithilla. | 10 Therimachon. |
| 11 Moniauga. | 12 Macarta. |
| 13 Marcopolis. | 14 Anastasia. |
| 15 Hemerius. | 16 Circisia. |

Hucusque est complementum Mesopotamiæ.
Et Persis incipit.

Provincia Mesopotamiæ Superioris, five Armenia quartæ.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Amida, Metropolis. | 2 Martyropolis. 15 miliaribus ab hac urbe Tigris fluvius oritur. |
| 3 Daras, sex miliaribus ab hac urbe sunt confinia terminique Persidis, & Assyriæ. | 4 Castrum Riscephas. |
| 5 Castrum Turandios. | 6 Castrum Mardes. |
| 7 Castrum Lornes. | 8 Castrum Riphron. |
| 9 Castrum Isphrios. | 10 Castrum Tzauras. |
| 11 Castrum Audasson. | 12 Castrum Amarmes. |
| 13 Castrum Tzinobias. | 14 Castr. Intzietorum. |
| 15 Castrum Banebelorum. | 16 Castrum Chaddorum. |
| 17 Castrum Æsuduus. | 18 Castr. Masphronas. |
| 19 Castrum Basilicum. | 20 Castr. Spelon & Odelorum. |
| 21 Castrum Bijubaithas. | 22 Castr. Manaffarorum. |
| 23 Castr. Phirthachabreas. | 24 Castr. Siteon Chiphas. |
| 25 Castrum Calonos. | 26 Castr. Bibasarorum. |
| 27 Castrum Tzauras. | 28 Castrum BIRTHAS. |
| 29 Castrum Attachas. | 30 Castr. Aphuborum. |
- Climatis Arzamines.*

- 31 Castr. Arimachorum. 32 Castr. Florianarum.
33 Castrum Daphnudin. 34 Castr. Baluos.
35 Castr. Samochartorum.

Hic finitur Mesopotamia; estque Taurus & Clausura Balaleforum. Et incipit pars Septentrionalis, magna Armenia. Incolunt autem montem Tauri, proximè ad idem clima, duo populi nominati, unus quidem Ischthomaitæ, alter autem Nasumitæ. Et est mons præcellus, Barathcen dictus, in quo Arca Noë aquis delata impegit in verticem ejus montis, estque id notum omnibus istas partes incolentibus usque ad hodiernum diem.

Provincia Armeniae alterius.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1 Dademon nunc metro- | 2 Arsamufaton. |
| 3 Polichne. polis. | 4 Chofanorum. |
| 5 Chofomachorum. | 6 Citharizarum. |
| 7 Castr. Marticertum. | 8 Castrum Bajuluor. |
| 9 Castrum Polior. | 10 Castrum Ardon. |
| 11 Clima Sophines. | 12 Regio sub eodem climate dicta Jalimbanum, unde ortum habuit Basilus, qui præsentem librum elaboravit. |
| 13 Clima Anzetines. | 14 Clima Digefines. |
| 15 Clima Garines. | 16 Clima Orziacines. |
| 17 Clima Bilabirenes. | 18 Clima Astianices. |
| 19 Clima Mamuzurorum. | |

Provincia Phœnicie Maritimæ.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Tyrus, Metropolis. | 2 Sidon. |
| 3 Ptolemais. | 4 Berytus. |
| 5 Biblus. | 6 Tripolis. |
| 7 Arcæ. | 8 Orthosias. |
| 9 Botrys. | 10 Vicus Gegarta. |
| 11 Arados. | 12 Antarados. |
| 13 Paneas. | 14 Gonastij Saltus. |
| 15 Vicus Politianus. | 16 Vicus Trieris. |

Provincia Phœnicie Libanisiæ.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Emiffa, Metropolis. | 2 Laodicea. |
| 3 Heliopolis. | 4 Abilla. |
| 5 Damascus. [nopolis. | 6 Clima Jabrudorum. |
| 7 Evarius, sive Justinia- | 8 Talmyra. |
| 9 Clia Maglydorum. | 10 Saltum Gonæticum. |
| 11 Salamias. | 12 Clima Orientale. |

Provincia Palæstinae primæ.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Ælia, Hierosolymorum | 2 Cæsaria, Metropolis. |
| 3 Dora. [sancta Civitas. | 4 Antipatris. |
| 5 Diospolis, sive Georgio- | 6 Jamnia. |
| 7 Nicopolis. [polis. | 8 Onus. |
| 9 Sozusa. | 10 Joppe. |
| 11 Ascalon. | 12 Gaza. |
| 13 Rhaphia. | 14 Anthedon. |
| 15 Diocletianopolis. | 16 Eleutheropolis. |
| 17 Neapolis. | 18 Sebaste. |
| 19 Regio Apathûs. | 20 Regio Jericho. |
| 21 Regio Libiæ. | 22 Regio Gadara. |
| 23 Azotus Maritima. | 24 Azotus Hippinis. |
| 25 Acomazon. | 26 Bittymos. |

- 27 Tricomias. [num. 28 Toxus. [ve Barfamon.
29 Saltum Constantinia- 30 Saltum Geraiticum, fi-

Provincia Palæstinae Secundæ.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Scythopolis. | 2 Gadara. |
| 3 Pellæ. | 4 Abila. |
| 5 Capetomas. | 6 Diocæsarea. |
| 7 Maximianopolis. | 8 Gabæ. |
| 9 Tiberias. | 10 Hippos. |
| 11 Helenopolis. | 12 Clima Gælanes. |
| 13 Tetracomia. | 14 Comenais. |

Provincia Palæstinae Tertiæ.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Petræ Metropolis. | 2 Augustopolis. |
| 3 Arindela. | 4 Charagmuda. |
| 5 Areopolis. | 6 Mapsis. |
| 7 Elusa. | 8 Zoara. |
| 9 Birosabon. | 10 Elas. |
| 11 Pentacomia. | 12 Mamopfora. |
| 13 Metrocomia. | 14 Saltum Hieraticum. |

Provincia Arabiae.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Bosra, Metropolis. | 2 Adraffus. |
| 3 Dia. | 4 Medaba. |
| 5 Geruffa. | 6 Neua. |
| 7 Philadelphia. | 8 Esbus. |
| 9 Neapolis. | 10 Philippopolis. |
| 11 Phenutus. | 12 Constantina. |
| 13 Dionysias. | 14 Pentacomia. |
| 15 Tricomia. | 16 Canothas. |
| 17 Saltum. | 18 Bataneos. |
| 19 Exacomia. | 20 Enacomia. |
| 21 Vicus Gonias. | 22 Vicus Cherus. |
| 23 Vicus Stanes. | 24 Vicus Caberæ. |
| 25 Vicus Coreathæ. | 26 Vicus Bilbanûs. |
| 27 Vicus Caprorum. | 28 Vicus Pyrgoaretarum. |
| 29 Vicus Setnes. | 30 Vicus Ariacharum. |
| 31 Neotes. | 32 Clima Orientalium & Occidentalium. |
| 33 Vicus Ariathæ Saxosæ. | 34 Vicus Bebdamus. |

Provincia Armeniae Magnæ.

Sciendum est, quod hæc autocephala est, throno Apostolico non Subiecta; sed propter Sanctum Gregorium Armeniæ honorata, habens urbes & castra 200. Similiter Provincia Cypri mansit, per seipsam habens potestatem, propterea quod in ea inventus fuit Sanctus Apostolus Barnabas ad pectus habens Evangelium secundum Marcum. Sunt autem in ea hæ civitates.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1 Constantia, Metropo- | 2 Citium. |
| 3 Amathus. [lis. | 4 Curium. |
| 5 Paphus. | 6 Arsenæ. |
| 7 Soli. | 8 Lapithus, quâ natus est Georgius Cyprius, qui librum scripsit ex quo hæc sumpta sunt. |
| 9 Cyrenia. | 10 Tamafus. |
| 11 Cythri. | 12 Trimithus. |
| 13 Carpasin. | |

ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM INDEX CHRONOLOGICUS.

<i>Pontifex.</i>	<i>inca-</i> <i>pitan.</i>	<i>Pontificatum tenuit.</i>	<i>Pontifex.</i>	<i>inca-</i> <i>pitan.</i>	<i>Pontificatum tenuit.</i>
1 S. Petrus	43	an. 24. mens. 5. dies 10.	<i>Tertius antipapa Eulalius Archidiaconus.</i>		
2 S. Linus	67	an. 11. mens. 2. dies 23.	44 S. Celestinus I.	423	an. 8. mens. 3. dies 3.
3 S. Cletus	78	an. 12. mens. 7. dies 2.	45 S. Sixtus III.	432	an. 7. mens. 11.
4 S. Clemens I.	91	an. 9. mens. 6. dies 6.	46 S. Leo I. M.	440	an. 20. mens. 11.
5 S. Anacletus	101	an. 9. mens. 3. dies 10.	47 S. Hilarius	461	an. 5. mens. 9. dies 29.
6 S. Evaristus	110	an. 9. mens. 3.	48 S. Simplicius	467	an. 15. mens. 5. dies 10.
7 S. Alexander I.	119	an. 10. mens. 5. dies 20.	49 S. Felix II. al. III.	483	an. 8. mens. 11. dies 22.
8 S. Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. mens. 10. dies 8.	50 S. Gelasius I.	492	an. 4. mens. 8. dies 19.
9 S. Telesphorus	140	an. 11. mens. 8. dies 29.	51 S. Anastasius II.	496	an. 1. mens. 11. dies 23.
10 S. Hyginus	152	an. 3. dies 28.	52 S. Symmachus	498	an. 15. mens. 7. dies 27.
11 S. Pius I.	156	an. 9. mens. 5. dies 27.	<i>Quartus antipapa Laurentius Archidiaconus.</i>		
12 S. Anicetus	165	an. 7. mens. 8. dies 24.	53 S. Hormisdas	514	an. 9. dies 10.
13 S. Soter	173	an. 3. mens. 11. dies. 21.	54 S. Joannes I.	523	an. 2. mens. 9. dies 14.
14 S. Eleutherus	177	an. 15. dies 23.	55 S. Felix III al. IV.	527	an. 3. mens. 2. dies 14.
15 S. Victor I.	192	an. 9. mens. 1. dies 28.	56 S. Bonifacius II.	530	an. 2. dies 2.
16 S. Zephyrinus.	201	an. 18. dies 18.	<i>Quintus antipapa Dioscorus, adversus Bonifacium.</i>		
17 S. Callistus I.	219	an. 5. mens. 1. dies 12.	57 Joannes II. Mercu	532	an. 2. mens. 8.
18 S. Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. mens. 7. dies 4.	rius		
19 S. Pontianus	231	an. 4. dies 6.	58 S. Agapetus I.	535	m. 10. & d. 14. aut 18.
20 S. Anterus	235	mens. 1.	59 S. Silverius	536	an. 4.
21 S. Fabianus	236	an. 15. dies 5.	60 Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6. al. dant d. 18.
22 S. Cornelius.	251	an. 2. mens. 4. dies 17.	61 S. Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. mens. 10. dies 18.
<i>Primus antipapa Novatianus hæreticus.</i>			62 S. Joannes III. Ca-	559	an. 12. mens. 11. dies 16.
23 S. Lucius I.	253	an. unum mens. 4.	tellinus		
24 S. Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. mens. 3. dies 22.	63 S. Benedictus I.	573	an. 4. mens. 2. dies 15.
25 S. Sixtus II.	257	mens. 11. dies 13.	Bonofius		
26 S. Dionysius	258	an. 12. mens. 3. dies 14.	64 Pelagius II.	577	an. 12. mens. 2. dies 27.
27 S. Felix I.	270	m. 4. mens. 4. dies 29.	65 S. Gregorius I. M.	590	an. 13. mens. 6. dies 10.
28 S. Eutychianus.	275	an. 8. mens. 6. dies 4.	66 Sabinianus	604	mens. 3. dies 19.
29 S. Cajus	283	an. 12. mens. 4. dies 5.	67 Bonifacius III.	606	mens. 8. dies 23.
30 S. Marcellinus	296	an. 7. mens. 11. dies 26.	68 Bonifacius IV.	607	an. 6. mens. 8. dies 20.
31 S. Marcellus I.	304	an. 4. mens. 1. dies 25.	69 Deus dedit	614	an. 2. mens. 11. dies 26.
32 S. Eusebius	309	an. 2. mens. 8. dies 21.	70 Bonifacius V.	617	an. 7. mens. 10. dies 1.
33 S. Melchiades	311	an. 2. mens. 2. dies 7.	71 Honorius I.	626	an. 12. mens. 4. dies 27.
34 S. Silvester I.	314	an. 21. mens. 11.	72 Severinus	639	mens. 2. dies 4.
35 S. Marcus	336	mens. 8. dies 22.	73 Joannes IV.	639	an. 1. mens. 9. dies 6.
36 S. Julius	336	an. 15. mens. 5. dies 17.	74 Theodorus	641	an. 7. mens. 5. dies 20.
37 Liberius	352	an. 15. mens. 4. dies 2.	75 S. Martinus I.	649	an. 5. mens. 4. dies 10.
S. Felix II. a quibus-	366	an. 1. mens. 3. dies 3.	76 Eugenius I.	655	m. 5. aut 6. addunt d. 23.
lam dictus			77 Vitalianus	655	an. 13. mens. 4. dies 27.
38 S. Damasus I.	367	an. 17. mens. 2. dies 27.	78 Adeodatus	669	an. 7. mens. 2. dies 17.
<i>Secundus antipapa Ursicinus qui & Ursinus.</i>			79 Donus	676	an. 1. mens. 5. dies 10.
39 S. Siricius	385	an. 13. mens. 1. dies 14.	80 S. Agatho	678	an. 3. mens. 6. dies 25.
40 S. Anastasius I.	398	an. 4. mens. 1. dies 13.	81 S. Leo II.	683	mens. 10. dies 14.
41 S. Innocentius I.	402	an. 15. mens. 2. dies 10.	82 S. Benedictus II.	684	mens. 8. dies 17.
42 S. Zosimus	417	an. 1. mens. 4. dies 7.	83 Joannes V.	685	an. 1. dies 11.
43 S. Bonifacius I.	418	an. 4. mens. 9. dies 28.			

Pontifex.	inca- pitan.	Pontificatum tenuit.
84 Cono	686	mensēs 11. dies 23.
<i>Schisma electis Petro & Theodoro.</i>		
85 S. Sergius I.	687	an. 13. mens. 8. dies 14.
<i>Schisma electis Theodoro & Paschale.</i>		
86 Joannes VI.	701	an. 3. mens. 2. dies 12.
87 Joannes VII.	705	an. 2. mens. 7. dies 17.
88 Sifinnius	708	dies 20.
89 Constantinus	708	an. 6. mens. 1. dies 2.
90 S. Gregorius II.	714	an. 16. mens. 8. dies 20.
91 Gregorius III.	731	an. 10. mens. 9. dies 12.
92 S. Zacharias	714	an. 10. mens. 3. dies 10.
93 Stephanus II.	752	dies 4.
94 Stephanus III.	752	an. 5. dies 10.
95 Paulus I.	757	an. 10. mens. 1.
<i>Schisma ob Theophylactum Archipresbyterum.</i>		
96 Stephanus III.	768	an. 3. mens. 5. dies 28.
<i>Constantinus Antipapa frater Totonis Nepefini ducis.</i>		
97 Hadrianus I.	772	an. 23. mens. 10. d. 17.
98 Leo III.	795	an. 20. mens. 5. d. 17.
99 Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. mens. 7. d. 3.
100 Paschalis I.	817	an. 7. mens. 3. d. 16.
101 Eugenius II.	824	an. 3. men. 2. d. 23.
<i>Zinfinus schismati occasionem dedit.</i>		
102 Valentinus.	827	dies 40.
103 Gregorius IV.	827	an. 15. mens. 4.
104 Sergius II.	844	an. 3. mens. 1. dies 2.
<i>Foannes Diaconus turbas concitavit adversus Sergium.</i>		
105 Leo IV.	847	an. 8. mens. 3. dies 5.
<i>Hic insulse inseritur à quibusdam Foanna papissa.</i>		
106 Benedictus III.	855	an. 2. m. 6. d. 10.
107 S. Nicolaus I. M.	858	an. 9. m. 6. d. 20.
108 Hadrianus II.	867	an. 4. m. 10. d. 17.
109 Joannes VIII.	872	an. 10. diem 1.
110 Marinus I. seu Martinus II.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
111 Hadrianus III.	884	an. 1. m. 3. d. 19.
112 Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & dies aliquot.
113 Formosus.	890	an. 6. m. 6.
<i>Sergius & Bonifacius VI. turbas cient.</i>		
114 Stephanus VI.	896	an. 3. aut 4.
<i>Romanus Gallefinus per vim intrusus.</i>		
115 Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.
116 Joannes IX.	901	an. 3. dies 15.
117 Benedictus VI.	905	per aliquot mens.
118 Leo V.	906	dies 40.
119 Christophorus.	906	mensēs septem.
120 Sergius III.	907	an. 3. m. 4.
121 Anastasius III.	910	an. 2. d. 20.
122 Lando.	912	aliquot m.
123 Joannes X.	913	an. 15.
124 Leo VI.	928	m. 6. d. 15.
125 Stephanus VII.	929	an. 1. dies 15.
126 Joannes XI.	931	an. 4. m. 10.

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127 Leo VII.	936	an. 3. mens. 6.
128 Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
129 Marinus II. seu Martinus III.	943	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
130 Agapetus II.	946	an. 9. m. 7. d. 19.
131 Joannes XII.	955	an. 9. aut 10.
<i>963 Leo VIII. antipapa ab Othone subrogatus.</i>		
132 Benedictus V.	964	un. circ. an.
133 Joannes XIII.	965	an. 6. m. 11. d. 5.
134 Domes II.	972	m. 3.
135 Benedictus VI.]	972	an. 1. m. 3. d. aliquot.
<i>974 Bonifacius VII. sive Franco antipapa an. 1. m. 1.</i>		
136 Benedictus VII.	975	annos novem.
137 Joannes XIV.	984	an. 1. & aliquot mens.
138 Joannes XV.	985	an. 10. m. 4. dies 12.
139 Gregorius V.	996	an. 2. m. 8. d. 6.
<i>Foannes XVI. antipapa, factione Crescentij.</i>		
140 Silvester II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.
141 Joannes XVII.]	1003	m. 5.
142 Joannes XVIII.	1003	an. 5. m. 7. d. 28.
143 Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. d. 13.
144 Benedictus VIII.	1012	an. ferè 12.
<i>1013 Gregorius antipapa ab Imp. rejicitur.</i>		
145 Joannes XIX.	1024	an. 9. m. 8.
146 Benedictus IX.	1034	an. 10.
<i>1043 Silvester III. & Foannes XX. archipresbyt. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, antipapæ.</i>		
147 Gregorius VI.	1044	an. 2. m. 8.
148 Clemens II.	1046	m. 9.
149 Damascus II.	1048	dies 23.
150 S. Leo IX.	1049	an. 5. m. 2. d. 7.
151 Victor II.]	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
152 Stephanus IX.	1057	octo ferme mens.
153 Nicolaus II.	1059	an. 2. m. 6.
<i>Foannes Mincius dictus Benedictus X. antipapa.</i>		
154 Alexander II.	1061	annos 11. m. 6. d. 22.
Anselmus.		
<i>Cadalones antipapa dictus Honorius II.</i>		
155 S. Gregorius VII.]	1073	annos 12. m. 1. d. 3.
<i>1080 Clemens III. Guibertus Ravennas, antipapa.</i>		
156 Victor III.	1086	mens. ferè 10.
157 Urbanus II. Odo.	1087	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
158 Paschalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. d. 4.
<i>Mortuo Guiberto tres antipapæ brevi tempore.</i>		
159 Gelasius II.	1118	an. 1. d. 4.
<i>Mauricius Burdinus Archiepisc. Bracarensis, antipapa.</i>		
160 Callistus II.	1119	an. 5. m. 10. d. 13.
161 Honorius II.	1224	an. 5. m. 1. d. 17.

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<i>Callistus III. Theobaldus cedit Honorio.</i>			1378 Robertus Genevensis, dictus Clemens VII. antipapa.		
162 Innocentius II.	1130	an. 13. m. 7. d. 10.	201 Bonifacius IX.	1389	an. 14. m. 11.
1130 Petrus Leonis, Anacletus II. antipapa. Gregorius, dictus Victor III. antipapa.			1394 Benedictus XIII. Petrus de Luna antipapa.		
163 Celestinus II.	1143	m. 5. d. 13.	202 Innocentius VI.	1404	an. 2. d. 22.
164 Lucius II.	1144	m. 11. d. 14.	203 Gregorius XII.	1406	an. 2. m. 6. d. 14.
165 Eugenius III.	1145	an. 8. m. 4. d. 13.	204 Alexander V.	1409	m. 10. d. 8.
166 Anastasius IV.	1153	an. 1. m. 4. d. 24.	205 Joannes 23.	1410	an. 5. d. 15.
167 Hadrianus IV.	1154	an. 4. m. 8. d. 29.	<i>Vacat sedes Romana an. 2. m. 5. d. 10.</i>		
168 Alexander III.	1159	an. 21. m. 11. d. 21.	206 Martinus V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.
<i>Oëtarvianus, dictus Victor IV. antipapa. Guido Cremensis, dictus Paschalis III. antipapa. Joannes Abbas, dictus Callistus III. antipapa.</i>			1424 Aegidius antipapa, dictus Clemens VIII.		
169 Lucius III.	1181	an. 4. m. 2. d. 18.	207 Eugenius IV.	1431	an. 15. m. 11. d. 20.
170 Urbanus III.	1185	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.	1439 Amedeus Sabaudiae Dux Felix V. antipapa.		
171 Gregorius VIII.	1187	duos ferè menses.	208 Nicolaus V.	1447	an. 8. d. 19.
172 Clemens III.	1188	an. 3. m. 2. d. 10.	209 Callistus III.	1455	an. 3. m. 5. d. 29.
173 Celestinus III.	1191	an. 6. m. 8. d. 28.	210 Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
174 Innocentius III.	1199	an. 18. m. 6. d. 9.	211 Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
175 Honorius III.	1216	an. 10. m. 8.	212 Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
176 Gregorius IX.	1227	an. 14. m. 5. d. 3.	213 Innocent. VIII.	1484	an. 7. m. 10. d. 27.
177 Celestinus IV.	1241	dies 18.	214 Alexander VI.	1492	an. 11. d. 8.
178 Innocentius IV.	1243	an. 11. m. 5. d. 14.	215 Pius III.	1503	d. 26.
179 Alexander IV.	1254	an. 6. m. 5. d. 4.	216 Julius II.	1503	an. 9. m. 3. d. 21.
180 Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.	217 Leo X.	1513	an. 8. m. 8. d. 20.
181 Clemens IV.	1265	an. 3. m. 9. d. 25.	218 Hadrianus VI.	1522	an. 1. m. 8. d. 6.
<i>Vacavit sedes annos 2. m. 9. dies 2. seu mens. 30</i>			219 Clemens VII.	1523	an. 10. m. 10. d. 7.
182 Gregorius X.	1271	an. 4. m. 4. d. 10.	220 Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. d. 18.
183 Innocentius V.	1276	m. 5. d. 5.	221 Julius III.	1550	an. 5. m. 1. d. 16.
184 Hadrianus V.	1276	d. 39.	222 Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
185 Joannes XXI.	1276	m. 8. d. 8.	223 Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. d. 24.
186 Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. d. 2.	224 Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
187 Martinus IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.	225 Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m. 3. d. 24.
188 Honorius IV.	1285	an. 2. diem 1.	226 Gregorius XIII.	1572	an. 12. m. 10. d. 29.
189 Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. d. 14.	227 Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. d. 3.
<i>Vacat sedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 2.</i>			228 Urbanus VII.	1590	d. 13.
190 S. Celestinus V.	1294	abdicat post 5. m. d. 8.	229 Gregorius XIV.	1590	m. 10 d. 10.
191 Bonifacius VIII.	1294	an. 8. m. 9. d. 18.	230 Innocentius IX.	1591	m. 2.
192 Benedictus XI.	1303	m. 8. d. 17.	231 Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
193 Clemens V.	1305	an. 8. m. 10. d. 16.	232 Leo XI.	1605	dies 27.
<i>Vacat sedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 17.</i>			233 Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m. 8. d. 12.
194 Joannes XXII.	1316	an. 18. m. 3. d. 28.	234 Gregorius XV.	1621	an. 2. m. 5.
195 Benedictus XII.	1334	an. 7. m. 4. d. 6.	235 Urbanus VIII.	1623	an. 20. m. 11. d. 22.
196 Clemens VI.	1342	an. 10. m. 6. d. 29.	236 Innocent. X.	1644	an. 10. m. 3. d. 22.
197 Innocentius VI.	1352	an. 9. m. 8. d. 20.	237 Alexander VII.	1655	an. 12. m. 1. d. 15.
198 Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.	238 Clemens IX.	1667	an. 2. m. 5. d. 19.
199 Gregorius XI.	1371	an. 7. m. 2. d. 24.	239 Clemens X.	1670	an. 6. m. 2. d. 22.
200 Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.	240 Innocentius XI.	1676	Hodie Pontific. tenet.

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ccxxxi.	Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
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Felix IV. Amedeus, dux Sabaudiae, antipapa, 1439.

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cxxii.	Lando	912	aliquot menses.
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xxxi.	Marcellus I.	304	an. 4. m. 1. d. 25.
ccxxii.	Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
xxxv.	Marcus.	336	an. 8. d. 22.
cx.	Marinus I.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
cxxix.	Marinus II.	942	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
lxxv.	Martinus I.	649	an. 5. m. 4. d. 10.
clxxxvii.	Martin. dict. IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.
ccvi.	Martin. dict. V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.

N

cvii.	Nicolaus I.	858	an. 9. mens. 6. d. 20.
cliii.	Nicolaus II.	1059	annos 2. meses 6.
clxxxvi.	Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. dies 2.
clxxx.	Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. dies 14.
ccviii.	Nicolaus V.	1447	annos 8. dies 19.

Novatianus antipapa primus 251.

P

c.	Paschalis I.	817	an. 7. m. 3. dies 16.
clviii.	Paschalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. dies 4.

Paschalis antipapa, 687.

Paschalis III. seu Guido Cremensis, antipapa, 1160.

xcv.	Paulus I.	757	annos 10. mens. 10.
ccxi.	Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
ccxx.	Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. dies 18.
cxxiii.	Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. dies 24.
ccxxxiii.	Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m. 8. d. 12.
lxi.	Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. m. 10. d. 18.
lxiv.	Pelagius II.	577	an. 12. m. 2. d. 27.
i.	S. Petrus.	43	an. 24. m. 5. d. 10.

Petrus antipapa, 686.

xi.	Pius I.	156	an. 9. m. 5. dies 27.
ccx.	Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
ccxv.	Pius III.	1503	dies 26.
ccxxiv.	Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
ccxxv.	Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m. 3. d. 24.
xix.	Pontianus	231	annos 4. dies 6.

R

Romanus Galefinius antipapa.

S

lxvi.	Sabinianus	604	menses 5. dies 19.
lxxxv.	Sergius I.	687	an. 13. m. 8. d. 14.
civ.	Sergius II.	844	an. 3. m. 1. dies 2.
cxx.	Sergius III.	907	an. 13. meses 4.
cxliii.	Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. dies 13.

Ordo suc- cessionis.	Nomen Pontificis.	Ann. conf.	Tempus Pontificatus.
			<i>Sergius antipapa, 890.</i>
lxxii.	Severinus	640	an. 2. d. 4.
lix.	Silverius	536	annos 4.
xxiv.	Silvester I.	314	an. 21. m. 11.
cxl.	Silvester II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.

Silvester III. antipapa, 1043.

xlvi.	Simplicius	467	an. 15. m. 5. d. 10.
xxxix.	Siricius	385	an. 13. m. 1. d. 14.
lxxxviii.	Sisinnius	708	dies 20.
viii.	Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. m. 10. d. 8.
xxv.	Sixtus II.	257	an. 11. d. 13.
xl.	Sixtus III.	432	an. 7. m. 11.
ccxii.	Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
ccxxvii.	Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. dies 3.
xiii.	Soter	173	an. 3. m. 11. d. 28.
xxiv.	Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. m. 3. d. 22.
xciii.	Steph. omit. solit.	752	d. 4.
xciv.	Stephanus II.	752	an. 5. d. 20.
xcvi.	Stephanus III.	768	an. 3. m. 5. d. 12.
xcix.	Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. m. 7. d. 3.
cxii.	Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & d. aliquot.
cxiv.	Stephanus VI.	897	an. 3. aut 4.
cxxv.	Stephanus VII.	929	an. 2. m. 1. d. 15.
cxxviii.	Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
clii.	Stephanus IX.	1057	octo ferè meses.
lii.	Symmachus.	498	an. 15. m. 7. d. 27.

T

ix.	Telephorus	140	an. 11. m. 8. d. 29.
lxxiv.	Theodorus I.	642	an. 7. m. 5. d. 20.
cxv.	Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.

Theodorus antipapa 686 & 687.

Theophylactus antipapa 757.

V

cii.	Valentinus	827	dies 40.
xv.	Victor I.	192	an. 9. m. 1. d. 28.
cli.	Victor II.	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
clvi.	Victor III.	1086	menses ferè 10.

Victor III. seu Gregorius, antipapa 1140.

Victor IV. Octavianus antipapa 1159.

lx.	Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6.
lxxviii.	Vitalianus	656	an. 13. m. 4. d. 27.
xviii.	Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. m. 7. d. 4.
clvii.	Urbanus II.	108	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
clxx.	Urbanus III.	118	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.
clxxx.	Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.
cxcviii.	Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.
cc.	Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.
ccxxviii.	Urbanus VII.	1590	dies 13.
ccxxxv.	Urbanus VIII.	1623	an. 20. m. 11. d. 22.

Ursicinus sive Ursinus antipapa, 367.

Z

xcii.	Zacharias	741	an. 10. m. 3. d. 10.
xvi.	Zephyrinus	201	an. 18. d. 18.

Zinismus antipapa, 824.

xlvi.	Zosimus	417	an. 1. m. 4. d. 7.
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E

IMPERATORES ROMANI.

<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Ejus Anno 42. natus est Christus.</i>	
	<i>Init. impe- rii.</i>	<i>Tempus Imperii.</i>
1 Augustus		
2 Tiberius	14	an. 22. m. 6.
3 C. Caligula	37	an. 3. m. 10. d. 8.
4 Claudius	41	an. 13. m. 8. d. 20.
5 Nero	54	an. 13. m. 7. d. 28.
6 Galba	68	m. 7. d. 7.
7 Orho	69	m. 3. d. 5.
8 Vitellius	69	m. octo d. 5.
9 Vespasianus	69	an. 10. minùs diebus sex.
10 Titus	79	an. 2. m. 2. d. 20.
11 Domitianus	81	an. 15. d. 6.
12 Nerva	96	an. 1. m. 4. d. 11.
13 Trajanus	98	an. 19. m. 6. d. 15.
14 Hadrianus	117	an. 20. m. 11.
15 Antoninus Pius	138	an. 22. m. 6.
16 Marcus Aurelius Ant.	161	an. 19. d. 10.
17 Lucius Verus	161	an. 9.
18 Commodus	180	an. 12. m. 9. d. 14.
19 Helvius Pertinax	193	m. 2. d. 26.
20 Didius Julianus	193	m. 2. d. 5.
21 Severus	193	an. 17. m. 8. d. 3.
22 Caracalla	211	an. 6. m. 2. d. 5.
23 Macrinus cum Dia- dumeno filio	217	m. 2.
24 Alagabalus seu He- liogabalus	218	an. 3. m. 9. d. 4.
25 Alexander Severus	222	an. 13. d. 19.
26 Maximinus	235	an. 2. & aliquot m.
27 Maximus Pupienus & Balbinus	238	m. 9. aut 10.
28 Gordianus	238	an. 5. aut 6.
29 Philippus cum filio	224	an. 5. & m.
30 Decius	249	an. circ. 3.
31 Gallus Treb. cum Volusiano	251	an. 2. m. 4.
32 Valerianus cum Gal- lieno	254	an. circ. 3.
33 Gallienus solus	260	an. circ. 8.

Circa ea tempora exorti sunt triginta propemodum Tyranni.

34 Claudius II.	268	an. fermè 2.
35 Aurelianus	260	m. 4. fermè m. 4.
36 Tacitus	275	m. sex. d. 20.
37 Florianus	276	m. duos aut tres.
38 Probus	276	an. sex. m. 4.
39 Carus cum filiis Carino & Numeri- ano.	282	an. 2.

<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Init. impe- rii.</i>	<i>Tempus Imperii.</i>
40 Diocletianus	284	an. prope 20.
41 Maximianus ejus collega	284	an. 18.
42 Constantius Chlo- rus	304	an. 2. m. 3. d. 25.
43 Galerius Maximia- nus ejus collega	304	an. septem.
44 Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
45 Constantius cum fratribus Constanti- no & Constante, tum solus.	337	an. 25. m. 1. d. 13.
46 Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
47 Jovianus	363	7. m. d. 22.
48 Valentinianus Se- nior	364	an. 11. m. 8. d. 22.
49 Gratianus	375	an. 7. m. 9. d. 12.
50 Valentinianus Ju- nior.	383	an. 8. m. 8. d. 21.
51 Theodosius M.	392	an. 2. m. 6.
52 Honorius	395	an. 28. m. 7.
53 Valentinianus III.	425	an. circ. 30.
54 Petronius Maxi- mus	455	d. 77.
55 Eparchius Avitus	455	an. 1. m. sex.
56 Julius Majorianus	457	an. 4. m. 4. d. 2.
57 Libius Severus.	461	an. 3. m. 8. d. 27.

465 Interregnum duorum circiter annorum.

58 Flavius Anthemius	467	an. 4. m. 11.
59 Anicius Olybrius	472	m. 6. aut 7.
60 Flavius Glycerius	473	an. 1. m. 3.
61 Julius Nepos	474	an. 1. m. 3.
62 Augustulus	475	m. 10.

Reges Ostrogothorum in Italia.

1 Odoacer	476	an. 16. m. 6. d. 13.
2 Theodoricus	493	an. 33. m. 6.
3 Athalaricus	526	an. 7. m. 8.
4 Theodatus	534	an. 3. m. 9.
5 Vitiges	537	an. 4.
6 Hildebaldus, aliàs Theobaldus	540	an. 1.

Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.
7 Eraricus	542	m. 5.
8 Totila	542	an. 10.
9 Tera	552	an. 1.

Reges Longobardorum in Italia.

1 Alboinus	571	an. 3. m. 6.
2 Clephis	574	an. 1. m. 6.

Interregnum annorum 10.

3 Autharis	581	an. 11.
4 Agilulfus	592	an. 25.
5 Adelvaldus	616	an. 10.
6 Arioaldus	626	an. 12.
7 Rotharis	638	an. 15. m. 4.
8 Rodoaldus	653	an. 5. m. 7.
9 Aripertus	657	an. 5. m.
10 Grimoaldus	663	an. 9.
11 Garibaldus	672	m. 3.
12 Pertaritus	673	an. 17.
13 Cunibertus	689	an. 12.
14 Luithbertus	701	m. 8.
15 Raginbertus	701	m. 3.
16 Aripertus	702	an. 11.
17 Asprandus	712	m. 3.
18 Luitprandus	713	an. 31. m. 7.
19 Hildebrandus	744	m. 5.
20 Rachis	744	an. 5. m. 6.
21 Aistulfus	750	an. 7.
22 Desiderius	756	an. 18.

Imperium Occidentis Restitutum.

1 Carolus M.	800	an. 13. m. 1. d. 5.
2 Ludovicus Pius	814	an. 26. m. 4. d. 3.
3 Lotharius	840	an. 15.
4 Ludovicus II.	855	an. 20.
5 Carolus II.	875	an. 1. m. 9. d. 14.
6 Ludovicus Balbus	878	an. 4.
7 Carolus III. Cras- fus.	881	an. ferè 7.
8 Arnulfus	887	an. ferè 12.
9 Ludovicus III. ulti- mus ex stirpe Caro- li M.	896	an. 12.
10 Conradus	912	an. 7.
11 Henricus I.	919	an. 17.
12 Otho I.	936	an. 36. m. 10. d. 6.
13 Otho II.	973	an. 10. m. 7. d. 2.
14 Otho III.	983	an. 17. m. 1. d. 2.
15 S. Henricus II.	1001	an. 23 m. 5. d. 16.
16 Conradus II.	1024	an. 14. m. 10. d. 22.
17 Henricus III.	1039	an. 17. m. 4.
18 Henricus IV.	1056	an. 49. m. 10.
19 Henricus V.	1106	an. 18. m. 9. d. 15.
20 Lotharius II.	1125	an. 13. d. 18.
21 Conradus III.	1139	an. 12. m. 10 d. 15.
22 Fredericus I. Æno- barbus	1152	an. 37. m. 3. d. 7.
23 Henricus VI. Asper	1190	an. 8. m. 2. d. 22.
24 Philippus	1198	an. 10. m. 3.

Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.
25 Otho IV.	1208	an. 10.
26 Fridericus II.	1218	an. 33.

Imperium vacat.

27 Rodolph. I. Harf- purgensis	1273	an. 18.
28 Adolfus Nassavius	1292	an. sex. m. 6.
29 Albertus I. Austria- cus	1292	an. 9. m. 9.
30 Henricus Lutzem- burgensis	1308	an. 14. m. circiter 10.
31 Fredericus III.	1314	an. 15.
32 Ludovicus Bavarus	1314	an. 32. m. 11.
33 Carolus IV. Bohe- mus	1346	an. 32. m. 7.
34 Venceslaus	1378	an. 21. m. ferè 6.
35 Rupertus Bavarus	1400	an. 9. m. 8.
36 Sigismundus	1411	an. 26.
37 Albertus II. Auftri- acus	1438	an. 1. m. 7.
38 Fredericus IV.	1440	an. 53. m. 4.
39 Maximilianus I.	1493	an. 25. m. 5.
40 Carolus V.	1519	an. 38. m. 2. d. 10.
41 Ferdinandus I.	1558	an. ferè 6.
42 Maximilianus II.	1564	an. 12. m. 2. d. 17.
43 Rodulfus II.	1576	an. 35. m. 3.
44 Matthias	1612	an. 6. m. 9.
45 Ferdinandus II.	1619	an. 18. & m. 4.
46 Ferdinandus III.	1637	an. 21. m. 5. d. 10.
47 Leopoldus Ignatius	1658	hodie imperans.

Imperatores Orientis.

1 Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
2 Constantius	337	an. 25. m. 5. d. 13.
3 Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
4 Jovianus	363	m. 7. d. 22.
5 Valens	364	an. 14. m. 4. d. 9.
6 Theodosius	379	an. ferè 16.
7 Arcadius	395	an. 13.
8 Theodosius Junior	408	an. 42. m. 2. d. 28.
9 Marcianus	450	an. 6. & ferme 6. m.
10 Leo Macelles cum Leone Zenonis fi- lio	457	an. 17. & m. 9.
11 Zeno Isaurus	474	an. 17. m. 6.
12 Anastasius I.	491	an. 27. m. 3.
13 Justinus I.	518	an. 8. m. 8. d. 23.
14 Justinianus I.	527	an. 39. m. 7. d. 23.
15 Justinus II.	566	an. 11. & ferme 11. m.
16 Tiberius Constan- tinus	578	an. 3. & 10. circ. m.
17 Mauricius	582	an. 20. m. 3. d. 13.
18 Phocas	602	an. 7. m. 10. d. 18.
19 Heraclius	610	an. 30. m. 5. d. 7.
20 Constantinus	641	dies 103.
21 Heracleonas	641	m. ferè 6.
22 Constans	641	an. 26. m. 8. d. 15.
23 Constantinus Pogo- natus	668	an. 16.
24 Justinianus II. Rhinotmetus	685	an. 10.
25 Leontius Patricius	695	an. ferè 3.

Imperatores Orientis.

Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.
26 Tiberius Apfimarum	698	an. prope 7.
27 Justinianus	705	an. ferme 6.
28 Philippicus Bardas	711	an. .1 & m. 6.
29 Artemius, sive Anastasius II.	713	an. 2
30 Theodosius Adramytenus	715	an. 1. m. 2.
31 Leo Conon Isaurus	717	an. 24. & ferè 3. m.
32 Constantius Copronymus	741	an. 24. m. 3.
33 Leo IV. Chazarus	775	an. ferè 5.
34 Constantinus cum matre Irene	780	an. 16.
35 Irene sola	797	an. 5. m. 2. d. 16.
36 Nicophorus Logotheta.	802	an. 8. m. 8. d. 27.
37 Michael Rangabe	811	an. circ. 2.
38 Leo V. Armenus	813	an. 7. m. 5. d. 14.
39 Michael II. Balbus Phryx	820	an. 8. m. 9. d. aliquot.
40 Theophilus	829	an. 12. m. 3. d. 20.
41 Michael III.	842	an. 25. m. 8.
42 Basilus Macedo	867	an. 18. m. 5.
43 Leo VI. Sapiens	886	an. 25. m. 3. d. 12.
44 Alexander	911	an. 11. d. 27.
45 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus	912	an. 48. m. 5.
46 Romanus	959	an. 3. m. 4.
47 Nicophorus Phocas	963	an. 6. m. 3. d. 26.
48 Joannes Trimiscus	969	an. 5. m. 11. d. 10.
49 Basilus II. cum fratre Constantino Porphyrogenito junior	975	an. 50.
50 Constantinus idem solus	975	an. 3.
51 Romanus Argyropulus	1028	an. 5. m. 6.
52 Michael IV. Paphlago	1034	an. 7. m. 8. aut 9.
53 Michael V. Calaphates	1041	m. 4. d. 5.
54 Constantinus Monomachus	1042	an. 12. m. 5. d. 20.
55 Theodora Soror Zoes	1054	an. m. 8. d. 20.
56 Michael VI. Stratioticus	1056	an. 1. d. 10.
57 Isaac Comnenus	1057	an. 2. m. 3.
58 Constantinus Ducas.	1059	an. 7. m. 6.

Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.
59 Romanus Diogenes	1068	an. 3. m. 8. d. 12.
60 Michael VII. Ducas Parapinacius	1071	an. 6. m. 6.
61 Nicophorus Botaniatus	1078	an. 2. m. 11. d. 20.
62 Alexius Comnenus	1081	an. 37. m. 4. d. 15.
63 Joannes Comn.	1118	an. 24. m. 7. d. 13.
64 Manuel Comn.	1143	an. 37. m. 5. d. 23.
65 Alexius Comnenus Junior	1180	an. 3. d. aliquot.
66 Andronicus Comnenus	1183	an. 1. m. 11. d. 10.
67 Isaac Angelus	1185	an. 9. m. 7. d. 29.
68 Alexis Angelus	1195	an. 8. m. 3. d. 10.
69 Alexis Angelus Jun.	1203	m. 5. d. aliquot.
70 Alexius Ducas Murfuphulus	1204	m. 2. d. 16.
71 Theodorus Lascaris Nicææ	1204	an. 18.
72 Joannes Ducas Batatzes	1222	an. 33.
73 Theodorus Junior Lascaris	1255	an. circ. 4.
74 Joannes Lascaris	1258	exiguo tempore
75 Michael Palæologus	1259	an. 24. m. 2. d. 20.
76 Andronicus Palæologus	1283	an. 45. m. 6.
77 Andronicus junior solus	1327	an. ferme 15.
78 Joannes Cantacuzenus	1341	an. 14.
79 Joannes Palæologus	1355	an. 27.
80 Manuel Palæologus	1384	an. 36.
81 Joan. Palæologus II.	1412	an. 23. m. 3. d. 10.
82 Constantinus Palæologus Dracofes	1441	an. 4. m. ferè 8.
Mahometo II. Turcarum Principe capta Constantinopolis.	1453	

Franci Orientis Imperatores.

1 Balduinus	1204	an. 2.
2 Henricus	1206	an. 10. m. 9. d. 22.
3 Petrus de Cortinaco	1217	exiguo tempore
4 Robertus	1224	an. 10.
5 Balduinus	1239	an. 22.
6 Philippus	1273	per aliquot annos.

F I N I S.



A MAP of the Eastern Parts
of the
ROMAN EMPIRE,
Adapted to y Ecclesiastical Histories of
EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES & EUAGRIUS.

A Draught of the
Places adjoining to
Constantinople
and mentioned in
the Ecclesiastical
Histories.

To the
Truly Honourable, because truly Pious,
ROBERT NELSON Esq.
This MAP, as a Token of my Extraordinary Esteem
for his Extraordinary Zeal in promoting
the Glory of GOD, & y Salvation of Men,
by his Good Example, Excellent Writings, & Diffusive Charms
is humbly Dedicated
by me
EDWARD WELLS D.D.



Place both Maps before Page 1. of Eusebius
Eccles. History, and this Map first of y^e title

The BRITISH ISLES

The BRITISH Ocean

GERMANIA

SARMATIANS

SCYTHIA

MASSAGETA
or HUNNI
as Evagr. L. 2. c. 1.

TURKS

THE
CASPIAN
SEA

The EUXINE SEA

ARMENIA MAJOR

Sometime called PERSARMENIA

MEDIA

PARTHIA

PERSIA
or the PERSIAN
EMPIRE

PERSIS
prop.

PERSIA y^e true INDIA, known
to y^e Ancient GREEKS & ROMANS.
Further on Eastward adjacent to

LIBYA DESERTA

ÆTHIOPIA, Sometimes called
INDIA, & thought by some of y^e Antients
to join on, by a continued tract of Land
to the true INDIA.

To the Reverend and Worthy Persons of the CLERGY & LAITY
who are TRUSTEES for procuring and erecting PAROCHIAL
LIBRARIES in y^e meanly endowed CURES throughout ENGLAND.
This MAP, as a Token of my Great Esteem for THEM and the so Highly Beneficial Charity
they are concerned in, is humbly Dedicated by me
EDWARD WELLS D.D.

A MAP Shewing the more
General Divisions of y^e ROMAN Empire,
and such Places of y^e more Remote Parts thereof,
and also such Countries lying Without y^e Roman
Empire, as are mentioned in the
Ecclesiastical Histories of EUSEBIUS,
SOCRATES & EUAGRIUS.

Places of Uncertain Situation
Murra Fort, in Gallia
Flanona Isle, in the West.

MAZI-
CES

Parts inhabited by various Nomades

BLEMMYES

The MEDITERRANEAN
SEA

MAURITANIA
or AFRICA
propria

The LIBYAN
or AFRICAN
CONTINENT

NUMIDIA
or NOMADES

HISPANIA
or
OLD SPAIN

THE
WESTERN

FRANCE

GALLIA now

BRITAIN

15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65

20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History

OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

The Subject of this Work.

THE Successions of the Holy Apostles, together with the Series of times continued from our Saviour to our age, and how many and great things are said to have been done, agreeable to the Subject of an Ecclesiastical History, and who have eminently governed and presided over the Church, especially in the most famous

Sees (a); also who in every age have set forth the Divine Word, either by preaching or writings; And also, what Men, and how many, and when, thro' a desire of innovation, falling into extream Errors, have published themselves authors of knowledge falsely so called, and sparing none, as ravening Wolves, have devoured the flock of Christ; and moreover, what evils and calamities beset straightway the whole nation of the Jews, because of their conspiracy against our Saviour; and again, by how great and what manner of means, and in what times the divine Word hath been impugned of the Gentiles, and what singular Men in every age have undergone the greatest perils in defence thereof, by shedding their blood, and suffering torments; and

besides all this, the Martyrdoms that have happened in our own times, together with the merciful and benign assistance of our Saviour graciously exhibited towards every one: These things, I say, I determining to publish in writing, will not take my entrance from any other place, than from the very (b) Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus, who is the Christ of God. But truly even in the beginning we must modestly crave pardon; for we confess ingenuously, it is far beyond our strength to finish what we design and promise perfectly and compleatly, so as to omit nothing. For we taking this argument in hand first, adventure to tread a solitary and untrodden way, praying that God may be our guide, and the power of our Lord our present help and aid; but we can no where find so much as the bare steps of any men who have passed the same path before us: excepting only some small shews and tokens divers here and there have left us, particular declarations of the times they lived in, holding forth as it were Torches a far off, and lifting up their voices from on high, and calling as out of a Watch-tower to direct us what way we ought to go, and how without error or danger to order our discourse. Whatsoever things therefore we think will be expedient for this present argument, these we carefully chusing, as they are here and there by them mentioned, and collecting and gathering the commodious and fit sentences of former Writers, as it were flowers out of Wisdoms Meadows, we will endeavour by an Historical narration to compact the same into one body, resting well contented to preserve from oblivion the Successions, although not of all, yet of the most famous Apostles of our Saviour in those Churches which

(b) Whatsoever our Saviour did on earth in order to the procuring the salvation of mankind, that the anti-ent Greek Fathers called διανομιαν. Therefore [ὡς ὅτι τὸ ἄριστ' οὐκ ἐκνομιὰ] which is the phrase here us'd, signifies the Incarnation; as the last διανομιὰ is His passion. For they are mistaken who think that διανομιὰ signifies nothing else but the Incarnation. For this word

is taken in a larger sense, and comprehends the whole Life of Christ among Men. Nicephorus therefore (B. 1. Chap. 2.) has rightly us'd, instead of this phrase here in Eusebius, this [τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ τοῦ σώματος] i. e. His conversation in the Flesh. In this sense Justin Martyr uses this word, in his disputation adversus Tryphon. p. 331. Clemens in the 6. of his Stromat. And Ireneus, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. calls the passion of Christ διανομιὰ. So Chrysostom in his second Homily on Matt. and Cyril, in his 6. B. against Julian, pag. 213. and Origen, in the beginning of his 11 Tome of his Commentaries on John. Valef.

B

then

(a) I cannot approve of Christopherson's translation, who renders the word [παροικίας] Provinces. Neither am I pleased with the amendment of Curterius, or whoever it was that translated it [Churches.] Indeed παροικία signifies a Church amongst Christian Writers, and particularly in our Eusebius, not in one place. The original of which signification came from hence, as I judge; because the Church is as it were, παροικῶν, a Stranger or Sojourner in the earth; but its country and freedom is in heaven. Hence we often meet with this phrase in our Eusebius, ἐκκλησία παροικῶσα ἐν σμύρῃ, Book 4. and B. 4. Chap. 23. And Clemens, in his Epist. to the Corinthians, writes thus; ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικῶσα ῤαύμην, &c. But in this place of Eusebius we must not translate this word [παροικίας] Churches. For then the same word must be repeated twice in the same clause, thus — Who have governed and presided over the Church especially in the most famous Churches. I should rather translate it [Cities or Sees] or, with Rufinus, in celeberrimis locis, in the most famous places. Sometimes this word is taken for the whole Diocese, as it occurs in Eusebius in very many places; and in several other Authors: sometimes it is taken in a more strict sense, not for the whole Diocese, but for one particular Church: So Apollonius in his Book against the Cataphrygians, whose Words Eusebius quotes Chap. 18. B. 5. In both these senses the word is used amongst the Latins. See Jac. Sermondus in his notes on the last Epistle of Sordanius. Valef. See F. G's Notes on Ridley's view of the Civil Law. p. 152. Edit. Oxford, 1634.

then were eminent, and are still renowned. I suppose that I have taken in hand a subject very necessary, because I have not found any Ecclesiastical Writer which hath hitherto employ'd any diligence in a work of this nature; I hope also it will appear a most profitable work to those who prize the useful knowledge of History. And indeed I heretofore wrote an Epitome of these things, when I compiled my

(c) In the Maz. M.S. I found this Scholion written in the Margin [συνέγραψαι ὅτι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δι' ἁγίων καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων] that is, Observe

that the Chronical Canons were first written by Eusebius. Valef.

(d) There being in Christ a twofold nature, the one Divine, the other Humane, which conjoined make one person: as often as He is treated of, the discourse must be divided into two parts. And those things which are spoken of His Humanity belong to the *οἰκονομία*, as we said before; But those which are spoken of His Divinity are to be referred to the *Θεολογία* (which are the two terms here used by Eusebius.) Thus Greg. Nazian. in his 38. Orat. upon Christ's birth, distinguishes the *οἰκονομία* from the *Theologia* in these words, Ταῦτά μοι περὶ Θεολογίας καὶ οἰκονομίας τὰν ἡμῶν. ἔδε γὰρ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα καί τις ὅτι καὶ Θεολογία τὸ προκείμενον ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οἰκονομία. And Chrysostome, in his Sermon De sigillis which is in his sixth Tome, says, that the three former Evangelists, being to preach the Gospel of Christ to all Nations, began their discourse from his *οἰκονομία*; but, that John, after them three, applied himself to the explicating of his *Θεολογία*; and took the beginning of his discourse from the Divinity of Christ. Whence it appears why Eusebius here used these words [Τῆς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι οἰκονομία τε καὶ Θεολογία.] For when we speak of Christ, we must necessarily understand His two Natures. Valef.

(e) The Antients called that *Theologicon*, which we now commonly stile *Theologiam*; Jerom in his 155. Epist. Ad Paulam Urbicam—Aut de Logica pro qua nostri Theologicon sibi Vindicant; so its written in the old M. S. of Henricus Memmius (not as it is now commonly printed, *Theoricen*, without any sense) which I have heretofore seen. After the same manner Pliny called that *Geometricen*, and *Magicen*, which we now call *Geometriam* and *Magiam*. In the Books of Jerome you will never find it termed *Theologiam*, but in Greek *Θεολογίαν*. See him on Chap. 40. Ezechiel. Valef.

CHAP. II.

A brief Summary concerning the Præ-existence and Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

(a) The Maz. Med. and Fuk. M.S.S. begin the first Chap. at these Words, with this Title [Τῆς ἡγεσίας ἐπαγγελίας ὁπότε ἐγένετο.] The same is observ'd in the Edit. of Robert Stephens, who has throughout the whole work, followed the King's M. S. in the Stile, or Text of the Chapters, but the Medicæan M. S. in the Titles of the Chapters. But any one may see that this Title is altogether unmeet for this place. Christophorson therefore rightly set it at the beginning of this Book; and here began the second Chapter; whom we have willingly followed. Valef.

(a) Whereas therefore there is in Christ a twofold Nature, the one resembling the Head of the Body, by which He is understood to be God; the other rightly compared to the feet, by which he hath put on our humane nature, subject to like passions with us, for the sake of our Salvation; the series of our subsequent narration will be perfect and entire, if we begin the declaration of the discourse of the whole History concerning him, from those Heads which are the chief and principal. Hereby also both the Antiquity and divine Dignity of Christianity will be manifestly declar'd, against them which suppose this Religion new, and strange, of yesterday and never before apparent. But to declare the Generation, Dignity, Essence, and Nature of Christ, no speech can sufficiently serve. Wherefore also the Holy Ghost in the Prophets saith; *His Generation*

who shall be able to declare? For the Father no man hath known but the Son; neither at any time hath any fully known the Son, but the Father alone which begat him. That Light that shone before the world; that Intellectual and Essential Wisdom that was before all ages; the Living God, the Word, who was in the beginning with the Father, who but the Father alone can clearly and perfectly comprehend? Him, who is before every creature and workmanship, whether visible or invisible, the first and only begotten Son of God, chief Captain of the rational and immortal host in heaven, the Angel of the Great Council, the Finisher of the secret will of the Father, maker and worker of all things together with the Father, who after the Father, is cause and author of all things, the true and only begotten Son of God, Lord, God, and King of all Creatures, receiving dominion and rule from the Father, together with divinity, power, and honour. For, according to the mystical and divine expressions of the Scriptures concerning him; *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made that was made.* And the same, great Moses, who is the most ancient of all the Prophets, when he describes by inspiration of the Holy Spirit the Creation and Disposition of the universe, doth shew, to wit, that God the Framer of the world and Architect of All, granted to Christ himself, and to none other, that is, to his divine and only begotten Word, the making of inferior creatures, and that he conferr'd with him about the creation of man; for God said, saith he, *Let us make man after our own image and likeness.* And with this saying agreeeth another Prophet, thus speaking of God in Hymns, *He spake and they were made, He commanded and they were created.* He introduceth the Father and Maker, commanding as universal Lord, with his Royal beck; but the Word of God next to him, (not different from him who is preached by us) in all things (c) ministring to his

(c) In the Med. and Savil. M.S.S. There is this Scholion in the Margin at these words [ἐκ ἐπιθέτου δὲ τῆς λέξεως ὁμοούσιον λόγον, ἀλλὰ συναριθμῶν τὴν κτίσιν, ὅς φησιν θεὸς καὶ ἰσότης.] i. e. The Word of the Father, being of the same substance with the Father, is not subject to the Father, but together with him framed the Creation, as being by Nature God, and equal to the Father in honour. Valef.

Therefore from the first original of mankind, all who are said to have been eminent for righteousness and the virtues of Religion, both about the time of Moses that great worshipper, and before him, especially Abraham and his sons, and as many as in the times following were accounted just; and the Prophets also which contemplated with the pure eyes of the mind, have acknowledg'd him, and have attributed to him, as to the Son of God, due honour. And he being in no wise slothful about his Father's worship, (d) was appointed a master to teach

(d) Or, is appointed, or, made. Valef. (e) At these words the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. MSS. begin the second Chapter; to which agrees Robert Stephens's Edit. But we, following Christophorson, have otherwise distinguished the Chapters: For which we gave the reason before. Valef.

all men the knowledge of his Father. (e) The Lord God therefore appear'd in the likeness of man unto Abraham, as he sat at the Oak of Mamre; but he forthwith falling down upon his face, altho' with the outward eye he beheld but man, worship'd him as God, and made supplication to him as Lord. And that he was not ignorant who he was, he professeth when he uttereth these words, *O Lord, which judgeth the whole earth, wilt not thou judge rightly?* For if it be contrary to reason

Isai. 9. 6.

(b) Or,

Minister:

for some

copies

read it

[ὁ πρῶτος]

others

[τῆς ἐκείνου]

as

we have

translated

it. Valef.

Joan 1. 1,

2, 3.

Gen. 1.

26.

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reason

(f) *Valefius*, reason that either the unbegotten and immutable (f) person or nature of God Almighty should transform himself into the likeness of man, and so by an appearance in a bodily shape deceive the eyes of the beholders; or that the Scripture should feign such things falsely; then that God and Lord, who judgeth the whole earth, and executeth judgment, appearing in the shape of man, who else can

he be call'd, (for it is not lawful to say it of the first Author of all things) but only his pre-existent Word? Of whom also it is said in the Psal. 107. *He sent forth his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.* The same

Moses plainly calleth Lord, next after the Father, saying, *The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah.* The same doth the Divine Scripture call God, appearing again unto *Jacob* in the figure of a man, and saying unto *Jacob*, *Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast prevailed with God.* At which time *Jacob* named that place the Vision of God,

saying, *For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.* Moreover, neither is it lawful once to surmise that the apparitions of God in the Scripture may be attributed to the inferior Angels and Ministers of God: for neither doth the Scripture, if at any time any of them appeared unto men, conceal the same; expressly saying, not that God, or the Lord, but that Angels spake; which may easily be confirm'd by innumerable testimonies. This same also doth *Jesus* the Successor of *Moses* term Chief Captain of the great power of the Lord, as Prince of Celestial Angels, and Arch-Angels, and all supernatural Powers, and as being the Power and Wisdom of the Father, and to whom the second place in the rule and government of all things is committed, when as he beheld them in no other form or figure than of Man. For thus it is written; *And it hapned when Joshua was in*

Jericho, he lifted up his eyes, and behold a man standing over against him, having a naked sword in his hand. And Joshua coming unto him said, Art thou on our side, or on our adversaries? And he said unto him, As Chief Captain of the Host of the Lord I am now come hither. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, Lord, what commandest thou thy servant? And the Captain of the Lords host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shooe from off thy foot; for the place where thou standest is an holy place. By these words thou may'st by an attentive consideration perceive, that this person did not differ (g) from him who deliver'd his Oracles

(g) *Eusebius* would here prove, that he who appeared to *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, and called himself the Captain of the Host of the Lord, was the same that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush. Now he concludes this from hence, because this Captain of the Lord's Host used the same Words to *Joshua*, that God did to *Moses* in the Bush. So, before *Eusebius*, supposed *Justin Martyr*, in his *Disputat. adversus Tryphon.* and others, as *Theodoret* witnesses, in his questions on the Book of *Joshua*. But the rest of the Fathers thought this Captain of the Host of the Lord was not the Son of God, but rather *Michael* the Arch-Angel. In the most antient Maz. M. S. there is at these words, a Scholion put, which I thought good here to translate. But the Church, O holy *Eusebius*, thinks otherwise concerning this, and not as thou dost. For him that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, the Church concludes to be God; but him that appeared to *Moses's* successor in *Jericho*, to whom the presidency over the *Hebrews* was allotted, who had his sword drawn, and commanded *Joshua* to put off his shooe, him, I say, the Church supposes to be *Michael* the Arch-Angel: And it's manifest that it thinks righter than thou. Whence is this gathered? God,

that appeared in the Bush in the form of Fire, being asked by his servant *Moses*, who he was, most evidently declared this unto him, That he was God. But he that appeared to *Joshua*, in no wise styles himself God, but calls himself God's chief Captain. But this Dignity being inferior to the supream Power and Divinity, and being not Regal, but belonging to a General, as one would say..... The rest, by reason of the great age of the M. S. could not be read, which indeed is great pity. For it is both a most elegant Scholion, and also written by the hand of that very Antiquary who wrote out the M. S. that is, by a most learned and antient hand. *Valef.*

to *Moses*. For of him also the Scripture speaketh the same words; *When the Lord saw that that he* Exod. 3. *came for to see, God called to him out of the midst of* 4, 5, 6. *the bush, and said, Moses, Moses; and he answered, what is it? And he said, come not nigh hither; put thy shooes off thy feet for the place where thou standest is holy ground. And he said unto him, I am the God of thy fathers; the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* Now that there is a certain Essence living and subsisting before the foundations of the world were laid, which ministred unto the Father and the God of all at the creation of all creatures, termed the Word, and the Wisdom of God; beside the before produc'd demonstrations, Wisdom herself, in her proper person by *Solomon* plainly speaking and delivering her mysteries after this manner, is to be heard: *I Wisdom* Prov. 8. *have fixed a Tabernacle: Council, Knowledge and Understanding I have by calling allured unto me. Through me Kings do reign, and Princes decree justice. Through me Princes bear rule on earth.* To this she addeth, *The Lord himself fashioned me the beginning of his* 22, 23, &c. *ways, for the accomplishing of his works; I have been ordained before the foundations of the world were laid, and from the beginning: or ever the earth was made, before the well-springs flowed out, before the foundations of the mountains were firmly set, and before all hills, begat he me. When he spread and prepared the heavens, I was present with him; and when he bound in due order the depths under heaven I was by, composing all things; I was she in whom he daily delighted; rejoicing continually before his face, when he joyced at the perfect finishing of the world.* That therefore the Word of God subsisted before all things, and that to some he appear'd, tho' not to all men; let thus much suffice at this time to have been

by us briefly deliver'd. (h) Now for what cause he was not preach'd of old unto all men, and unto all nations as now he is, thus it shall evidently appear: That ancient Generation of men

was not able to receive the most wise and most excellent Doctrine of *Christ*. For immediately in the very beginning, after that primitive happy state of life, the first man, being careless of the commandment of God, fell into this mortal and frail life, and chang'd this cursed earth for those heavenly delights and pleasures of old. And his posterity, when they had replenish'd this world, appear'd far worse, one or two excepted; they gave admission to certain savage and brutish manners, and led a life not worthy to be call'd life: And moreover they busied not their minds to erect either City or Common-wealth, nor to profit in Arts or Sciences. They had not amongst them so much as the name either of Laws or Statutes, or moreover of Virtue, or Philosophy; but wandring in deserts, they lived like wild and fierce Savages: they corrupted their natural understanding, and the seeds of reason and gentleness sown in man's mind, with their excessive wilful malice, yielding up themselves wholly to all abominable wickedness: some-

times they defiled one anothers bodies, sometimes they shed one anothers blood, and sometimes they spared not to devour one anothers flesh, yea they audaciously undertook to wage war with God, and attempted those Gigantick combats so much talk'd of, determining in their

(i) It's strange, that in the Translation of this place both *Musculus* and *Christophorus* erred. *Ἐπιστήμιον* (which is the term here us'd) in Greek signifies, to make a Fortification, or Bulwark against a place; See *Harpocration*, in the word *ἐπιστήμιον*. But it's ridiculous to believe, that Men arrived to that degree of madness, as by building Rampires to attempt to scale Heaven, and to turn out God from thence; which yet *Eusebius* seems by this place to have believed. These are the fictions of the Poets, who by this fable would set forth the pride of Men of that Age, and their contempt of God. Indeed Holy Writ mentions the Giants, but it says nothing of this sort concerning them; and it testifies that that Tower was built, not by the Giants, but by the Sons and Posterity of *Noah*, after the Flood. *Valej.*

(k) The term in the Original is *[χορηγία]* and it signifies satiety or fulness; it is the same in *Robert Stephens* Edit. But *Valej* says it should be *[χαρηγία]* which he translates (*τοπος*) i. e. a fruitful heaviness, for so, says he, it is written in the *Euk.* and *Savill. M. SS.*

(l) I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote it thus *[προϋπαρτίας]* i. e. the Pre-existent Wisdom of God, as it is in our four *M. SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil.* and not *[πρωτόγονος]*, i. e. the first produced, &c. for this term agrees better with *Eusebius's* meaning, seeing that he had a little above quoted that place out of the *Proverbs* (Chap. 8. v. 22.) *The Lord himself fashion'd me, &c.* Indeed, the Ancient Divines, and especially those who wrote before the times of the Nicene-Council, by the word *[πρωτόγονος]* understood, not only a Creation which is made of nothing, but, all Production in general, as well that which was from all eternity, as that which is produced in time. Hence it is, that *Helio* wrote a Book *περί πρῶτης καὶ δεύτερης χριστιανικῆς* as we shall see at the 4th Book of this *History*. But if we should here read *[πρωτόγονος]* there would be an unmeet repetition, which is called a Tautology, thus *[ἡ πρῶτη χριστιανικὴ καὶ ἡ πρωτόγονος, &c.]* Besides, *[πρωτόγονος]* is an unfit term to express the Divine Generation. *Valej.*

(m) Nice-the *Hebrews*, had now addicted themselves to the worship of God, He, by the Prophet *Moses*, delivered unto them, as unto a multitude, yet (m) corrupted, as if it had been spoken by *Eusebius* in praise of the *Jews*: But the words of *Eusebius* have a clean contrary meaning. For he says, that the *Jews* being corrupted by the contagion of their former life, God thought it sufficient to prescribe them legal Ceremonies, and to deliver them as it were certain Signs and Symbols of more secret Mysteries, as being yet ignorant, and accustomed to the Superstition of the *Idolaters*. *Chrysostome*, on *Matthew*, says the same *Ἐκ διαίτη δυνάμι*, from whence the Participle here used comes, signifies in Greek, to be corrupted, and from a pristine discipline to fall into a luxurious and dissolute course of life. From whence *[ἐκ διαίτης καὶ ἀνὴρ βίβη]* is a *renew'd and loose life*; a phrase taken from intemperate Men, who observe no rule in meat and drink, nor in their whole course of life. This word occurs often in the Writings of *Dion Cassius*. *Valej.*

rupted and tainted with old customs, figures, and signs of a kind of mystical Sabbath, and Circumcision, and Introductions unto other intelligible contemplations, but not the perfect and plain initiation into the sacred Doctrines. But when the Law, famous among them, was publish'd abroad, and diffused, like a most sweet odour amongst all men, and thereby many of the

Gentiles then had their (n) minds and manners civilized by *Law-makers* and *Philosophers* every where, and their rude and brutish *savageness* chang'd into a meek and mild temper and behaviour, so that there ensued perfect peace and friendship and mutual commerce amongst them; then at the last to all men, and to the *Gentiles* throughout all the world, as it were now prepared and fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father, the same person again, the Schoolmaster of Virtue, his Father's Minister in all goodness, the Divine and Celestial Word of God manifested himself about the beginning of the *Roman Empire*, in human shape, for bodily substance nothing differing from our nature, and therein wrought and suffer'd such things as were consonant with the Oracles of the Prophets, who foreshew'd there should come into the world such a one as should be both Man and God, a mighty Worker of miracles, an Instructor of the *Gentiles* in the worship of his Father; and withal they foretold his Miraculous Birth, his New Doctrine, his wonderful Works, moreover the manner also of his death, his resurrection from the dead, and last of all, his glorious and divine return into Heaven. The Prophet *Daniel* therefore by the Divine Spirit beholding his Kingdom that shall be in the latter age of the world, having been mov'd by the power of that Divine Spirit, hath thus more after the manner of man, and to man's capacity describ'd the vision of God.

For I beheld (saith he) until the Thrones were placed, Dan. 7. 9, and the Ancient of days sat thereon: his garments were as the white snow, the hairs of his head as pure wool; his throne a flame of fire, his wheels burning fire. A fiery stream slid before his face. Thousand thousands ministr'd unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: The judgment was set, and the Books were opened. And afterwards, I beheld, (saith he) and behold, one coming in the clouds like the Son of Man; and he came unto the Ancient of days, and he was brought before him: and to him was given Principality and Honour, and Rule; and all People, Tribes, and Tongues shall serve him: his Power

(n) Translators understood not this place, as it appears from their Version of it. The meaning of *Eusebius* here is this. He attributes not so much to the *Law-makers* and *Philosophers* of the *Gentiles*, as if that old *Savageness* and *Immanity* of Men were by little and little brought to be more tractable and gentle by their Precepts and Institutes. But he imputes the reason hereof to the Law of *Moses*; which, being known to the whole World, at length reclaimed and civilized the manners of all Men. For the *Law-makers* and *Philosophers* of the *Gentiles*, having derived all their best precepts from that Law, as from a fountain, infused them afterwards into the minds of their Auditors: whereby Men being polished, were rendred fit to receive the knowledge of the Evangelical Law. For the *Mosaical Law* was previous and the forerunner to the Evangelical, and prepared the way to *Christ's Preaching*. This place therefore is to be thus written *[Τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἐθνῶν διατὰ τῶν πανταχόθεν νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἡμέτερον τὰ θεογνήματα]* as it is plainly written in the *Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS.* and not, as it is in *Robert Stephens's* Edit. thus *[ἡμετέρεστα θεογνήματα]*. Undoubtedly, unless it be thus written, the sentence will be incoherent. For to what shall the Particle *[ὡς]* be referred, which is put in the beginning of the Period? There is also another difficulty in this place of *Eusebius*, that is, what is meant by these words *[ἐξ αὐτῶν]*. For *Eusebius* says *[ἡδὴ πύτε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, &c.]* as before. Which Words, as to me it seems, were put in, that *Eusebius* might shew, that whatever was fitly said by the *Law-makers* and *Philosophers* of the *Gentiles*, they borrow'd it all from the *Hebrews*. And thus *Rufinus* understood this place, as it plainly appears from his Translation. *Eusebius* discourses largely concerning this Point in his Book, *De Preparatione*, where he shews that the *Grecian Philosophers* stole many things out of the Books of *Moses*. *Valej.*

Power is an everlasting Power which shall not pass, and his Kingdom shall never be destroyed. These things can manifestly be referred to none other than to our Saviour, the Word that was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, term'd the Son of Man by reason of his Incarnation in the latter times. But because we have

(o) He means his in proper and peculiar (u) Commentaries collected the Oracles of the Prophets touching our Evangelical Saviour Jesus Christ, and have elsewhere confirm'd by evident demonstrations those things which have been deliver'd concerning him, at this present we will be content with the Premises.

Moreover, this Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius ought to be so much the more esteemed by us, because he wrote it after almost all his other Works. Valef.

C H A P. III.

That the very name of Jesus, and also that of Christ was from the Beginning both known and honour'd among the Divine Prophets.

(a) In the (a) NOW that the name both of Jesus, and also of Christ, was of old honour'd among the Prophets belov'd of God, it is now an opportune time to declare. First of all Moses, knowing the name of Christ to be most especially venerable and glorious, when he delivered Types and Symbols of heavenly things, and mystical forms, agreeable to

Exod. 25. the Divine Oracle that said to him, See thou do all things after the fashion that was shew'd thee in the Mount; the man whom he entitl'd (as much as he lawfully might) the High-Priest of God, the same he stiled Christ: and thus to the dignity of High-Priesthood, which excell'd in his judgment all other prerogatives among men, he for honour and glory put to the name of Christ. So then he deem'd Christ to be a certain Divine thing. The same Moses also, when being inspired by the Holy Ghost, he had well foreseen the name of Jesus, judg'd again the same worthy of singular prerogative. For this name of Jesus, which before Moses's time had never been named among men, Moses gave to him first, and to him alone, whom he knew very well by type again and figurative sign was to receive the Universal Principality after his death. His Successor therefore, before that time

not called Jesus, but by another name, to wit, (b) Aulse, which his Parents had given him, he called Jesus, giving him this appellation as a singular title of honour far passing all Royal Diadems, because that same Jesus, the son of Nave bore the figure of our Saviour; who alone, after Moses, and the accomplishment of the

figurative service deliver'd by him, was to succeed in the Government of the true and most pure Religion. Thus to two men who surpass'd all people of that age in virtue and glory, one being then High-Priest, the other to be Chief Ruler after him, Moses gave the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as an ensign of the greatest honour. The Prophets also who came af-

ter, prophesied plainly of Christ by name, foretelling long before-hand the treacherous practice of the Jewish people against him, and the calling of the Gentiles by him. Both Jeremy saying thus, *The Spirit before our face, Christ our Lord, is taken in their nets, of whom we spake, under 4. 20. the shadow of his wings we shall be preserved alive among the Heathen: and David also, being very much perplexed, speaking thus, *Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people imagined vain things? The Kings of the earth stood forth, and the Princes assembled together in the same place against the Lord and against his Christ? whereunto afterwards he addeth in the person of Christ, The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession. The name of Christ therefore among the Hebrews hath not only honour'd those that were adorn'd with the High-Priesthood, being anointed with figurative and mystical oyl prepared on purpose, but Kings also, whom Prophets by the Divine appointment anointing, made figurative Christs; because they bore in themselves a resemblance of the Regal and Princely power of the only and true Christ, The Word of God, who governeth all things. And moreover we have learned that certain of the Prophets also by being anointed have typically become Christs. So that all these have a relation unto the true Christ, the Divine and Heavenly Word, the only High-Priest of the whole World, therefore only King of all the Creation, and the only chief Prophet of the Father among all the Prophets. The proof hereof is demonstrable; for none of them that of old were typically anointed, whether Priests, or Kings, or Prophets, ever obtain'd so great a measure of Divine power and virtue, as the Saviour and our Lord Jesus, the only and true Christ, hath shew'd. Indeed none of them, how famous soever they were among their own followers throughout many ages, by reason of their dignity and honour have caused by their being typically called Christ's, that such as were conform to them should be named Christians. Neither hath the honour of adoration been exhibited by their Subjects unto any of them, neither after the death of any of them have the minds of any been so much affected towards him, as to be ready to die for the maintenance of his honour: neither hath their been any so great stir and commotion among all the nations throughout the whole world for any of them. For the power of the figure and shadow was not of such efficacy in them, as the presence of the truth exhibited by our Saviour: Who tho' he received not from any the Ensigns and Badges of the High-Priesthood, nor indeed *lineally descended according unto the flesh from the Priestly Race, nor was advanced by a guard of armed men unto his Kingdom, nor was made a Prophet after the manner of the antient Prophets, nor obtained any pre-eminence, or prerogative among the Jews; yet for all this he was adorn'd (c) by the Father with all dignities, tho' not in Types and Symbols, yet in very truth. And altho' he obtain'd all these titles in another manner than those men did, whereof mention has been made, yet hath he been more truly stiled Christ than they all. And he, as being the only and true Christ of God, hath by that truly venerable and sacred name of his filled the whole

C H A P. IV.

That the Religion, by him declared to all Nations, is neither new nor strange.

(a) **L**ET these things therefore be necessarily placed by me here in the beginning of this History, lest any man should surmise our Saviour and Lord *Jesus Christ* to be a person newly apparent, by reason of the late time of his being conversant in the flesh. Now also, lest any should deem his Doctrine to be new and strange, as deliver'd by a new-comer, and one who nothing differeth from the rest of men, come on, let us also in short debate thereof. It is indeed most certain, when as the coming and presence of our Saviour *Jesus Christ* shone now fresh unto all men, that a people new we must confess, yet neither small, nor such as was scituate in some corner of the earth, but of all nations both the most populous and most religious, and upon this account inexpugnable and invincible, because aided continually by the assistance of God, at certain seasons pre-determin'd by the secret Providence of God, to us suddenly appear'd, being ennobled among all men by the title and name of *Christ*. This, one of the Prophets by the eye of the Divine Spirit foreseeing would come to pass, was astonish'd, in so much that he cried out, thus, **Who hath heard such things? * Or who hath spoken after shis manner? Hath the earth travelling brought forth in one day? And hath a nation sprung up suddenly and at one time? Also the same Prophet shews the very name that should be given, saying, * And they that serve me shall be called after a new name which shall be blessed upon earth.* But altho', without controversie we are but of late, and this new name of *Christians* hath been but lately known unto all nations; yet, that our life and manner of conversation, together with the rules of Religion, are not newly devised by our selves, but have been (as I may say) even from the original of mankind, instituted and observed by ancient godly men from those notions that nature had implanted in their minds, we will thus make evident. That the nation of the *Hebrews* is no new nation, but honour'd among all people for their antiquity, is well known to all. They have Books and Monuments in writing containing the actions of ancient men, who were rare indeed, and few in number, yet excell'd in piety and righteousness, and all other kind of virtues. Whereof some flourish'd before the Flood, others after; as the sons and off-spring of *Noah*; (b) and moreover *Abraham*, in whom the children of the *Hebrews* do glory, as their chief Founder, and Forefather. Now if any one beginning with *Abraham* and going upwards to the first man, does affirm that all those men who have so glorious testimonials of their righteousness, were in reality tho' not by name *Christians*, he shall not err far from the truth: for whereas the name of *Christian* signifieth a man who thro' the Knowledge and Doctrine of *Christ* excelleth in modesty and righteousness, in patience of life

(b) Some Translators (as *Musculus*, and Dr. *Hanmer*, as appears by his Version, and marginal Note thereat) supposed that [*ατὰρ*, i. e. *Atar*, which is the word here used in the Original, and is a Greek Adverb] was a proper name, and a corruption of *Terah* the name of the father of *Abraham*, of whom mention is made *Gen. 11*. But this is a great mistake: For *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, was not one of those whom God loved, as it may be plainly collected from Sacred Scripture: Neither did our *Eusebius* think so, as appears by his own words, when he says, a little after this, in this Chapter, concerning *Abraham*, that he left the Superstition of his Fathers. We have therefore translated these words [*ατὰρ*] And moreover. Valef.

world with *Christians*: nor doth he deliver henceforth Types and Shadows unto his followers, but naked virtues and an heavenly life, accompanied with the undoubted doctrine of verity. And the ointment he receiv'd was not corporal, compounded of spices, but divine, by the Holy Ghost and by participation of the unbegotten Deity of the Father. The which thing again *Esay* declareth, when as in the person of *Christ* he

* *Isai. 61.* breaketh out into these words; **The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings unto the poor, he hath sent me to cure the contrite in heart, to preach deliverance unto the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind. And not only Esay, but David also, directing his*

* *Psal. 45.* words to his person, saith, **Thy throne, O God, lasteth forever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows.*

In which Text the Word of God in the first verse termeth *Christ* God, the second honoureth him with a Royal Sceptre: thence descending by degrees, after the mention of his Divine and Royal Power; in the third place he sheweth him to have been *Christ*, anointed not with oyl of corporeal substance, but of divine, that is of gladness: whereby he signifieth his prerogative and surpassing excellency above them, which with corporeal and typical oyl had of old been anointed. And in another place the same *David* speaketh of him thus, saying,

* *Psal. 110.* *† The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. And, Out of my Womb before the Day-star have I begotten thee: The Lord swears and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedec.* This

* *Gen. 14.* *† Melchisedec* in the sacred Scriptures is brought in the Priest of the most High God; but neither was he consecrated by any oyl prepared of man for that purpose, nor by succession of kindred had he attain'd unto the Priesthood among the *Hebrews*: wherefore our Saviour, according unto his Order, and not according to them who receiv'd signs and shadows, is publish'd, and that with addition of an oath, *Christ* and (d) Priest. Wherefore also the Sacred History neither mentions him to be corporally a-

(d) Or, Chief-Priest. For so the *Mag. Med. Fuk. and Savil. MSS.* read it. Valef.

ointed among the *Jews*, nor born of the Priestly Tribe, but of God himself before the Day-star, that is, having his Essence before the structure of the world, immortal, possessing a Priesthood that never perisheth by reason of age, but lasteth world without end. But this is a great and an apparent argument of his Incorporeal and

(e) Or, Anointing, for some Copies have it written [*χρίστος*] Valef.

Divine (e) power, that he alone, of all men that hitherto ever were, is by all men throughout the whole world called *Christ*; is preach'd and confess'd by the common consent and testimony of all, and by this name every where celebrated among the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*: and that hitherto among all his followers throughout the world, He hath been both honour'd as King, had in admiration above a Prophet, and also glorified as the true and only High-Priest of God; and above all this, that he is worship'd even as God, in as much as he is the Eternal Word of God, and subsisted before all Worlds,

(f) That is, from all eternity. Valef.

(f) receiving majestic honour from the Father: but this moreover is most of all to be marvel'd at, that we who are dedicated unto him, honour him not with voices only and noise of words, but with all entire affection of the mind, so that we prefer the confession of him before our own lives.

and

and virtuous fortitude, and in profession of sincere piety towards the One and the Only God who is above all; they were no less studious about all this than we are. They cared not therefore for corporal Circumcision; no more do we; nor for the observation of Sabbaths; no more do we; nor for abstinence from certain meats, and distinction of other things, which Moses first instituted and delivered to be typically observed; no more do Christians regard such matters now. But they of old evidently knew the very Christ of God. For that he appear'd to Abraham, gave answers to Isaac, talk'd with Jacob, convers'd with Moses, and afterwards with the Prophets, we have shew'd before. Hence thou may'st find those Darlings of God honour'd with the name of Christ, according unto that saying of them, * See that ye touch not my Christ, neither deal perversely with my Prophets. It is manifest therefore, that the service of God, which was instituted by the godly of old about the time of Abraham, and published of late unto all the Gentiles by the Doctrine of Christ, ought to be accounted the first, the eldest, and the ancientest of all. But if they say that Abraham a long time after receiv'd the commandment of Circumcision; yet before the receipt thereof he is said to have been justified by his faith; the Scripture speaking thus, * Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. And he being such a one already before Circumcision, the Oracle from God, who manifested himself unto him, even Christ himself, the Word of God before-hand hath utter'd this unto him in these words, concerning those who in future ages should be justified after the same manner with himself, saying thus; * And all the Tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee: And that he should be a great and a populous nation, and all the nations on the earth should be blessed in him. And we may by consideration easily perceive that this is fulfilled in us. For he, through faith in Christ the Word of God, who appear'd unto him, was justified; when having left the superstition of his fathers, and the error of his former life, he confess'd one only God who is over all, and worship'd him with virtuous works, and not with the ceremonious service of the Law deliver'd afterwards by Moses. Unto him, being such a one, it was said that, In him shall all the Tribes of the earth and all nations be blessed. The very same manner of Religion which Abraham follow'd, is found at this present among Christians alone throughout the world, practis'd by them in works which are far more evident than words. What then hindreth but that we may henceforth confess, that one and the same way of living, and the same kind of Religion is common to us, who have our name from Christ, with them who of old sincerely served God and were so dear to him. It plainly appears therefore that that perfect and exact Rule of Religion, which hath been deliver'd unto us by the Doctrine of Christ, is neither new nor strange, but (if we ought to speak the truth) the first, the only, and the true one. And of these matters let thus much suffice.

C H A P. V.

Of the times of our Saviours Manifestation unto Men.

Augustus. BUT, after this preparation wherein by way of Preface we have laid down such things as are fit to usher in the Ecclesiastical History we

design, it now remaineth that we take the first *Augustus* step as it were of our journey from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh; calling upon God, the Father of the Word, and upon Jesus Christ himself, of whom we treat, our Saviour and Lord, the Heavenly Word of God, that he will be our help and fellow-labourer in the declaration of the truth. It was now therefore (a) the two and fortieth year of the Reign of *Augustus*, and the eight and twentieth year after the subduing of Egypt, and the death of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, in whom the Rule of the *Ptolomees* in Egypt ceased, when our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ at the time of the first (b) taxing, which was when (c) *Cyrenius* was Governor of Syria, was born in *Bethlehem of Judaea*, wherein agreeable to the Prophecies, that went before him. Which taxing under *Cyrenius*, *Flavius Josephus*, a most famous Historiographer among the *Hebrews*, maketh mention of; adding thereto another History concerning the Sect of the

42d. year of *Augustus* falls on his thirteenth Consulship. Thus much concerning the year wherein Christ was born. *Eusebius* does no where expressly mention the day. It was the common opinion of the Western Church that he was born on the 7. Kalend. January: But the Eastern Church thought otherwise, that he was born on the 8. Id. January (i. e. on the 6th day Jan.) *Vales.* The learned have found so great difficulty in assigning the day of our Saviour's birth, that *Scaliger* said, *Unius Dei est non hominis definire*; i. e. God only, not Man was able expressly to declare it. It had been much better for these Men to content themselves with the tradition of the Church, rather than by such an elaborate unfruitful search to entangle the truth. For the celebration of this Festival, many testimonies may be produced out of *Origen*, *Cyprian* and *Chrysostom*, each of these Fathers deducing it from the practice of the first antiquity; and *St. Augustine* makes it a Character of a son of the Church to solemnize the Festivals of it, and this (principally and by name) of the Nativity. To which may be added that of the *Author* of the *Constitutions* (Constit. B. 5. c. 13.) τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐξ ἑσθ' οὐλαῶν, καὶ πρώτης τὴν ἑσθλὴν, i. e. Keep the days of the feasts, and first the day of Christ's Birth. So that the Religion of this day, non est nupera, neque novitia, is not modern, nor newly begun, though *Scaliger* said so. And for the particular day, the 25th of December, whereon this Festival is by us solemnized, (not to mention other testimonies which might be produced to this purpose) In *Joseph the Egyptian's Arabic Codex* of the *Consuls* (a M. S. in the Archives of the publick Library of Oxford, of the gift of Sir *Thomas Roe*) this day as well as this Feast is affirmed to stand by *Apostolical Canon*. The words of which, as it is transcribed by Mr. *Gregory*, are in English these, *Also that you constitute an anniversary Feast at the Nativity of the Lord Christ, on the Day on which he was born, and that was the five and twentieth of the first Canon* (i. e. of December.) For this the principal of all the Feasts, &c. See Mr. *Gregory's* Works, Chap. 34. Dr. *Hammond* on the Festivals of the Church, and the Learned *Selden's* Treatise of *Christmas-Day*, for further satisfaction.

(b) It is by learned Men affirmed, particularly by *J. Casaubon* in Bar. p. 105. (and is most probable) that this decree of Taxing (or inrolling every Person, according to their Families and Estates) was an effect of *Augustus* his curiosity (and neither of his desire to enrich his Treasure, nor to reform the excesses of those before him) and this over-ru'd by God's special Providence, that this Emperor might serve to be instrumental to the conserving the record of the Birth of Christ, whose Name and his Mothers, as well as *Joseph's*, were now inrolled. And this is an evidence of the nature of this *πορροα*, that it was not a Tax, for that would not have belonged to women and infants, but to the possessors only. See Dr. *Hammond* on Luk. 2. v. 1.

(c) There is a great disagreement amongst the Learned about this enrolment and valuation of Men's Person's and Estates, whether it was done once, or twice. Some say there were two, both made by the same *Cyrenius*, (or *Quirinius*;) and both mentioned by *St. Luke*: The first he speaks of Chap. 2. 2. of his Gospel; which was made a little before our Saviour's Birth, about the latter end of the Reign of *Herod the great*, *Sentius Saturninus* being then President of Syria; this, say these Men, *St. Luke* calls πρώτη πορροα, the first Taxing, to difference it from that other mentioned by him, *Acts* 5. 27. And whereas *St. Luke* says, *Cyrenius* at that time had the rule over Syria; these words are to be taken in a looser, nor stricter sense; not that *Cyrenius* was then the standing Governour there under the Romans, but was sent by the Emperor particularly on this occasion, to take an Inventory of this part of the Empire: For it's confess'd that *Sentius Saturninus* was then the President of Syria. The other Taking, mentioned in the *Acts*, was made ten years after this, after the banishment of *Archelaus*, and about the insurrection of *Judas of Galilee* (or *Caulanites*.) This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Casaubon*, and *Hammond*. On the other hand, *Valesius* (and with him, as he thinks, agrees our *Eusebius* in this Chapt.) says there was but one Taxing, (which may be supposed to have been begun at the latter end of *Herod the Great's* Reign, about the time of Christ's Birth, and was not

Augustus. Galileans, which sprang up about the same time, whereof amongst us also *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles* maketh mention, saying thus, * *After this man rose up one (d) Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also himself perished, and all, even as many as obey'd him were dispersed.* The same indeed *Josephus* before-mention'd in his *Eighteenth Book of Antiquities*, doth agree in and confirm thus, word for word: ' *Cyrenius* one of the number of the *Roman* Senators, a man who had born all Offices, and by all the degrees of Honour had climb'd at length to the Consulship, and who was greatly renown'd in other respects, came with a few men into *Syria*, being sent on purpose by *Cæsar*, as Judge of the nation, and to take the valuation of their Estates. And a little after, he saith, *Judas Gaulanites*, a man of the City named *Gamala*, having taken unto him one *Saddochus* a *Pharisee*, earnestly solicited the People to Rebellion: Both of them affirming, that the Taxing of this Tribute inferr'd nothing but manifest servitude, and exhorting the whole Nation to maintain their liberty." And in his *Second Book of the Wars of the Jews*, he writeth thus of the same person: ' At that time a certain *Galilean*, by name *Judas*, stirr'd up the People of that Region to Defection, upbraiding them for paying tribute so turnely to the *Romans*; and, having God their Sovereign, for suffering mortal Men to be their Masters. So far *Josephus*.

was a Friend and an Ally of the *Romans*, govern'd; neither was *Judea* in any danger to be brought into Servitude by Strangers, as long as it obey'd a Jew, that is a King of their own Nation. *Vale.*

That in his Time, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, the Princes of the Jewish Nation who before by Succession had held the Principality, surceased, and that Herod, the first of the Aliens, became their King.

NOW at that time, when *Herod*, the first of them, who by descent was a *Foreigner*, had obtain'd the Rule over the *Jewish Nation*, the Prophecy written by *Moses* was fulfill'd, which
 *Gen. 49. 10. *said, *That there shall not want a Prince in Juda, neither a Leader fail of his Loyns, until he come for whom it is reserved.* Whom he declares to be the expectation of the *Gentiles*. Indeed the things of that Prophecie hung unaccomplish'd all the time that it was lawful for the *Jews* to live under Princes of their own Nation: who taking their beginning as high as *Moses* himself, continued down their Reign even to the Empire of *Augustus*: under whom *Herod* the first (a) *Foreigner* had the Government of the *Jews* granted him by the *Romans*; who, as *Josephus* declares, was
 (a) *Josephus Scaliger*, in his *Animadversions* upon *Eusebius's Chronicle*, has sufficiently made it evident, that *Herod* was no *Foreigner*. *Josephus*, in his 20. Book of *Antiquities*. Chap. 6. calls *Herod τὸ γένει Ἰουδαῖος*, i. e. a *Jew* as to his *Lineage*.
 Valef.

by his father's side an *Idumæan*; by his mother's *Augustus*
an *Arabian*. But, as *Africanus*, one not of the vulgar
sort of Writers, says, they who have been more
accurate about his Pedigree, say he was the son
of *Antipater*, who was the son of one *Herod* an
Ascalonite, who was one of the servants which mi-
nistr'd in the Temple of *Apollo*. This *Antipater*
being taken by *Idumæan* thieves while he was
yet a child, remain'd a long time among them,
because his father being one of a mean estate
was not able to redeem him. And being brought
up after their manner of breeding, became at
length very familiarly acquainted with *Hyrca-
nus* the High-Priest of the *Jews*. This very man's
son was that *Herod* who liv'd in the time of our
Saviour. When therefore the Principality of the
Jews was come into the hands of this Alien, then
was the expectation of the *Gentiles* even at the
doors, according unto that prophecy: for then
the Line of their native Princes and Governours
was broken off, which had been drawn down
by a continual succession from *Moses* himself un-
til that time. For before they were taken Cap-
tives and carried into *Babylon*, Kings, reign'd o-
ver them, beginning from *Saul*, who was the
first, and from *David*. Before their Kings Princes
bore rule over them, whom they call'd Judges,
beginning their Government after *Moses*, and his
successor **Jesus*. After their return from *Babylon* * *Jesus*,
there ceas'd not amongst them a form of Govern- otherwise
ment, an *Aristocracy* together with an *Oligarchy*, called *Jo-*
the Best ruling, and they but few in number. *shua*.
For the High-Priests had held that preeminence
under *Pompey* the *Roman* Captain coming upon
them by main force, besieg'd and ransack'd *Je-
rusalem*, polluted the holy places, by entering in-
to the Sanctuaries of the Temple, and sent Pri-
soner to *Rome* the High-Priest, whose name was
Aristobulus with his sons, who by succession from
his Progenitors had continued unto that time
both Prince and Priest; and committed the Office
of High-Priesthood unto his brother *Hyrchanus*,
and from that time forth made the whole *Jewish*
Nation become tributary to the *Romans*. And
indeed not long after, *Hyrchanus*, the last of those
to whom the High-Priesthood by succession be-
fell, being taken prisoner by the *Parthians*, *He-
rod* the first Foreigner, as I said before, had the
Government of the *Jewish* Nation deliver'd to
him by the *Roman* Senate and the Emperor *Au-
gustus*. Under whom, whenas the presence of
Christ was apparent, the long-lookt-for Salva-
tion of the *Gentiles* was accomplish'd, and their
calling consequently follow'd, according to the
predictions of the Prophets. Since which time
the Princes and Rulers of *Juda* (those I mean
who were of *Jewish* extraction) ceasing, straight-
way the series and course of the High-Priest-
hood, which among them by order of successi-
on after the decease of the former, was always,
as it was meet, wont to fall unto the next of
blood, was confounded. Hereof thou hast *Jose-
phus* a witness worthy of credit, declaring how
that *Herod*, after that he was intrusted with the
rule over the *Jews* by the *Romans*, assign'd 'em no
more High-Priests of the ancient priestly Race,
but conferr'd that honour upon certain obscure
persons; and how that the same course which *He-
rod* had taken in constituting High-Priests, was
follow'd by his son *Archelaus*, and after by the
Romans who succeeded him in the Government
of *Judea*. The said *Josephus* declareth, how that
Herod first shut up under his own Privy-seal the
Holy Robe of the High-Priest, not permitting
the

Augustus. the High Priest to keep it any longer in their own custody; and that after him *Archelaus*, and after *Archelaus* the *Romans* did the same. And let these things be spoken by us to evidence the truth of another prophesie, which by the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus* was accomplish'd. For most plainly and expressly of all other, the Holy Scripture in *Daniel* describing the number of certain weeks unto *Christ the Ruler* (whereof we have in another (b) place intreated) foretelleth, that after the accomplishment of those weeks the *Jewish* anointing should be abolish'd. And this is plainly prov'd to have been fulfill'd at the time when our Saviour *Jesus Christ* came in the flesh. And let these things necessarily before-observ'd by us for the proof of the truth of the times.

(b) He means his Books of Evangelical Demonstration. For in the 8th Book of that work

he Treats of *Daniel's* weeks, which he affirms were compleated at our Saviour's coming, according to the opinion of *Africanus*. Valef.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Disagreement supposed to be among the Gospels about the Genealogy of Christ.

BUT in as much as *Matthew* and *Luke*, committing the Gospel to writing, have differently delivered unto us the Genealogy of *Christ*, and are thought by many to disagree very much among themselves, so that almost every one of the faithful through ignorance of the truth, hath ambitiously striven to comment upon those places; Come on, let us rehearse a certain History which is come to our hands concerning the premises, the which *Africanus* (whom we mention'd a little before) hath set down in an Epistle written to *Aristides* about the Concordance of the Genealogy of *Christ* in the Gospels: and having indeed (a) blamed the opinions of others, as wrested and false, he delivereth the History that he himself had met withal, in these very words: 'For seeing that the names of kindred in *Israel* were numbred either after the line of nature, or after the rule of the law; after the order of nature, as by succession of natural seed, after that of the law, as when any one begetteth a son in the name of his brother who deceased without issue: for because a perspicuous hope of the Resurrection was not yet granted them, they shadow'd out in some sort the promise to come with this kind of mortal resurrection, that the name of the deceased might continue and never be quite blotted out. Because therefore, of them that are reckon'd in this Genealogy, some succeeded their fathers as natural sons, but others received their name whence they receiv'd not their nature; mention is made of both; as well of them who were truly fathers, as of them who were titular only, and as fathers. Thus neither of the Gospels is found false, the one drawing the Pedigree by the natural, the other by the legal line. For the race both of *Solomon*, and that also of *Nathan*, are so wrapp'd and twist'd together, by reviving of persons deceased without issue, by (b) second marriages, and by raising up of seed, that not without cause the same men are supposed to have had divers fathers, where-

(a) Or, Having evidenced them to be false; for so it is in the King's M. S. Valef.

(b) The chief cause of confusing Families was, when the woman, having had children by a former husband, hastned to remarry, and bore children by her latter also. After which, let us suppose the son, begotten by her first husband, to have married a wife, and afterwards to have died without issue. Then, if his brother by the mother side marry his widow, and beget children of her, in these children there will be a confusedness of families; in so much that by nature they may be called this Man's, and have one name, but by Law the others, and bear another name. Valef.

of some were only nominative, others fathers indeed. Thus the account in both Gospels is true, and is brought down to *Joseph* accurately and exactly, tho' by a various and different line. And, that what I say may plainly appear, I will recite the alteration of families. If we count the Generations (c) Or, The succession; So Robert Stephens Edit. and the King's M. S. Valef. (as * *Matthew* doth) from *David* by *Solomon*, *Matthew* 1. 15, 16. *than* will be found the third from the end, who begat *Jacob* the father of *Joseph*: but if from *Nathan* the son of *David*, according unto * *Luke* 3. * *Luke*, then the third in like manner from the end will be (d) *Melchi*, whose son was *Heli* the father of *Joseph*. For *Joseph* was the son of *Heli*, the son of *Melchi*. *Joseph* therefore being as it were the mark we shoot at, we must shew how each person is term'd his father, as well *Jacob* who deriveth his pedigree from *Solomon*, as *Heli* who descended from *Nathan*; and besides, how, in the first place, these two, *Jacob* and *Heli*, were brethren; then, in the next place, how their fathers *Matthan* and *Melchi*, born of divers kindreds, may be made appear to be grandfathers to *Joseph*. Now therefore thus it was; *Matthan* and *Melchi* marrying one after the other the same wife, begat children who were brethren by the mother; the law not forbidding a widow, either dismiss'd from her husband, or after the death of her husband, to be married to another man. First, therefore *Matthan*, descending from *Solomon*, begat *Jacob* of *Estha*; for that is said to be the woman's name. After the death of *Matthan*, *Melchi*, who descended from *Nathan*, being of the same tribe, but of another race, (as we said before) took this widow to his wife, and begat *Heli* his son. Thus shall we find *Jacob* and *Heli*, tho' of a different race, yet by the same mother to have been brethren. One of whom, namely *Jacob*, after *Heli* his brother was deceased without issue, married his wife, and begat on her the third, *Joseph*, by nature indeed and reason his own son; whereupon also it is written, *And Jacob begat Joseph*; but by the law he was the son of *Heli*: for *Jacob* being his brother raised up seed unto him. Wherefore neither is that Genealogy which concerneth him to lose its authority, the which indeed * *Matthew* the Evangelist reciting, saith, *And Jacob begat Joseph*; but * *Luke* on the other side, *Which was the son, as it was supposed* (for he added this withal) *of Joseph which was the son of Heli, which was the son of Melchi*. Nor could he more significantly and properly have express'd that way of generation according to the law. Therefore in his recital of procreations of this sort, he passeth over in silence even to the end, the word of *begetting*, carrying the whole series of families step by step up as high as *Adam*, who was the son of *God*. Neither is this matter destitute of good proof, or rashly and hastily devised. For the kinsmen of our Saviour according to the flesh, either out of desire to make known the nobility of their Stock, or simply to tell the story, have very truly deliver'd even these things unto us; how that *Idumean* Thieves invading the City *Ascalon* in *Palæstina*, took captive together with other spoils out of the Temple of *Apollo* adjöyning

Augustus.

* *Matt.* 1. 15, 16.

* *Luk.* 3.

(d) But *Melchi* is, in *St. Luke*, the fifth, to wit, *Joseph's* Great-grand-father's Father. Therefore either *Africanus* forgot himself; or else in that Copy of the Gospel he used, *Melchi* was written for *Matthan*; which is the conjecture of *Bede*, on the third chap. of *Luke*. Valef.

* *Matt.*

1. 16.

* *Luk.* 3.

23, 24.

Augustus. adjoining unto the walls, (e) *Antipater*, son to one *Herod*, that was Minister in that Temple. (e) This But, in that the Priest was not able to pay the passage ransom for his son, *Antipater* was brought up is altogether fabulous. For the name of *Antipater's* father was not *Herod*, but *Antipater* an Idumæan; neither was he a Minister in the Temple of *Apollo*. See *Josephus* B. 14. Chap. 2. This *Antipater*, *Alexander* King of the *Jews* made Prefect of all *Idumæa*; and this first *Antipater* seems to be the founder of all that Greatness, to which his posterity afterwards arrived. For he had the Prefecture of *Idumæa* during the reign of *Alexander* and *Alexandria*; and, having made an Alliance with the *Ascalonites*, *Gazites*, and *Arabians* gat great Riches. *Valef.*

(f) *Antipater*, the Father of *Herod*, was Procurator of the whole Kingdom of *Juda* under *Hyrcanus*, and managed all affairs, both Military, and Civil. Therefore *Josephus*, in his 14. B. calls him [ἐπίτροπος, i. e. Procurator.] *Valef.*

Augustus, by decree of the Senate, constituted King over the *Jews*: whose sons were *Herod* and the other Tetrarchs. These things are common also among the *Greek* Histories. Now whenas unto that time the Genealogies not only of the *Hebrews*, but of them also who lineally descended from ancient Profelytes, as from *Achior* the *Ammonite*, and *Ruth* the *Moa-biteß*, and those who came out of *Egypt* with the *Israelites* and mingled with them, were recorded among the ancient Monuments; *Herod* considering that the *Israelitical* Pedigrees would avail him nothing, and being prick'd in mind with the consciousness of his baseness

(g) I judge this passage also to have little of certainty in it. For *Josephus*, in the book of his own life, mentioning the original and antiquity of his own stock, fetches it from the publick Archives. Therefore those publick tables, which contained the originals of the *Jewish* families, were extant in *Josephus's* time. And so it's false to say that *Herod* burnt them. *Valef.*

(h) Two sorts of Men joined themselves with the Children of *Israel* when they went up out of *Egypt*. The one were native *Egyptians*, whom *Moses* (*Exod.* 12. 19.) calls *עַמְּלֵקִי*, i. e. born in the land: The other sort were a mixt multitude, whom he there calls *גֵּרִים*, i. e. strangers. They were extraneous Persons amongst the *Egyptians*, who took the land to Till at a certain pension: The *Jews* were such, before they went up out of *Egypt*. Both these sorts of Men the sacred Scripture comprehends under the name of a mixt multitude (*Exod.* 12. 38.) *Valef.*

(i) *Cochaba* ancient Nobility. Amongst whom were those was a Village near their near kindred with our Saviour, were called *Desposyni*. These travelling from *Nazareth* and (i) *Cochaba*, towns of the *Jews*, into other regions, plainly expounded the foresaid Genealogy, partly out of the Book of their (k) *Ephemerides*, and partly out of their Memory, as far as they were able. However then the Pedigree, had private copies thereof, taken out of the publick Archives; as we often see Gentlemen do at this day amongst us. *Valef.*

case stand, whether thus or otherwise, no man in my judgment, and in the judgment of any other ingenious person, can find a plainer exposition. Let us make much of this therefore, tho' we have (l) no proof to confirm it, seeing we cannot produce a better and a truer exposition. The Gospel indeed in all respects uttereth most true things.

And about the end of the same Epistle he addeth these words; *Matthan* descending from *Solomon* begat *Jacob*. *Matthan* deceased, *Melchi* of the stock of *Nathan* on the

same woman begat *Heli*. (m) So *Heli* and *Jacob* were brethren by the mother's side. *Heli* dying without issue, *Jacob* rais'd unto him seed by begetting of *Joseph*, his own son by nature, but *Heli* his son by-law. Thus was *Joseph* son to both. So far *Africanus*. Now the Genealogy of *Joseph* being thus recited, the Stock also of *Mary*, who was of the same Tribe together with him, is in effect made apparent. For by the Law of *Moses*, mingling of Tribes by marriage was forbidden. For the woman is commanded to be joyn'd in marriage to one of the same house and of the same family, that so the inheritance of the kindred might not be removed from Tribe to Tribe. But of these matters let thus much suffice.

lawful for the Brother by the Mother's side to marry his Brother's Widow, and to beget Children of her, which were to succeed in the name and be accounted of the Family of his Brother. The Law (*Deut.* 25. 5.) speaks of the Brother that dwells in the same House, and that is of the same Stock: But the Brother by the Mother's side is not of the same House, nor of the same Stock: Seeing that the Stock, especially amongst the *Jews*, was deduced from the Father's Race. Secondly, it may be deservedly questioned, whether in reckoning up the Generations, there be any account had of the adoptive Fathers. *Obed*, who is mentioned in the Genealogy of *Christ*, is an eminent example hereof. For when *Maalon* was dead in the land of *Moab*, and *Ruth* left a Widow without Children, *Booz* the kinsman of *Maalon* (he that was a nearer kinsman than he giving up his right) took *Ruth* to Wife, whereby he might raise up Seed to *Maalon*. Yet *Obed* that was begotten of her, is by the Evangelists, and in the Book of *Ruth* not called the Son of *Maalon*, but the Son of *Booz*. *Valef.*

C H A P. VIII.

Of *Herod's* Cruelty towards the Infants, and after how miserable a manner he ended his life.

NOW *Christ* being born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea* at the time before manifested, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, *Herod* upon an enquiry made by the wise men that came from the East, asking where he was that was born King of the *Jews*? For they said they had seen his Star, and had therefore made such a long journey with diligence, because they most ardently desired to worship him that was born, as God. *Herod*, I say, being not a little troubled, judging his Government to be in very imminent danger, demanded of the Doctors of the Law, then in the nation, where they expected *Christ* should be born. When he knew of the Prophecy of *Micah*, who foretold he was to be born in *Bethlehem*; by one express Edict he commands all the young children both in *Bethlehem* and in all the coasts thereof from two years old and under, according to the time which he

(l) How much this explication of the place in the Gospels is to be valued, appears from these words of *Africanus*; who confesses it is not confirmed by the testimony of any antient Writer: But he would have us admit of it, because none that is better can be brought. Which if it be so, I wish our *Eusebius* had not mentioned this matter in the entrance of his History. It had undoubtedly been better and more advisedly done, to have passed over in silence this disagreement of the Evangelists, lest those Readers, who were not believers (many of which there were at that time) might hence take occasion to doubt of the truth of the Gospel. *Valef.*

(m) In this way of reconciling this matter, which *Africanus* relates, two things occur, which seem to have something of difficulty in them: First, I doubt whether it were

whether it were

whether it were

whether it were

whether it were

Augustus. he had diligently enquired of the Wise-men, to be slain. For he supposed, as it was very likely, that Jesus would be involved in the same calamity with them that were about his age. But his Parents having had notice of the whole matter by an Angel that appeared to them, convey'd the young child into *Egypt*, and so he escaped the King's bloody Plot. Thus much indeed the sacred writing of the Gospel sets forth. And now moreover it would be worth the while to see what immediately befel *Herod* upon account of his audacious wickedness acted towards Christ and those of the same age with him; how forthwith, without all delay, the Divine vengeance seized him whilst alive after such a manner, as to foreflew some beginnings of those torments which awaited him after this life. And how he clouded these prosperous successes of his reign, as he judges them to be, with domestick calamities following one upon another, with the murders of his wife and children, and others of his nearest relations and dearest friends, I shall not now be able particularly to recount, in as much as the rehearsal of this matter would far surpass even all the most savage cruelty of every Tragedy; which *Josephus* in his History has at large declared. But, how after his cruel plot form'd against our Saviour and the other infants, he was forthwith smitten from heaven with a disease, as with a scourge, whereof he died, it will not be unfit to understand from the Author himself, who in his *seventeenth Book of Antiquities relates after how lamentable a manner he ended his life, writing word for word thus; 'But the disease

* *Joseph. Antiq. B. 17. c. 8.*

(a) These words of *Josephus* we meet with now in the B. 21. c. of his History. But in the M. S. Copies of *Josephus*, the Books were otherwise divided, than now they are. That division *Eusebius* followed, and therefore no alteration is here to be made. *Valef.*

of *Herod* grew yet more bitterly violent, God exacting this judgment of his enormities upon him. He had a gentle fever not expressing it self so much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burning him within. Moreover, he had a vehemently strong appetite after meat, but nothing could suffice him; he had an ulcer of the intrails, with sharp conflictations especially of the Colick-gut. a phlegmatick and shining humour appear'd about his feet. Moreover, the disease had gotten about the lower belly, and more than that, there was a putrefaction of his genitals, and it bred worms; besides, he had a shortness of breath, which was also unfavoury; a troublesome flux of Rheum, which caused a perpetual difficulty of breathing. And the Patient having not strength to resist these things, there follow'd a convulsion of all the parts. It was said therefore by the Divines, and those who made it their business to give judgment of such things, that the hand of God was upon the King to punish him for his so oft repeated horrible offences." Thus much therefore the aforeiaid Writer relates in the fore-mentioned Book. And in the Second (a) Book of his History he speaks of him after the same manner, in these words: 'After that he was taken with a disease, which seising upon the whole state and habit of his body, tormented him exceedingly with several pains: He had a fever, but not of any acute kind, an insufferable itching over all his body, with continual tortures of the Colon: by the humours about his feet you would judge him to have been hydropical; besides this, a strange inflammation of the lower belly, and such a putrefaction of the genitals as bred worms: moreover, a shortness and difficulty of breathing, with a

convulsion of all the parts. This moved those of that time who pretended to know the mind of God, to term these diseases a punishment inflicted on him from heaven. But altho' he struggled with so many distempers, yet he hoped to live and recover, and sought for remedy. Passing therefore over *Jordan* he made use of the hot-waters that are near *Callirhoe*. They fall into the lake *Asphaltites*, but are so sweet that they are potable. There, when his Physicians thought it good to bathe his whole body in warm oyl, being set into a bathing-vessel filled with oyl, he was so weaken'd all over his body, that he turn'd up his eyes as if he had been dead. But at the noise of his attendants outcries he came to himself again. After this, despairing of recovery, he gave order for the distribution of fifty (b) *Drachms* to every one of his common soldiers, but to his commanders and friends he gave great sums of money. From thence he return'd to *Jericho*; and being now grown very melancholy, he did as it were threaten death it self, and resolv'd upon the commission of a most horrible and villanous fact. For he commanded all the eminent personages that were in every town of *Judea* to be summon'd

(b) The word *δραχμή* is deriv'd from *δραχμή*, that is, an handful, as containing so many pieces of Brass-money as would make an handful, to wit, six. This word from the Greeks came not only to the Romans, but, after the time of the *Selucida*, to the Jews also; so *Ezr.* 2. 69. דַּרְכָּמִּים, the Greek word with a very little alteration, rendred by the 72 *δραχμαί*, by us *Drachms*. Now four *Attick Drachms* make one ordinary *Shekel* (so I call it to distinguish it from that of the Sanctuary which was twice as much) an ordinary *Shekel* is two Shillings and Six pence in our Coin. So that according to this account, *Herod's* largess came to six pounds and five shillings a Man. *Suid.*

together and imprison'd in the *Hippodrome*. Then calling for his sister *Salome* and her husband *Alexander*, I know, said he, the *Jews* will rejoyce mightily at my death; but if you will obey my commands, I can make my self to be lamented by many, and obtain an honourable funeral: As soon as breath is out of my body do you, being guarded with soldiers, kill all these men whom I have imprison'd; so all *Judea*, yea every family shall, tho' against their wills, mourn at my death. And a little after he says, and again when he was tortured, partly by want of sustenance, and partly by convulsions of his violent cough, being overcome with continual torments he resolved to hasten his own death. And having taken an apple, he ask'd for a knife, for his manner was to cut them himself when ever he eat them; then looking round lest there should be any one that might hinder him, he lifted up his right hand, as about to do violence to himself. Moreover, the same Writer relates farther, how that a little before his death he most wickedly commanded (c) another of his own sons, having slain (d) two of them before, to be put to death, and then soon after died in most exquisite torture.

(c) *Antipater* who was beheaded by his fathers command five days before his death. See *Montague's Acts and Mon.*

(d) *Aristobulus* and *Alexander*, who were strangled, at *Samaria* by his special command. *Id.*

And such was the end *Herod* made, suffering a due punishment for his cruelty towards the infants of *Bethlehem*, which he contrived on purpose to destroy our Saviour. After his death an Angel appeared to *Joseph* then in *Egypt*, and commanded him to take the young Child and his Mother and return into *Judea*, telling him they were dead who sought the young Child's life. To which * the Evangelist farther adds,

adds,

Augustus adds, saying, *When he heard that Archelaus reign'd in Judea in the room of his Father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, notwithstanding being warned of God in a dream he turned aside into the parts of Galilee.*

C H A P. IX.

Of the Times of Pilate.

Tiberius. THE said Historian agrees also concerning the reign of *Archelaus* after the death of *Herod*, declaring the manner of it, how both by his Father's Testament, and also by the Decree of *Augustus Caesar*, he obtained the Kingdom of *Judea*: And how, when after ten years he was deposed from his Government, his brethren, *Philip* and *Herod Junior*, and (a) *Lyfanius* govern'd their Tetrarchies. The same Author, in the eighth Book of his Antiquities, makes it plainly appear, that *Pontius Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius* (who then was Emperor, succeeding *Augustus*, who had reigned fifty seven years) and continued so full ten years, almost as long as *Tiberius* lived. From whence their fiction is manifestly confuted, who of late have publish'd (b) *Acts* against our Saviour. In which chiefly the title or note of time, inscrib'd upon the said *Acts*, does evidently show the Authors thereof to be liars. For those things which these men have impudently feign'd concerning the salutary passion of our Lord, are said to have been done when *Tiberius* was Consul the fourth time, which fell out to be the seventh year of his reign. At which time it is certain *Pilate* was not come as Governour into *Judea*, if we may believe *Josephus*; who in his foresaid Book does expressly shew, that *Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* by *Tiberius*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

of judicature, recorded the sentences pronounced by the Judges. See *Calvin's* Lex. Jurid. the word *Alia*. These *Acts* of *Pilate* were counterfeited by the Enemies of Christianity, in the Persecution under *Maximinus*, as *Eusebius* affirms, Lib. 9. c. 5.

C H A P. X.

Of the High-Priests among the Jews, in whose time Christ preach'd the Gospel.

* Luk. 3. 1, 2. AT this time therefore, namely in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, according to the * the Evangelist, and the fourth

(a) I know not why *Eusebius* put *Lyfanius* in the middle between *Herod* and *Philip*, the sons of *Herod* the great. For *Luke*, whose words *Eusebius* does here profess that he follows, in that famous place concerning the Baptism of Christ, names *Lyfanius* in the third place. Wherefore *Eusebius* should have observed the same order, especially because *Lyfanius* was neither Son, nor Successor to *Herod*. *Eusebius* also seems to be reproveable here, in that after he had said *Pilate* was then Procurator of *Judea*, he adds, that the rest of *Judea* was governed by the Tetrarchs, *Herod*, *Philip*, and *Lyfanius*. But *Lyfanius* never had any part of *Judea*. For *Abila* was not a City of *Judea*, but of *Syria*. Yet *Eusebius* may be excused, if we say, that by *Judea* he understood the whole Dominion of *Herod the Great*: For it's manifest that he had the Tetrarchy of *Lyfanius* given him by *Augustus*. For the Roman Emperors used to bestow these Tetrarchies on those Kings that were their Confederates and Friends, that they might thereby the more oblige them. It's strange that there is no mention of this *Lyfanius*, of whom *St. Luke* speaks, either in *Josephus*, *Dion*, or the rest.

time of his preaching under *Annas* and *Caiphas* *Tiberius* being (b) High-Priests, meaning thereby that all his preaching was terminated within that space of time wherein they executed the High-Priest's Office. Altho' therefore he began when *Annas* was High-Priest, and continued till *Caiphas* came on, yet there are scarce full four years contained within this space of time. For, since from the time now mention'd, the Laws and Sanctions about holy matters were almost abolish'd, the High-Priesthood also ceased to be for life and hereditary, neither was the worship of God rightly performed. But the Roman Governours made sometimes one, sometimes another High-Priest, none bearing that office above a year. (c) *Josephus* indeed in his Book of Antiquities does relate, that from *Annas* to *Caiphas* there were in one continued order four High Priests. His words are these; '*Valerius Gratus* having put out *Annas* from being High-Priest, made *Ismael* the son of (d) *Baphi* High-Priest; not long after he removed him, and made *Eleazar*, son of the High-Priest *Annas*, High-Priest; within a year after he deprived him, and gave *Simon* the son of *Camithus* the High-Priesthood. He, after he had held that honour not more than a year, had (e) *Josephus*, whose name also was *Caiphas*, for his Successor.' It is manifest therefore that the whole time of our Saviour's preaching was not complete four years, within which space of time there were as many High-Priests made, reckoning from *Annas* his bearing that office, to *Caiphas* his promotion to it, (f) every of which bore the office one year. The Holy (g) Gospel therefore is right in noting *Caiphas* to be the High-Priest that same year in which our Lord's salutary passion hapned. From which authority of the Gospel also it is evident, that the time of Christ's preaching does not disagree with the account we have laid down. Now our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, not long after his beginning to preach, called twelve men, whom he named Apostles, giving to them in particular a title more honourable, and preferring them before the rest of his Disciples. Besides, he chose other seventy men, whom he sent two by two before his face, into every of those places and cities whither he himself would come.

not that there were two High-Priests at the same time, which is absurd and was never heard of, but that *Luke* means by these words, that in this fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Caiphas* was High-Priest, and *Annas* was one that had born that Office very lately. (See Dr. *Flemon's* note on *Luke* chap. 3. v. 2. where he treats of this matter learnedly and largely.) Whoever had born the High-Priests Office, those were called High-priests during their lives, and took Tythes; So *Josephus* declares B. 20. of Antiq. *Valef.*

(c) *Joseph*. Antiq. B. 18. chap. 4. *Eusebius* is here very much mistaken; for *Josephus* does not speak of the same times that *St. Luke* does; *Josephus* speaks of the first ten years of *Tiberius's* Reign, in which time *Valerius Gratus* was Procurator of *Judea*; but *Luke* speaks of *Tiberius's* second ten years, when *Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*. *Valef.*

(d) Or *Phabi*, as some Copies read it. *Valef.*

(e) Or *Josephus*, or, *Josopus*, as it is in the old Editions of *Rufinus*. *Valef.*

(f) *Eusebius* understands *Josephus*, so, as if *Josephus* had said, that those four High-Priests, *Annas*, (or *Ananus*), *Ismael*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon* executed the High-Priesthood, each the space of one year. Indeed *Josephus* says this expressly of the two last; but not so of the two first. For he declares that *Ismael* indeed was put out a little after he was made High-Priest by *Valerius*: But *Josephus* is so far from making *Ananus* to have been High-Priest but one year, that from his words it is plainly gathered, he held the High-Priesthood three years at least. See *Josephus's* Antiq. B. 20. chap. 8. *Valef.*

(g) He means *John* 11. 18. but the Evangelist does not say there, that he was made High-Priest that same year.

Tiberius.

C H A P. XI.

What hath been testified concerning John the Baptist, and concerning Christ.

(a) I began the 11 chap. at these words; following the authority of the King's, the Maz. and the Fuketian M. SS. Valef.

(a) **T**HE sacred History of the Gospel also mentions the beheading of *John the Baptist*, by *Herod Jun.* to have been not long after this. To which also agrees *Josephus*, who both makes mention particularly of *Herodias* by name, and also expressly declares, how that *Herod*, having put away his former wife lawfully marry'd to him, took this woman his brother's wife by force from him being yet alive, and married her: she was the daughter of *Arethas* King of the *Arabians*: and that upon her account, *Herod* having slain *John*, went to war with *Arethas*, incensed at the disgrace of his daughter. In which war, he relates that *Herod* and his whole Army were vanquish'd in a Battel, and that these things befel him upon account of his cruelty towards *John*. The same *Josephus* does agree with the Evangelical History in the account it gives of this *John*, especially as to his confessing him to have been a most righteous Man and a *Baptist*. He says further, that *Herod* was depriv'd of his kingdom for the sake of this *Herodias*, and was together with her banish'd to (b) *Vienna* a City of *Gallia*. All this he relates in his 18th Book of Antiquities, where also he writes these very words concerning *John*: 'But some of the *Jews* judg'd *Herod's* Army to have been overthrown by God, he avenging justly on him the murder of *John* call'd the *Baptist*. For him *Herod* had slain, who was a good man, and one that exhorted the *Jews* to the exercise of virtue, commanding them to deal justly with one another, and to behave themselves piously towards God, and so to come to be baptized. For Baptism, said he, was then only well-pleasing to God, when it was used, not for the excusing of some certain offences, but in order to the cleansing of the body, the soul being before purified by righteousness. Now when many flock'd to him from every quarter (for they were strangely taken with hearing of such discourses) *Herod* fearing lest thro' the powerful perswasion of the man, his subjects should revolt, (for they seem'd ready to do any thing that he advis'd) judg'd it better to cut him off before any innovation hapned by him, than, after it was come to pass, and had greatly endangered his affairs, to repent he did not, when it was too late. Upon this very mistrust of *Herod's*, he being put into bonds, was sent to the aforesaid Castle of *Machærous* and there slain. Thus far he concerning *John*. The same Author, in the same Book makes mention also of our Saviour in these words; 'About that time there was one *Jesus*, a wise man, if he may be called a man; for he wrought wonderful miracles, and taught all that with delight would embrace the truth. He had many followers, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This was he that was * called *Christ*. Whom tho' he was accused by the chief men of our Nation, and *Pilate* condemned him to be crucified, yet those who at first loved him bore not to worship him. For he appeared unto them alive on the third day, as the holy Prophets had predicted, who foretold these and many more wonderful things concerning him. And till this day that Sect continues, which of Him are call'd *Christians*. Seeing

therefore that this Writer, being a *Jew* born and bred, has in his works recorded thus much of our Saviour and *John the Baptist*, what evasion can remain to the Forgers of those Acts against them, that they should not evidently be prov'd to be the most impudent of Men? But thus far of these Matters.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning our Saviour's Disciples.

MOREOVER, the names of our Saviour's Apostles are to all apparently manifest in the Gospel, but as to the seventy disciples, a particular * catalogue of them is no where extant. But *Barnabas* is said to have been one of them; of whom we have frequent mention both in the Acts of the Apostles, and also most especially in *Paul's* Epistle to the *Galatians*. *Sosthenes* also, they say, was another of them, he that together with *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*: For so says *Clemens* in the fifth Book of his Institutions; where also he affirms *Cephas* (that *Cephas* of whom *Paul* speaks, † But when *Cephas* came to *Antioch* I withstood him to the face) a name-fake of *Peter's*, to have been one of the seventy disciples. *Matthias* also, who was numbred with the Apostles in the room of the Traitor *Judas*, and the other who had the honour to be proposed in the same lot with him, are reported to be of the number of the Seventy. *Thaddæus* likewise, of whom I will by and by adjoin an History as it came to our hands, is reported to have been one of them. But he that shall attentively observe, will find, even from *Paul's* testimony alone, that our Saviour's disciples were more in number than Seventy. For he * says, * 1 Cor. *Christ after his Resurrection was seen first of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once; of whom some were full asleep, but the greatest part, he declares, were alive when he wrote these things. Then, says he, he appeared to James. (a) He is said to have been one of the Seventy disciples of our Saviour, and also one of the Lord's Brethren. Lastly, there being many more besides the twelve, who were called Apostles by way of imitation, of which sort *Paul* himself was one, he farther adds, saying, Then he was seen of all the Apostles. But so much of this. The fore-mentioned History concerning *Thaddæus* was thus: the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was not of the Number of the Twelve Apostles but of the Disciples of the Lord. Indeed *Paul*, in his first Epist. to the *Corinthians*, chap. 15. v. 7. seems to favour this opinion, where reckoning up those to whom *Christ* appeared after his death, after he hath named the Twelve Apostles, and five hundred others, he adds, *After that he was seen of James, &c.* Valef.*

C H A P. XIII.

The History of the Prince of the Edessens.

THE Divinity of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* being every where famous by reason of his wonderful power, by which he wrought Miracles, drew together an innumerable company even of foreigners, and inhabitants of Countreys far remote from *Judea*, who were sick and troubled with all sorts of pains, hoping to be recovered. Therefore King (a) *Agbarus*, the then worthy

* *Ἀσπόμενος*, i. e. called, is to be understood, as *Valesius* supposes.

(a) Many of the ancient writers affirm, that *James* the brother of our Lord, he that was Ordained

(a) Or, *Abgarus*; for so he is called in some Copies. Valef.

Tiberius. worthy Governour of the (b) nations lying beyond *Euphrates*, being much weakned with a sore disease, incurable by human skill; as soon as he heard of the great Name of *Jesus*, and of his wonderful Works attested by all, sent a Letter to him by a Letter-carrier, humbly beseeching him to vouchsafe to cure his distemper. Now tho' he did not then hearken to his request, yet he vouchsafed to give him answer by his own Letter; wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples, who should both cure him, and also bring salvation to him, and his Relations and Friends. Soon after therefore this promise was exactly fulfill'd: For after his Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension into Heaven, *Thomas*, one of the Twelve Apostles, moved thereto by Divine Impulse, sent *Thaddæus*, chosen one of the Seventy Disciples of Christ, to *Edeffa*, to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ. By whom all that which our Saviour had promised was fulfill'd. The written evidence of this matter we have taken out of the Office of Records within the princely City of *Edeffa*, in which *Agbarus* then was Governour. For among the publick Records there, wherein the Antiquities of the City and the Acts of *Agbarus* are contain'd, are found these things, there preserved to our days. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the very words of the Letter, which we have taken out of the ancient Rolls, and faithfully translated out of the *Syriack* tongue in these words, thus;

A Copy of the Letter written by King Agbarus to Jesus, and sent to him to Jerusalem by Ananias the Courier.

'*Agbarus* Prince of *Edeffa*, to *Jesus* the Good Saviour, who hath manifested himself within the Confines of *Jerusalem*, sendeth greeting. I have heard of thee, and of the cures wrought by thee without Herbs or Medicines; for, as it is reported, thou dost restore Sight to the Blind; thou makest the Lame to walk; thou cleansest the Leprous, and thou dost cast out Devils and unclean Spirits, and thou healest those that are tormented with Diseases of a long continuance, and thou dost raise the Dead. When I heard all this of thee, I was fully persuaded to believe one of these two things, either that thou art very God, and art come down from Heaven to do such things, or else the Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore, I have now written to thee, beseeching thee to come to me, and cure my disease: for I have heard that the *Jews* murmur against thee, and contrive to do thee mischief. I have a City, a little one indeed, but it is beautiful, and capable of receiving us both." Thus wrote *Agbarus*, as then but a little enlighten'd from above. It is also worth while to hear the Answer of *Jesus*, return'd to him by the same Courier; short indeed it is, but it has much of power and efficacy in it: It was thus:

The Answer of Jesus to Agbarus the King, sent by Ananias the Courier.

'Blessed art thou, *Agbarus*, who hast believ'd in me whom thou hast not seen. For it is written of me, that they which have seen me should not believe in me, that so they which have not seen me may believe and be saved.

(c) In what part of the Old Testament these words occur I am yet to seek. Indeed, in the Gospel of St. *John* it is written, that our Lord said to *Thomas* after his Resurrection, *Joh. 20. 29. Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* But this Epistle of Christ to King *Agbarus*, if it be genuine, preceded that Reprehension of the Apostle *Thomas* some years. *Valef.*

But as concerning what thou writest about my coming to thee, know, that all things for which I am sent must be here by me fulfilled; which being finish'd, I shall be taken up and return to him that sent me: but after I am ascended, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall cure thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to them that are with thee." To this Letter there is this farther added in the *Syriack* Language; 'After *Jesus* was ascended, *Judas*, called also (d) *Thomas*, sent *Thaddæus* the (e) Apostle, who was one of the Seventy Disciples, to *Agbarus*. When he was come thither, he abode with *Tobias* the son of *Tobias*. As soon as it was heard that he was come, having manifested himself by the miracles he wrought; *Agbarus* was told, that the Apostle of *Jesus* was come thither according to his promise in his Letter. Now *Thaddæus* began to cure every disease and distemper by the power of God to the wonder of all. When *Agbarus* heard of the great and wonderful works wrought by him, and how in the name and by the power of *Jesus Christ* he cured diseases, he had some suspicion, that this was the person about whom *Jesus* wrote to him, saying, when I am taken up, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall heal thy distemper. Having therefore called for *Tobias*, with whom *Thaddæus* abode, *I have heard, said he, that there is a certain powerful man come from Jerusalem*, who lodges at thy house, that performs many cures in the name of *Jesus*. There is a stranger, Sir, replied he, come to my house who does many miracles: Bring him, said *Agbarus*, to me. *Tobias* went home to *Thaddæus*, and told him, *Agbarus* the Governour of this City having sent for me, commands me to bring thee to him, that thou may'st cure his distemper. I will go, replied *Thaddæus*, for it is chiefly upon his account that I am with power sent hither. *Tobias* therefore getting up early next morning, took *Thaddæus* along with him, and went to *Agbarus*. When he was come to *Agbarus* (his Nobles being present and standing round him) there appeared a wonderful sight in the face of the Apostle *Thaddæus*, as he came in to him, and he worship'd him. All that were present were dazed at that, for they saw nothing of the kind which appear'd only to *Agbarus*. When he ask'd *Thaddæus*, Art thou in truth a Disciple of *Jesus* the Son of God, who thus to me, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall cure thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to all with thee? *Thaddæus* answered, For as much as thou hast firmly believed in the Lord *Jesus* who sent me, therefore I am sent to thee, and if thy faith in him does still increase, according to thy belief thou shalt have the desires of thine heart fulfilled. *Agbarus* made him answer, I did so firmly believe in him, that I would have raised forces to have destroy'd the *Jews* who crucified him, had I not been inhibited from that purpose by the Roman Empire. *Jesus Christ*, replied *Thaddæus*, our Lord God fulfilled the will of his Father, and having finish'd

(d) *Thomas* indeed, that was one of the Twelve Apostles, was called *Didymus*; but that the same person was surnamed *Judas*, is not, that I know, any where else to be found. Upon this account therefore this Story is deservedly to be suspected. *Valef.*

(e) Apostle here is to be taken in a large sense; (see *Eusebius* at the latter end of the foregoing Chapter:) after the same manner every Nation and City termed them Apostles, from whom they first received the truth of the Gospel. This name was not only given to the Twelve, but all their Disciples, Companions and Assistants, were generally called Apostles. *Valef.*

Tiberius. finished that, was taken up to his Father. *Agbarus* said unto him, I believed both in Him and in his Father. Therefore, said *Thaddæus*, I lay my hand on thee, in the name of the same Lord Jesus Christ: and having done so he was presently cured of the disease and distemper that he had. *Agbarus* wondred greatly when he saw that really accomplish'd which he had heard concerning Jesus, by his Disciple and Apostle *Thaddæus*, who without the help of Herbs or Medicines, restored him to his former soundness: and not only him, but one *Abdus* also, the son of *Abdus*, who had the Gout; he coming and falling down at *Thaddæus*'s feet, receiv'd a blessing by prayer and the laying on of his hands, and was healed. Many others also of the same City with them were cured by the Apostle, who wrought wonderful miracles and preached the word of God. After all this, *Agbarus* spake thus, We believe, *Thaddæus*, whatever thou dost, thou performest by the power of God, and therefore we greatly admire thee. But, we pray thee moreover, give us some farther account of the *Advent* of Jesus, how and after what manner it was; of his power also, and by what virtue he wrought those mighty works we have heard. I shall now be silent, replied *Thaddæus*, because I am sent to publish the word of God: but assemble all the men of thy City together to me to morrow, and I will preach the word of God to them, and will disperse the word of life among them, and expound the *Advent* of Jesus, after what manner it was, his Commission, and for what reason his Father sent him; the power of his works, the mysteries he declar'd to the world, by what power he wrought so great miracles, his new preaching, the slender and mean reputation he made himself of,

the despicableness of his outward man, how *Tiberius.* he humbled himself even unto death, how he lessen'd his Divinity, how many and great things he suffer'd of the Jews, how he was crucified, how he descended into Hell, and rent asunder that Inclosure never before severed; how he rose again, and together with himself, raised those from the dead who had lain buried many ages; how he descended from Heaven alone, but ascended to his Father accompanied with a great multitude; how with glory he is set down at the right hand of God his Father in Heaven, and how he will come again with power and glory to judge both quick and dead. *Agbarus* therefore commanded the men of his City to come together very early and hear *Thaddæus* preach. After this he commanded, that gold and silver should be given to *Thaddæus*; but he refused it, saying, how shall we, who have left all that was our own, take any thing that is another's? These things were done in the (f) three hundredth and fortieth year. All this being translated word for word out of the Syriack tongue, and not unprofitable to be read, we have thought good to set down opportunely in this place.

the *Edeffens*, falleth with the first year of the two hundredth and second Olympiad. For the *Edeffens* numbred their years from the hundredth and seventeenth Olympiad, fixing their *Æra* upon the first year of *Seleucus* his Reign in *Asia* (as *Eusebius* writes in his *Chronicon*) from which time to the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad, there are just three hundred and forty years. Now the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad falleth with the fifteenth year of *Tiberius Caesar*; in which year, as many of the Antients believed, our Blessed Saviour suffered and ascended. So that this account falls right, placing *Thaddæus* his coming to *Edeffa*, and his curing King *Agbarus* on the same year, in which our Blessed Saviour suffered. Note, that the *Edeffens* began their year, from the Autumnal *Æquinox*, according to the custom of the *Syrians*, and almost all the *Eastern Nations*. *Valef.*

T H E
S E C O N D B O O K
Of the Ecclesiastical History
O F
E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S.

The P R E F A C E.

Whatsoever was necessary to be premised by way of Preface to Our Ecclesiastical History, both concerning the Divinity of the comfortable Word, the Antiquity of the Points of our Doctrine and Evangelical Polity; and also moreover concerning the Manifestation our Saviour lately made of himself, his Passion and the Election of the Apostles, we have treated of in the foregoing Book, and briefly summ'd up the Proofs thereof. Now therefore in this, we will diligently look into what followed upon his Ascension; partly from what we find noted in Holy Writ, and partly from other Records, which we will mention in due place.

C H A P. I.

Of those things which were instituted by the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.

(a) At these words we began the first Chapter, following the Authority partly of *Rufinus*, partly of the King's, *Mar.* and *Fuk. M. SS.* or, what goes before is a Preface. *Valef.*

Deacons for the publick administration of the Churches affairs; of which number *Stephen* was one: who (b) immediately after his Ordination, as if he had been made Deacon only for this, was the first that, after the Lord, was slain by those very Jews that had been the Lord's murderers.

year wherein *Stephen* suffered. Martyrdom is not agreed on by all: Some say it was the third year after Christ's passion, which was the last of *Tiberius*, so *Synellus*. Others say he was martyr'd on the 7th of the Calend. of *Jan.* that same year in which Christ suffered. So *Scaliger* says in his Excerpt. Chronolog. which he puts out with *Euseb. Chronicon*. p. 68. and this seems to have been the opinion of *Eusebius*, as appears from this place. *Valef.*

Tiberius. there's, who stoned him to death: And thus he, being the first of the worthily victorious Martyrs of Christ, gain'd a crown (c) answerable to his name. Then *James* also, who was term'd the (d) brother of our Lord, because he

(d) That this *James* was not the Son of the B. Virgin, nor yet of *Joseph* by one *Escha* a former wife; but of *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas* sister to the B. Virgin, may thus be made appear: We read Jo. 19. 25. that there stood by the Cross of Christ his Mother, and his Mother's sister *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and *Mary Magdalen*: In the rest of the Evangelists we find at the same place (*Matth.* 27. 56.) *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joses*; and again at the Sepulchre (*Matth.* 28. 1.) *Mary Magdalen* and the other *Mary*. Wherefore that other *Mary* by the conjunction of these Testimonies, appeareth to be the sister of the B. Virgin, to be the wife of *Cleophas*, and the mother of *James* and *Joses*; and consequently *James* and *Joses* the brethren of the Lord, were not the sons of *Mary* his mother, nor of *Joseph* by a former wife, but of the other *Mary*, and therefore called his brethren, according to the language of the Jews [See *Gen.* 13. 8. & 12. 5. & 29. 12. because that other *Mary* was the sister of his mother. See Bishop *Pearson* on the Creed. p. 176. Edit. Lond. 1669.

the Just, *John* and *Peter*, which they delivered to the rest of the Apostles, and those to the Seventy Disciples, one of whom was *Barnabas*. But there were two *James*'s; the one surnamed the Just, who was cast head-long from the Battlements of the Temple, and beaten to death with a Fuller's Club: The other was beheaded. *Paul* makes mention of this *James* the Just, writing thus:

* Gal. 1. 19. * Other of the Apostles saw I none save *James* the Lord's brother. At this time also all that our Saviour had promised to the King of the *Ostroemians* was fulfilled. For *Thomas*, moved thereto by Divine impulse, sent *Thaddæus* to *Edessa* to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ, as from a Record there found we have a little before manifested. He, when he was come thither, did in the name of Christ both cure *Agbarus*, and also astonish'd all the Inhabitants of the Country with the wonderfulness of his Miracles. And when he had sufficiently prepared them with such works, and brought them to an adoration of Christ's power, he made them Disciples of his wholesome Doctrine. From that very time until now the whole City of the *Edessens* has continued to be consecrated to Christ's name, enjoying no trivial evidences of our Saviour's graciousness towards them. And these things are said as from the History of the old Records. We will now return again to Holy Writ. After the Martyrdom of *Stephen*, when the first and forest persecution of the Church at *Jerusalem* by the Jews arose, all the Disciples of Christ, except the Twelve only, being scatter'd throughout *Judea* and *Samaria*, some of them travelling as far as *Phenice* and *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, as holy Scripture testifieth, were not able to be so bold as to communicate the word of Faith to the Gentiles, but preach'd to the Jews only. At that time * *Paul* also until then made havock of the Church, entring

into every house of the faithful, haling men *Tiberius*. and women, and committing them to prison. Moreover * *Philip*, one of those who was ordain'd Deacon with *Stephen*, being one of them * Aets 8. 5. &c. that were disperfed, went down to *Samaria*, and being full of the Divine Power, was the first that preach'd the Word to those Inhabitants. And the Grace of God did so effectually co-operate with him, that by his preaching he drew after him *Simon Magnus* with many other men. This *Simon*, at that time very famous, did so far prevail with those whom he had deceiv'd by his imposture, that they thought him to be the Great Power of God. Then therefore this very person, being greatly amazed at the miracles *Philip* wrought by the power of God, craftily insinuated himself, and so far counterfeited a faith in Christ, that he was baptized. The same thing with admiration we see now done by the followers of his most filthy Sect, who creeping into the Church, as their Fore-father did, like some pestilent and leprous disease, do deeply corrupt all those into whom they are any way able to instil that pernicious and incurable poison which lies conceal'd within them. But many of them were cast out of the Church, as soon as their viciousness was discover'd: in like manner *Simon* himself being at length detected by *Peter*, was deservedly punish'd. Furthermore, when the wholesome preaching of the Gospel daily increased, Divine Providence brought out of the land of *Ethiopia* a man of great authority under the Queen of that Country; for those nations are according to their country fashion govern'd by a woman, who being the first of the Gentiles, that by *Philip*, warn'd of God by a vision, was made partaker of the mysteries of the Divine Word; was also the first fruits of the faithful throughout the world: returning into his own country, he is reported to have been the first publisher of the Knowledge of the Great God, and of the comfortable Advent of our Saviour in the flesh: and so by him was really fulfilled that prediction of the Prophet, * *Ethiopia* * Psal. 68. shall stretch out her hand unto God. At this time, 31. † *Paul*, that chosen vessel, was made an Apostle, † Aets 9. 3. &c. not of men, neither by men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead; being vouchsafed this calling by a vision, and a voice from heaven, which came to him at the Revelation thereof.

CHAP. II.

How *Tiberius* was affected at the Relation *Pilate* sent him of those things concerning Christ.

WHEN the wonderful Resurrection of our Saviour and his Ascension into Heaven was now divulg'd among all men; because it was of old customary that the Governours of Provinces should communicate to the Emperor every strange and unusual accident that hapned within their charge, that so nothing that was done might escape his knowledge; *Pilate* acquainted the Emperor *Tiberius* with the Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, now much talk'd of over all *Palestine*; giving him an account that he had also heard of many other miracles of his, and how that rising again after he had been dead, he was now by many believ'd to be God. And they say that *Tiberius* referr'd this matter to the Senate, but the relation was rejected by them; upon pretence, that they had not first approved of the matter,

Tiberius. matter; there being an old law among the Romans, that no one should be Deified but by the suffrage and decree of the Senate; but in reality, that the wholesome preaching of the Divine Doctrine might not stand in need of any human approbation or assistance. When therefore the Senate had rejected the Relation concerning our Saviour, *Tiberius* persisted in his former judgment, attempting nothing prejudicial to the Doctrine of Christ. Thus much

(a) *Tertullian* was by birth a Carthaginian; his father was a Centurion of the Proconsular-Office. He wrote many volumes in Latin, of which his Apology only was done into Greek, but by whom, it is uncertain: He flourished under *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*. Valef.

(b) In our translation of this quotation out of *Tertullian*, we have followed the Original expression of the Author, according to *Rigaltius* his Edition of him: This Greek Translation being not fully expressive of the Author's mind, as *Valefius* thinks:

crate no God, before he was approved by the Senate. *Marcus Aemilius* knows this concerning his God *Alburnus*. And this makes for our advantage, because among you Divinity is weigh'd by human approbation. If God please not man, he shall not be God. Man now must be propitious to God. *Tiberius* therefore, in whose time the Christian name made its entry into the world, communicated to the Senate the account he had received out of *Syria Palestine*, whereby the Truth of the Divinity of Christ was made apparent; which he confirm'd with his own Suffrage. But because the Senate had not approved of it, it was rejected: The Emperor persisted in his judgment, threatening the Accusers of the Christians with death. Which Opinion Divine Providence, according to his dispensation, instill'd into the mind of *Tiberius Caesar*, that the Preaching of the Gospel then in its infancy, might without impediment spread over the whole world.

C H A P. III.

How the Doctrine of Christ spread in a short time over the whole World.

AND thus by the co-operation of Divine Power, the comfortable Word of God, like the beams of the Sun, on a sudden enlightened the whole world, and presently, agreeable to the Divine * Scriptures, the sound of the heavenly Evangelists and Apostles went out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the earth. And indeed in a short time there were throughout all Cities and Villages Churches gather'd, which like a Threshing-floor filled with corn, were throng'd with infinite multitudes. And they, who deriving their ignorance from their Ancestors and their errors of old, were ensnared as to their Souls with the superstitious worship of Idols, as in an inveterate disease, being freed as it were from their cruel masters, and loos'd from their heavy bonds by the power of Christ, and the preaching and miracles of his Disciples,

did with scorn reject the multitude of Gods brought in by Devils, and acknowledged there was one only God the maker of all things; and him they worship'd with the Holy Rites of true Religion, by that divine and sober way of worship which our Saviour had spread among mankind. When therefore the Grace of God diffused it self into rest of the Nations; and *Cornelius* of the City (a) *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, in the first place together with his whole household call'd *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* by a vision from Heaven and the ministry of *Peter*, embraced the Faith of Christ; and many others of the Gentiles at *Antioch* did the same, to whom the Disciples, dispersed upon the Persecution that arose about *Stephen*, preach'd the word of God; the Church at *Antioch* now increasing and prospering, in which many were gather'd together, both Prophets from *Jerusalem*, with whom were *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and besides, all other brethren, in number not a few: The appellation of (b) Christians then and there first sprang up, as from a pleasant and fertile soil: And *Agabus* also, one of the Prophets there present, foretold the Dearth that afterwards hapned; and (c) *Paul* and *Barnabas* were sent to relieve the Brethren by the Ministration.

Reign, *Tertullian* affirms in his Apology; the place quoted by *Eusebius* in the preceding Chapter. Valef.

(c) This journey of *Paul's* to *Jerusalem* can no way fall upon the times of *Tiberius*. For *Luke* writes expressly in the *Acts*, chap. 11. v. 29, 30. that it happened about that time when *Herod Agrippa* was smitten by the Angel of the Lord: Which it is most certain, happened in *Claudius* his time. Valef.

C H A P. IV.

How, after the Death of *Tiberius*, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King over the Jews, and punished *Herod* with perpetual Banishment.

BUT *Tiberius* having reigned about two and twenty years, died. *Caius* succeeding him in the Empire, presently gave (a) *Agrippa* the Kingdom of *Judea*, and made him King over the Tetrarchies both of *Philip* and *Lysanias*. Besides, not long after he gave him *Herod's* Tetrarchy also, having condemned *Herod* to perpetual banishment, being together with *Herodias* his wife deservedly punished for divers enormities: (This was the *Herod* that was present at our Saviour's Passion:) *Josephus* is a witness of these things also. Moreover, in this Emperor's time *Philo* flourish'd, a man highly esteem'd of for his learning by many, not only among us, but also among foreigners. He was indeed by original extract an *Hebrew*, inferior to none of those that were illustrious in dignity at *Alexandria*. Moreover, what and how great pains he bestow'd about Divine matters, and in the learning of his own nation, it is to all evidently manifest. Besides, how excellent he was at Philosophy and Human Learning, it is needless to relate; for he is said to have excell'd all of his own time in the *Platonick* and *Pythagorean* Philosophy which he much affected. *Caius* took from *Herod* his Tetrachy of *Galilee*, and gave it to *Agrippa*. At length, after the death of *Caius*, *Claudius* confirm'd the Kingdom to *Agrippa* which *Caius* had given him, and gave him also *Judea* and *Samaria*, which his Grandfather *Herod* had. And so the whole Kingdom of *Herod* the great was posse'd by *Agrippa*. See *Philo in Flaccum* & in *Legat. ad Caium sub finem*; and *Joseph. Hist. B. 18.* so that *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he says, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King of *Judea*. Valef.

C. Caligula.

C H A P. V.

How Philo went on an Embassy to Caius upon the Jews account.

(a) There are now extant only two Books of Philo's concerning this Subject, the one entitled *in Flaccum*, the other *de Legatione ad Caium*; so that either *Eusebius* forgot their number, or else they were heretofore divided into five Volumes; Neither can any one suspect the other three to be lost: For in those two, we now have, are contained all that happened to the Jews under Caius his Empire. Valef.

Moreover this man compriz'd in (a) five Books the calamities that befel the Jews in Caius's Reign; wherein he sets forth both the madness of Caius proclaiming himself to be God, and also his insolent carriage in his Government in innumerable instances; likewise the distresses the Jews underwent in his Reign; and declares how himself went Embassador to Rome upon account of his country-men that dwelt at Alexandria; and how that, reasoning before Caius for the Laws and Customs of his own nation, he obtain'd nothing besides laughter and reproaches, and narrowly escaped the danger of being put to death. *Josephus* mentions all this in his eighteenth Book of *Antiquities*, writing thus much word for word: 'More-

(b) Philo says there were five Embassadors of the Jews side sent to Rome; See his *de Legat. ad Caium sub finem*. These Embassadors were sent upon two accounts, first, the Jews complained that the Alexandrians defiled their *Proseucha's* by bringing the Emperor's Statues into them; and then, that the Alexandrians went about to deprive the Jews of their freedom of the City Alexandria. Valef.

'jects of the Roman Empire built Temples and Altars to Caius, and at all points worship'd him as they did their Gods, the Jews only, said he, accounted it a vile thing to erect Statues to him, and to swear by his name. When Apion had urg'd these and many other vehement accusations against them, whereby he hoped, as it was likely, to incense Caius, Philo chief of the Jewish Embassy, a man every way famous,

(c) So that the chief Magistrate among the Jews at Alexandria was called: He held his place as long as he lived; and at his death the Jews chose another into his room. See Philo in *Flaccum*. Valef.

him, commanding him to depart immediately from his presence. And the Emperor was so highly incensed, that none doubted but he would most severely punish the Jews. But Philo being much reviled went out, and, as they say, spake to the Jews that were about him to

(d) Philo's meaning here is, that Caius indeed was angry with the Jews as to appearance, and in words; but that in reality he did arm God, and set him in array against himself. For, in that Caius would have himself called god, he provoked God to take vengeance of him. *Ἀντιπαρθεῖς* (whence the word here used is derived) is a military term, and signifies, to set an army in array against an enemy. Valef.

unto annex only so much as shall make it evidently plain to the Readers, that these miseries

straightway without any delay befel the Jews C. Caligula, upon account of their enormous impieties committed against Christ. First of all therefore he relates, that in the Reign of Tiberius one Sejanus of the City of Rome, a person who then could do much with the Emperor, did use his utmost endeavour to destroy that whole nation: and that in Judea, Pilate, in whose time that horrible wickedness was most audaciously committed against our Saviour, attempting something about the Temple at Jerusalem which yet stood, contrary to the Customs and Ordinances of the Jews, rais'd vehement commotions among them.

C H A P. VI.

How great Miseries befel the Jews, after their audacious Wickedness committed against Christ.

HE relates further how, after the death of Tiberius, Caius assuming the Government, was every way forely injurious towards many, but above all he most heavily annoy'd the whole Jewish nation, which in short we may understand from Philo's own (a) words, writing thus (a) Philo word for word: 'So great therefore was the extravagancy and pride of Caius's carriage towards all, but more especially towards the Jewish nation, which he bitterly hated, and appropriated to himself all

their (b) *Proseucha's* in the rest of the Cities, beginning with those at Alexandria, filling them with his own Images and Statues. For in that he suffered others to consecrate Statues to him, he seem'd in a manner to dedicate them to himself. And he changed and transform'd the Temple at Jerusalem, which hitherto had remain'd undefiled and dignified with all the privileges of a Sanctuary, and made it into a Temple dedicated to himself, causing it thence-forward to be called the Temple of

(b) The Jews had two sorts of places, besides their Temple, (which was for sacrifice) for religious duties; viz. their *Proseucha*, and *Synagogues*; the difference between them was this; the *Proseucha* was a Plot of ground encompassed with a wall or some other inclosure, and open above; the use of it was properly for Prayer; a Synagogue was a covered Edifice, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the People instructed in divine Matters; besides, the Synagogues were within, the *Proseucha* without the Cities. They were in use before the Captivity, as may be gathered from *Jos. 24. 26. Psal. 74. 7. See Acts 16. 13. Mr. Mede.*

(c) So Caligula was called, to distinguish him from Julius Caesar, who was also called Caius, and was deified. Valef.

(d) *Ἐπιφανής*, Conspicuous. *Valesius* translates it *presens*; *presentes dii sunt vel qui statim presentant, vel qui coluntur & videntur*. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. That is, the Propitious or Conspicuous Gods were such, as were at hand, or such as were visible to the worshippers. Hence Antiochus King of Syria was called Epiphanes by his flatterers.

(e) *Valesius* thinks that by this Second Book of *Virtues*, must be understood Philo's Book in *Flaccum*; and his reason is, because Philo does no where else but in that Book, relate the calamities that befel the Jews of Alexandria.

CAIUS (c) JUNIOR JUPITER (d) CONSPICUOUS." Moreover, the same Author, in his second Book which he entitled Of (e) *Virtues*, relates innumerable other calamities, such as are grievous beyond all expression, that befel the Jews dwelling at Alexandria, during the Government of the foresaid Caius. To whom *Josephus* agrees, who notes that those troubles with which the whole Jewish nation was molested, began even from the times of Pilate, and from those enormous facts committed against our Saviour. Let us therefore hear what he also declares in his second Book of the Jewish Wars, in these (f) words, (f) *Jos. saying, Pilate being by Tiberius sent Procurator into Judea, brought into Jerusalem by night L. 2. c. 8. the veiled Images of Caesar, which are called*

his

C. Caligula. his Statues. As soon as it was day this raised a great commotion among the *Jews*. For those who were near were astonish'd at the sight, in that their Laws were violated and trampled on. For they account it a detestable thing to place any graven image in the City." These things if thou comparest with the Evangelical writing, thou shalt understand that that voice they utter'd before *Pilate*, crying out *they had

* *Joh. 19.* no other King but *Cæsar*, was soon (g) after reveng'd upon them. The same Writer relates another following calamity inflicted on them by Divine Vengeance, in these words: "After this *Pilate* raised another commotion amongst them; exhausting the Stock of the sacred Treasury (it is called the (b) *Corban*) in making a Conduit; wherein the water that was to be brought was at three hundred furlongs distance. For which there was great indignation amongst the populace: And when *Pilate* was at *Jerusalem*, they flock'd about the Judgment-seat, and began to exclaim. But he (for he foresaw there would be a tumult amongst them) mingled armed Soldiers, clad like the common people, amongst the multitude, and, forbidding them to use their swords, but commanding them to strike those that cried out with clubs, gave them a sign from his Tribunal. So the *Jews* were beaten, and many of them killed, some by the blows they receiv'd perish'd, others being trodden to death in the crowd by those of their own party that fled. And so the multitude, being astonish'd at the calamity of those that were slain, were silent." Moreover, the same writer relates innumerable other commotions raised in *Jerusalem*; and shews, that even from that time forward both the City and all *Judea* was distracted with seditions, wars, and continual contrivances of mischief following one upon another, until at last the siege in the Reign of *Vespasian* by way of revenge befel them. After this manner therefore hath Divine Vengeance pursued the *Jews* for their execrable wickedness committed against *Christ*.

in the twelfth year of his Reign. 'Tis absurd therefore to say, that those mischiefs, which befel the *Jews* long before *Christ*'s death, hapened to them for no other cause than for their wickedness committed against *Christ*. Besides, *Eusebius* thought, that one and the same Act of *Pilate*'s was mentioned both by *Philo* and *Josephus*. But *Josephus* speaks of the Images of the Emperor; and *Philo*, of the gilded Bucklers, which had no image, but only the name of the Emperor to whom they were dedicated, and *Pilate*'s name that made that dedication. Moreover, what *Josephus* relates, happened in the first year of *Pilate*'s Government; but, what *Philo* reports, came to pass when *Pilate* had been many years Governour. *Valef.*

(b) *Corban* comes from קרבן, which signifies promiscuously to draw nigh, and to offer: The Evangelist renders *Corban*, a gift (*Matth. 15. v. 5.*) i. e. that which is presented and consecrated to God in the Temple: It signifies also the place where the Offerings so called were laid up. *Dr. Hammond.*

CHAP. VII.

That *Pilate* made himself away.

IT is also worth knowing, how that this same *Pilate*, who condemned our Saviour, in the Reign of *Caius*, whose times we now treat of, fell, as it is famed, into so great troubles, that he was (a) forc'd to be his own murderer and son of despair. This is confirm'd by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*; In the 3d year of *Caius Caligula*, says he, *P. Pilate* falling into great troubles killed himself. King *Agrippa* (*apud Philon. in Legat. ad Caium*) gives this description of this *Pilate*, ὁ δὲ πῶν οὐσίῳ ἀκαμπῆς, καὶ τὸ δὲ ἀνδραγαθὸς ἀμελίῳ; That is, he was of an inflexible nature, and withal arrogant and cruel: Which testimony is so much the more considerable,

because it came out of *Agrippa*'s mouth, who was an eye-witness of *Pilate*'s detestable Acts. A character well befitting him that condemn'd our Saviour. *Valef.*

revenger, laying violent hands on himself: *Di-* *C. Caligula* *vine Justice*, as it was meet, not long deferring his punishment. This those *Grecians* do record, who have written (b) *Olympiads*, giving an account of what was done, and in what time performed.

ans, games instituted for the exercise of their youth, to the honour of *Jupiter Olympus*, near unto whose Temple they were performed in the Olympian field. The time was (as only *Pindar* has revealed) at the full Moon which followed the Summer Solstice. They were celebrated every fifth year: And the interval was called an OLYMPIAD, consisting of four *Julian* years, and the odd Bissextile day. The restitution of these Games by *Iphitus*, is so much more taken notice of than the first celebration by *Hercules*. That this, which was many years after, is yet accounted for the first Olympiad, upon which the *Grecian* Chronology fixeth it self, as upon the certain term, to which their reckoning does refer. See *Mr. Jo. Gregory of Oxford, de Aetis & Epoch.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Dearth that hapned in *Claudius*'s Time.

BUT *Caius* having held the Empire not full *Claudius* out four years, *Claudius* the Emperor succeeded him. In whose times a Dearth oppress'd the whole world, of which those Historians make mention, who are wholly averse from our Religion. And so the prediction of the Prophet *Agabus*, of whom there is mention in the Acts of the Apostles, concerning this Dearth that should come upon all the world, was compleated. *Luke* having in the Acts mentioned this Dearth that happened in the time of *Claudius*, adds this farther, saying, That the brethren which were in *Antioch*, every one according to his ability, sent to them who were in *Judea* by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*.

CHAP. IX.

The Martyrdom of *James* the Apostle.

NOW about that time, to wit, in the Reign of *Aet. 12.* *Claudius*, *Herod* the King stretch'd his hands to vex certain of the Church: and he killed *James* the brother of *John* with the sword. Concerning this *James*, *Clemens*, in the Seventh Book of his *Institutions*, relates a memorable History, speaking as he had heard from his Predecessors:

For he says, 'That he that (a) accused him before the Judgment-seat, seeing him openly and willingly testify and declare the faith of *Christ*, was moved thereat, and profess'd that he also was a Christian. And so, says he, they were both together led away to suffer. And as they were going, he besought *James* to pardon him; who, after a short deliberation, said, peace be to thee, and kissed him; and so they were both beheaded together.' Then also, as Holy * *Writ* declares, * *Acts 12.* (b) *Herod* perceiving that the killing of *James* very much pleased the *Jews*, set up *Peter* also, so *Agrippa*, was eldest son to *Aristobulus* by *Bernice* his Wife, daughter of *Salome* Sister to *Herod* the great: Which *Aristobulus* was eldest son to *Herod* the great by his Wife *Mariamne* the *Assamonean*. See *Montague's Acts*, and *Mon. chap. 4. Sect. 34.* So that this *Herod* was Grandchild to *Herod* the great. *Joseph. Antiq. B. 18. c. 7.*

Claudius. and having put him in bonds, would forthwith have put him to death, had he not been miraculously deliver'd out of prison by a Divine apparition, *to wit*, by an Angel coming to him by night; being dismiss'd for the ministration of preaching. All which hapned to *Peter* by the disposition of Divine Providence.

C H A P. X.

How Agrippa, called also Herod, persecuting the Apostles, presently felt Divine Vengeance.

BUT the King's attempt to do violence to the Apostles remain'd not long unreveng'd; for a chastising Minister of Divine Justice pursued him: He therefore, soon after his bloody plot against the Apostles, going down to *Cæsarea*, as it is related in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and being there upon the great festival-day dress'd in a white and royal garment, made an Oration to the people from his lofty throne; and when all the multitude gave a shout with loud acclamations at his Oration, as at the voice of God and not of Man, Sacred Writ declares that he was immediately smitten by an Angel, and was eaten up of worms and gave up the ghost. But the consent between Holy Writ and the History of *Josephus*, in the account given of this strange thing, is worthy of admiration. In which he, giving evident testimony to the truth in his nineteenth * Book of *Antiquities* does plainly declare this wonderful thing in these words thus, 'The third year of his Reign over all *Judea* was now compleated; when he went to the City *Cæsarea*, heretofore call'd *the Tower of Straton*. There he exhibited shows in honour of *Cæsar*, know-

(a) This Festival was instituted first by *Herod* the great in honour of *Augustus*, in the 192 Olympiad, says *Josephus*, (*Antiq. L. 16. c. 9.*) at the City *Cæsarea*. *Agrippa* went to *Cæsarea* to celebrate it, in the 4 year of *Claudius*, at the beginning of the 206 Olympiad. *Vales.*

(b) He means *Syria*, or (which was part of it) *Phœnicia*; which was call'd the Province, to distinguish it from *Judea* where *Agrippa* then reign'd. Indeed *Luke* says expressly (*Acts 12. 20.*) that the principal Men of *Tyre* were then present, which *Tyre* was the chief City of *Phœnicia*. *Vales.*

(c) *Josephus* calls it *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς*, and *Owl*: See his words in the B. and chap. last cited.

(d) *To wit*, in the reign of *Tiberius*: When *Agrippa*, being in bonds, and leaning against a Tree, as he stood before the Palace of *Tiberius*, saw an Owl sitting over his Head. A German being by, one of his fellow-prisoners foretold this to portend great felicity to *Agrippa*. See the Story at large in *Joseph. Antiq. B. 18. c. 8.*

all over his belly, which began with a vehement sharpness, and was continual and without intermission. Looking therefore upon his friends, I your God, says he, am now compelled to end my life; *fatal necessity* forthwith demonstrating the falshood of your boasting acclamations even now utter'd concerning me: I, who by you was stiled immortal, am now snatch'd away by death. But that destiny is to be born with which God hath decreed. We have in no wise liv'd ill and despicably, but in such splendor as was look'd upon to be most fortunate. When he had spoken these words, he was spent with the vehemency of his pain. Being therefore presently carried into the Palace, a rumour was immediately spread abroad that the King was in imminent danger of his life; straightway the whole multitude with their wives and children (e) sitting upon spread sackcloth, after their country fashion, made supplications to God for the King. Every place was fill'd with wailings and lamentations. But the King lying in an high Bed-chamber, look'd down upon them as they lay prostrate, and could not refrain weeping. At length having been for five days space continually tormented with pains of his belly, he died in the fifty fourth year of (f) his Age, and the seventh of his Reign. For first he reign'd four years under *Caius Cæsar*, having govern'd the Tetrarchy of *Philip* three years; in the fourth he had *Herod's* Tetrarchy annex'd: the three last years of his Reign he pass'd under *Claudius Cæsar*. Thus far *Josephus*: wherein, as also in other passages, I much admire him, in that he agrees so exactly with the Holy Scripture. But if any one should think that there is some disagreement about the name of the King; both the time and the action do evidently shew that he was the same person: so that either his name was changed by some mistake of the Transcriber, or else this King had, as many others have, two names.

(e) This was the usual posture of the Hebrew mourners. See *Job 2. 3. Esai. 47. 5. Lament. 2. 10. Jonah 3. 63, &c.* consonant hereto, the Reverses of the Medals both of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, made for the memory and celebration of the conquest of *Judea*, were imprinted with a silent woman sitting on the ground, and leaning her back to a Palm-tree, with this inscription, *Judea Capta, i. e. Judea subdued*. Note here that the Reverses made to commit victories to memory were always written upon with some representation of proper respect to the place conquered. I know the posture of sitting is a ceremony of Roman lamentation too. But it was first us'd among the Jews, from whom the Romans learned it. *Mr. Gregory of Oxford. Chap. 4. pag. 25, &c.*

(f) This Man had two Sons, and three daughters; his sons were, *Agrippa* the younger mentioned *Acts 25.* and *Drusus* who died young. His daughters were, *Bernice*, *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*, which last married *Felix* the Procurator of *Judea*, as we have it in the *Acts*: *Bernice* is also mentioned in the *Acts* coming in great pomp with her brother *Agrippa* to hear *Paul*. *Joseph. Antiq.*

C H A P. XI.

Of the Impostor Theudas, and his Associates.

BUT because *Luke* does moreover in the * *Acts* * *Acts 5. 36.* bring in one *Gamaliel* speaking in the consultation the Jews had about the Apostles, of one (a) *Theudas* that arose up in those days boasting himself to be some body, who was slain; and all, as *Josephus* mentions many as obey'd him, were scatter'd: we also will adjoyn the relation of *Josephus* concerning this very person. Who, in the Book before cited expressly declares thus much word for word: 'When *Fadus* was Procurator of *Judea*, a certain Impostor, by name *Theudas*, perswaded a multitude of people to take their Goods with them and follow him to the River of *Jordan*: For he said that he was a Prophet, and that he would by his command, part the Waters of the River, the person

(a) This was in *Claudius's* reign, in the time of *Fadus's* Prefecture. And so that cannot be the person

Claudius. river, and afford them an easie passage over. By such speeches he deceived many. But *Famention'd* *claudius* suffered them not to take the benefit of in the *Acts*; for their madness, but sent out a body of horse against them, which falling on them at un-*that Theu-* awares, partly killed them, and partly took das was them prisoners. And having taken *Theudas* a- das *Gali-* live they beheaded him, and carried his head leus (*Acts* 5.39.) and to *Jerusalem*. After this the same Writer he was in makes mention of the Dearth which hapned the time in the Reign of *Claudius*, after this manner: of *Cyreni-* us's being Governour of *Syria*. That *Theudas* in the *Acts* therefore must needs be some other Person, whom the *Jews* had recorded in their Writings, and from thence *Gamaliel* there recites the story, though we have no other record of it. This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, in L. 6. de *Emendat. Tempor.* and of *Casaubon* in *Exercitat.* 2. c. 18. and of *Dr. Hammond* in his notes on *Acts* 5. 36. *Valesius*, in his annotations, differs from all these learned Men, and says that by those words of *St. Luke* [after this man rose up *Judas* of *Galilee*] is meant, that *Judas* his insurrection was before that of *Theudas*; which exposition he confirms, by saying, that when ever we begin to reckon from the last, as nearest to us, (so he supposes *St. Luke* there does) we must necessarily place the last person first in such a reckoning, and the first last: So that notwithstanding *St. Luke* says (after this man rose up *Judas* of *Galilee*) yet *Judas* his insurrection was long before *Theudas*'s. This he illustrates by two examples of such an expression, one taken out of *Tertullian* in *Apologet.* the other out of *Clemens Alexandr.* Lib. 7. *stromat.* But then being not able to reconcile the time of *Theudas* his insurrection with the time *Josephus* places it in, to wit, in the time of *Fadus* his Procuratorship, he says *Josephus* was mistaken, placing it later than he should have done. For he will by no means allow two *Theudas*'s. Another way he has to make up this difference, that is, he thinks *St. Luke* in his expression used a Prolepsis, anticipating the insurrection of *Theudas* ten years, and makes *Gamaliel* speak that which was agreeable to his present purpose: And thus *Eusebius*, he thinks, understood *St. Luke*'s words. The Reader has here the opinion of both sides, and is left to his liberty to believe which he pleases.

C H A P. XII.

Of Helena Queen of the Osdroënians.

(a) *Joseph.* (a) AT that time there hapned to be a Antiq. B. 20. c. 3. great * Dearth throughout all *Ju-* * This fa- dea. When Queen *Helena*, buying Bread-corn mine hap- in *Egypt* at a very dear price, distributed it to pened on them that were in want." All which we find the 5 and agreeable to what is related in the *Acts* of † the 6 years of *Apostles*; where we have this moreover, That *Claudius*. the *Disciples* which dwelt at *Antioch*, every man ac- † *Acts* 11. cording to his ability, determined to send relief unto 28, 29, 30. the brethren which dwelt in *Judea*; which also they did, and sent it to the Elders by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. But of this *Helena*, which *Josephus* has mentioned, there is an illustrious (b) Sepulchral-monument yet to be seen, standing in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*, which is now called *Elia*; and she is said to have been three hundred and thirty years old when she was Queen of the *Adiabeni*. *Jerusalem*, where the bones of this *Helena* were buried, says *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 20. c. 2. he mentions them again in his 6 B. of the *Jews* Wars. *Jerom* mentions them in his Oration de *Obit. B. Paula*, and says they were standing in his time. *Pausanias* (in *Arcadicis*) reckoning up the stately Sepulchres he had seen, admires two above all the rest, to wit, that of *Mausolus* in *Caria*, and this of *Helena* in *Judea*. This *Helena* had a Palace in *Jerusalem*, says *Josephus*, in the 6 B. of the *Jews* Wars. *Vales.*

C H A P. XIII.

Of Simon Magus.

BUT the Faith of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* being now every where diffused among all men; that enemy of man's salvation, plotting to possess himself of the Royal City,

brings thither the fore-mentioned *Simon*. And, *Claudius* joyning his enchantments to that man's craftiness, he made many that dwelt at *Rome* his own by inducing them into error. This *Justin* evidences; a man very famous amongst the Professors of our Religion soon after the Apostles time; whose worth we will give account of in due place. Let us read what he has writ in

his (a) second Apology to *Antoninus* for our Doctrine, where he says thus: 'And after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, the Devils sent forth certain men who stiled themselves Gods: whom you were so far from persecuting, that you worship'd them. Amongst them there was one *Simon* a Samaritane, of the Village named *Gitton*, who in the Reign of *Claudius* *Cesar*, having performed many magical wonders by the assistance and art of Devils within your City *Rome*, the Metropolis of the Empire, was accounted a God by you, to whom you dedicated an image, as to a God, in an Island of the River *Tiber*, between the two Bridges, with this Latin Inscription, (b) SIMONI DEO SANCTO, that is, to *Simon the Holy God*. Him almost all the Samaritans, and some of other nations, confess to be the great God, and worship him; as also one (c) *Helena*, at that time a constant companion of his, who heretofore was a Prostitute in the Stews of *Tyre*, a City of *Phœnicia*; and her they term the prime Notion (or first Conception) from him. Thus far he: with whom agrees *Irenæus* in his

first Book against Heresies, wherein he sets forth the Life of this man, his impious and most impure Doctrine, which it would be superfluous here to relate; since any one that has a desire may fully understand from the foresaid Books of *Irenæus*, wherein these things are accurately deliver'd, the original, the life, the grounds and reasons of the false opinions, and the endeavours and purposes not only of this *Simon*, but also of all other Arch-Hereticks. We have heard that this *Simon* was indeed the chief Captain and first Author of all Heresie. From which time even to our age, those who are followers of his Heresie, altho' they pretend to have embraced throughout their whole lives, the Christian Religion renown'd amongst all men for its modesty and sanctity; yet nevertheless they relapse to the superstitious worship of Devils, which they seem'd to have abandon'd, prostrating themselves before the Images and Pictures of *Simon* and his foremention'd *Helena*, whom they worship with sweet perfumes, sacrifices and oblations. And those things which are transacted in secret amongst them, which, say they, do forthwith strike terror into the minds of those that at first hear them, and which (to use the terms of their own written Oracle) do make them tremble and shake by reason of astonishment, are in truth full of terror, amazement of mind, and outrageous

(a) This place of *Justin* is now to be found not in his first but in his second Apology. *Eusebius* in citing *Justin*'s Apologies follows not the order of our common Editions. For he always calls that the first which our Editions term the second; and that the second which they call the first: Of which more hereafter. *Vales.*

(b) The Learned have long since observed, that *Justin*, by reason of his unskillfulness in the Latin tongue, was here mistaken; thinking that the Image dedicated to *Sermon Sanctus* was consecrated to *Simon Magus*. 'Tis certain, that image which *Justin* had seen in the Island of *Tiber*, was lately dug up, with this inscription upon it, *Simoni Sango Deo Fidio*. *Sanctus* was a God among the *Sabins* that had the charge of bargains and contracts, whence he had the names of *Sangus* and *Fidius*. By him the Romans were wont to swear. Some Samaritans, no doubt, deceived *Justin*, making him believe this Image was dedicated to their *Simon Magus*. *Vales.*

(c) *C. Rufinus* calls her *Selene*. *Vales.*

Claudius ragious madness: so that it is impossible not only to commit them to writing, but even for men of modesty to utter them through their lips, by reason of their excessive obscenity and uncleanness not to be named. For there is not, nor can there be invented any thing so impure, which their most lewd Sect does not far surpass; deluding silly women laden with all manner of iniquity.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Peter the Apostle's Preaching at Rome.

THE Devil, that hater of all goodness and most treacherous enemy of man's salvation, at this time produced this *Simon* the author and contriver of so much mischief, that he might be the great Antagonist of the Divine Apostles of our Saviour. But the Divine and Celestial Grace, which is always assistant to its Ministers, by their appearance and presence soon quenched the flame, enkindled by the Devil, humbling and depressing by them all haughtiness and swelling pride that exalted it self against the knowledge of God. Wherefore, neither the devices of *Simon*, nor of any other which then were hatch'd, became any ways prevalent during the age of the Apostles. For the splendour of the truth vanquished and prevailed against all machinations; and the power of the Divine Word, which had newly enlighten'd mens minds from heaven, did both flourish upon earth, and also was conversant and did effectually co-operate with the Apostles. Straightway therefore the foresaid Impostor, having the eyes of his mind blinded by a divine and wonderful splendour and light, as soon as he was detected by the Apostle *Peter* in *Judæa* in what he had wickedly committed, took a great journey over-sea, and fled from the Eastern to the Western parts; concluding that he could no other way live freely, and according to his own mind. Arriving at *Rome*, by the help and assistance of a Devil (*a*) there lying in wait, he in a short time so far perfected his attempt, that the inhabitants of that City set up an image to him, and worship'd him as God. But all succeeded not long according to his mind. For soon after, in the Reign of *Claudius*, the benign and most endearing Providence of God brought *Peter*, that valiant and great Apostle, for courage chief of all the rest, to *Rome*, against this mighty destroyer of mankind, who, as a stout Leader of God, armed with celestial weapons, brought that precious merchandise of intelligible light from the East to those that dwelt towards the West: declaring to them that Light and Doctrine comfortable to the soul, to wit, the publication of the kingdom of Heaven.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Gospel according to Mark.

When therefore he had publish'd to them the Divine Word, immediately the power of *Simon* was extinct, and, together with the man (*a*) himself destroy'd. But so great a lustre of Piety enlighten'd the minds of them

(a) From these words of *Eusebius* it is concluded that the death of *Simon Magus* happened at *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*: For *Eusebius* writeth that *Peter* came to *Rome* in *Claudius* his reign, and that presently after, *Simon's* magical arts were by his coming destroyed, together with the Author. Though there be others that say *Simon* was destroyed in *Nero's* time. *Valef.*

that were the hearers of *Peter*, that they thought it not sufficient barely to hear him once, nor were contented to have receiv'd the publication of the Doctrine of the Celestial Word by word of mouth and unwritten. Therefore they earnestly entreated *Mark*, *Peter's* follower, whose Gospel is at this day extant, that he would leave with them some written record of that Doctrine they had heard. Neither did they desist till they had prevailed with the man; and thus they gave the occasion of writing that Gospel, which is called the Gospel according to *Mark*. When the Apostle *Peter* understood by the Revelation of the Holy Spirit what was done, he was much delighted with the ardent desire of the men, and confirm'd that writing by his authority, that so thenceforward it should be read in the Churches.

(b) *Clemens* in his Sixth Book of Institutions relates this passage. To whom the Bishop of *Hierapolis*, by name *Papius*, may be added as a witness. Furthermore, *Peter* mentions *Mark*, in his former Epistle, which, as they say, was written at *Rome*; *Peter* himself does intimate thus much (calling *Rome* by a figure *Babylon*) in these words; *The Church that is at *Babylon* elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth *Marcus* my son.

(b) This place of *Clemens* is quoted again by *Eusebius* in his 6 B. Eccles. Hist. at which placemore shall be said of it. *Valef.*
(c) *Rome* was parallel to *Babylon* in many things. *Valef.*
* 1 Pet. 5. 13.

C H A P. XVI.

That Mark first preached the knowledge of Christ to the Egyptians.

BUT this *Mark* (*a*) going into *Egypt* is reported to have been the first publisher there of the Gospel he had written, and to have settled Churches in the very City of *Alexandria*. And furthermore, that so great a multitude both of men and women, who there embraced the Faith of Christ, profess'd from the very beginning so severe and so philosophical a course of life, that *Philo* vouchsafed in his writings to relate their converse, their assemblies, their eating and drinking together, and their whole manner of living.

Syncellus say he went in the third year of *C. Caligula*: it's the opinion of *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that *Mark* went thither in the ninth year of *Claudius*. *Valef.*

C H A P. XVII.

What Philo relates of the Ascetæ in Egypt.

IT is reported that this *Philo* in the times of *Claudius* came to be familiarly acquainted with *Peter* at *Rome*, who then preach'd the word of God there: neither is this unlikely. For that work of his, of which we speak, being by him elaborated a long time after, does manifestly contain all the Ecclesiastical Rules which are to this present observed amongst us. And seeing he describes evidently the lives of the (*a*) *Ascetæ* amongst us, he does make it sufficiently perspicuous that he did not only see, but also very much approve of and admire the Apostolical men of his time, who being, as it is probable, originally *Jews*, upon that account did then observe in a great measure the *Judaical* Rites and Customs. First of all therefore, in that Book which he intitled, *Of Contemplative Life, or, of Suppliants*, having professed that he would insert a retired, and more severe and strict sort of life: So they were called from that Philosophical term [*ἀσκησις*], which signifies the exercise of virtue and abstinence: And any one that led such a life was called *ἀσκητής*, i. e. *Ascetæ*. The Reader may have farther satisfaction in this matter in Bishop *Montague's* *As & Mon.* Chap. 7. where he will find this business discussed at large.

(a) He means not *Monks*; for they were an Order of a later date. *Valef.*

• nothing

Claudius. says that the men were called (b) *Therapeutæ*, and the women that were conversant among them *Therapeutriæ*: And he adjoyns the reason of that appellation, either because like Physicians they healed the minds of those that resorted to them, curing them of their vicious affections, or because they worship'd the Deity with a pure and sincere service and adoration. Further, whether *Philo* himself gave them this name, devising an appellation agreeable to the manners and dispositions of the men; or whether they were really so called from the beginning, the name of *Christians* having not yet been every where spread and diffused, it is not necessary positively to affirm or contend about it. But he attests that in the first place they part with their goods; saying, 'that as soon as they be- take themselves to this course of Philosophi- zing they put over their wealth and posses- sions to their Relations. Then casting away all care of worldly matters, they leave the Ci- ties, and make their abode in gardens and so- litary places; well knowing, the conversing with men of a different and disagreeing per- swasion to be unprofitable and hurtful.' Which thing the *Christians* of that time seem to me to have instituted out of a generous and most fer- vent ardour of faith, endeavouring to emulate the Prophetical severe course of life. There- fore in the * *Acts of the Apostles* (which contain 34, 35, 36. nothing but the perfect truth) it is shewed, that all the Disciples of the Apostles selling their possessions and goods, divided the price among the brethren according as every one had need, that so there might not be any indigent person among them. For, as the Word says, *As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prizes of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* After *Philo* has attested the very same things with these, of the *Therapeutæ*, he adds thus much farther concerning them, word for word saying, 'This (c) sort of men in- deed is diffused far and wide over the whole world. For it was requi- site that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* should be par- takers of so excellent a benefit. *Egypt* especially is full of them, throughout all its divisions, but most of all about *Alexandria*: but from all places the principal of them retire themselves into a most commodious place above the Lake *Maria*, situate upon a little rising hill, excel- lently well seated both for wholsomeness of air and safe conveniency of abiding, as into the Country of the *Therapeutæ*.' Then, after he had described their houses, after what manner they were built, he speaks thus of the Churches they have in divers places. 'In every house there is a Chapel they called a *Semnaeum*, and *Monasterium*, in which alone by themselves they perform the mysteries of an holy life.

'They bring in thither neither meat nor drink, nor any corporal provisions or necessities; but only the Law, and the Divine Oracles of the Prophets, and Hymns and such like, whereby knowledge and piety are increased and perfected.' And a little after he says; 'All the interval of time from Sun-rising to the Evening they spend in meditations of Phi- losophy: For reading the holy Scriptures, they philosophize after their Country way, and ex- pound allegorically. For they suppose that the words are only Notes and Marks of some things of a mystical nature, which are to be explained (d) figuratively. They have writings of some ancient persons, who have been heretofore famous Leaders of their Sect, and have left them many monuments of that learning which consists in dark and secret expre- sions, which they using as original platforms, do imi- tate thereby that course of study.' These certainly seem to be words of such a man as had heard some of our *Religion* expounding the Holy Scriptures. And it is very likely that the writings of those ancient persons, which he says they had, were the Gos- pels and Writings of the Apostles, and certain Expositions of the ancient Prophets, of which sort many are contained both in other Epistles of *Paul*, and also in that written to the *Hebrews*, Afterwards *Philo* thus writeth concerning the new Psalms composed by them. 'They do not only spend their time in contemplation, but they (f) compose Songs and Hymns to the praise of God of all sorts of metre and musical verse, which they write in grave and seemly Rhimes.' He relates many other things of them in that Book I men- tion'd: but I judg'd these fittest to be selected and pick'd out, in which certain marks of Church discipline are proposed. But if any one shall think what *Philo* here says to be in no wise proper to the Evangelical Po- lity, but may be adapted to others besides those I have mention'd, he will cer- tainly be convinc'd by *Phi- lo's* following words; in which, if he shall duly weigh the matter, he will receive a most un- doubted testimony of this thing. Now he writes thus: 'Having first laid temperance as a certain foundation, they build thereupon the other virtues: for none of them takes either meat or drink before sun-set; for they hold it requisite to spend the day in the study of Philosophy, and the night in making necessary provision for the body. Therefore they allot the whole day to study, but allow a very small portion of the night for bodily provision. Some of them forget to eat for three days together, so great

Claudius.

(d) *Ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ*, that's the term in the original. So the ancient *Greeks* called that which the latter call *ἀλληγορίας*; that is, an *Allegory*, as they term it; when one thing is said, another is to be under- stood. *Valef.*

(e) From these words of *Philo* we may easily perceive that these *Therapeutæ* were not *Christians*. For the Professors of Christianity were then of a very fresh date. Besides, what writings could these be? The Books of the Prophets they were not, for *Philo* separates them from these, speaking of them a little be- fore: They could not be the Gos- pels, nor the Epistles of the Apo- stles, for they were scarce written in *Philo's* age, however they could not then be call'd the writings of ancient persons, at least by *Philo*. *Val.*

(f) The composition of *Psalms* and *Hymns* was not in use so early in the Church, as these words of *Philo* must suppose, if we under- stand them to be spoken of the *Chri- stians*, that came in after the times of *Antoninus*, when learned men began to embrace the *Christian* Faith. So that neither can these words of *Philo* be any ways under- stood of *Christians*. The junior *Pliny* indeed (in his Epistle to *Tra- jan*, Lib. 10. Epist. 97.) says it was a custom of the *Christians* in their *Cætus*, *carmen Christo tanquam Deo dicere secum invicem*; i. e. to say one with another by turns a Verse or Hymn to Christ as unto God. But there is a difference between say- ing and composing a Song or Hymn; and besides, this was long after *Philo's* time. See Dr. *Hammond's* Preface to his Exposition on the *Psalms*; and Mr. *Gregory's* Post- humous Works, Discourse 2d.

* *Acts* 4. fore in the * *Acts of the Apostles* (which contain 34, 35, 36. nothing but the perfect truth) it is shewed, that all the Disciples of the Apostles selling their possessions and goods, divided the price among the brethren according as every one had need, that so there might not be any indigent person among them. For, as the Word says, *As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prizes of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* After *Philo* has attested the very same things with these, of the *Therapeutæ*, he adds thus much farther concerning them, word for word saying, 'This (c) sort of men in- deed is diffused far and wide over the whole world. For it was requi- site that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* should be par- takers of so excellent a benefit. *Egypt* especially is full of them, throughout all its divisions, but most of all about *Alexandria*: but from all places the principal of them retire themselves into a most commodious place above the Lake *Maria*, situate upon a little rising hill, excel- lently well seated both for wholsomeness of air and safe conveniency of abiding, as into the Country of the *Therapeutæ*.' Then, after he had described their houses, after what manner they were built, he speaks thus of the Churches they have in divers places. 'In every house there is a Chapel they called a *Semnaeum*, and *Monasterium*, in which alone by themselves they perform the mysteries of an holy life.

Claudius. great is their desire of knowledge that possess them. But some others of them are so well pleased with, and feed so richly and deliciously upon the banquets of wisdom, which sets before them wholesome precepts as a most sumptuous feast, that they are wont scarce to taste any necessary food in twice that space, *to wit*, in six days time." We suppose these words of *Philo* to be evidently and without all doubt spoken concerning those of our Religion. But if after all this any one shall still persist in a peremptory denial of these things, he will at length recede from his obstinate difficulty of belief, being persuaded to submit to such manifest demonstrations as are no where to be found but in the *Christian* Religion, composed according to the rule of the Gospel. *Philo* says further therefore, that among these men, of whom we speak, there are certain women conversant, many of which continue Virgins being old; not out of necessity, like some of those amongst the *Grecian* Priests, but voluntarily preserving their chastity out of an ardent affection to and desire of wisdom; in the embraces and familiarity whereof they earnestly affect to spend their lives; having despised all bodily pleasures, and desiring earnestly not a mortal issue but an immortal; which that mind only that loves and is beloved of God can of itself bring forth." After many other expressions, he speaks yet more plainly thus: "Their Expositions of Holy Writ are figurative by way of *Allegories*: for these men suppose the whole Law to be like a living creature; the bare words whereof are, as it were the body, and the invisible sense, that lies hid under the words, resembles the soul. Which sense this Sect have and do make it their Religion earnestly to search into and contemplate, beholding in the words, as in a glass, the admirable beauty of the meaning." There is no necessity of adding farther here an account of their assemblies, of the distinct apartments of their men and women, and of their several studies and holy exercises, now in use amongst us, more especially about the feast of our Lord's Passion, when we are wont to practise them in fastings, watchings, and attentive reading of holy Scriptures. All which the man we have so often mention'd, does relate in his writings accurately, after the same manner in which we only at

(g) *Eusebius* means that whole week which precedes the feast of Easter, which the Greek Fathers call *μεγάλην ἐβδομάδα*, the great week, and we the *Passion* week. But in *Philo's* Book there is no mention of this feast of Easter. He speaks indeed *μεγάλης ἐορτῆς*, of a great solemnity; but by his following words 'tis evident he means the Jewish-feast of weeks, or, our Pentecost. Valef.

(b) He means the *Presbyters*; concerning whom, see *Philo*, in his said Book, *De vitâ contemplat.* p. 899. Edit. Par. Valef.

this time observe them: Especially he mentions the (g) Vigils of the great Solemnity, the holy exercises therein, and the Hymns we are wont to recite. And how, when one has begun to sing a Psalm harmoniously and gravely, the rest, silently hearkening, do after sing out in Chorus the latter parts only of the verses. And how throughout those days lying in straw upon the ground, they wholly abstain from wine (as he has said in these express words) and eat nothing that has blood in it: water is their only drink, and their food is bread with salt and hyssop. Farther he describes the order and degrees of their Governors, *to wit*, (b) those who perform the Ecclesiastical Offices, then the Ministrations of the Deacons, and lastly the Episcopal presi-

dency over all. He that desires to know these things more accurately, may be therein inform'd from the fore-mentioned History of *Philo*. It is therefore apparently evident to every one, that *Philo* writing thus, did mean thereby those first Preachers of the Evangelical Doctrine, and the Discipline, at the beginning delivered by the Apostles.

C H A P. XVIII.

What Writings of Philo's have come to our hands.

Moreover this *Philo* being a man of a fluent utterance, and abundant in sentences, also lofty and high in contemplations upon the holy Scriptures, compiled a diverse and variable exposition of the sacred Volumes of holy Writ: partly explaining in a fit and agreeable series and order, the subject-matter of the things contain'd in *Genesis*, which he entitled *The Allegories of the Holy Laws*: and partly making particular and distinct explications of those Chapters in Scripture which contain any thing in them that is dubious, with objections thereupon and solutions thereof; which also he fitly entitled *Questions and Solutions upon Genesis and Exodus*. There are besides elaborate tracts of his peculiarly written concerning certain Problems; such as are, two Books Of Husbandry, and as many of Drunkenness, and some others, having different and fit Titles: Such is that, (a) Of the things which a sober mind prayeth for, and which it detesteth; and that, Of the confusion of Languages; and that, Of flight and invention; and that, Of Assemblies upon account of obtaining Learning: and concerning the subject, *Who is the Heir of Divine things*, or, of Division into parts equal, and their contraries: and also that, Of the three Virtues which with others Moses wrote of. Besides, that, Of them whose names are changed, and for what reason they are changed: In which Book he says, he wrote Of Testaments the first and the second. There is also another Book of his, Of removals in journey, or shifting of places, and of the life of a wise man perfected according to righteousness, or, Of unwritten Laws, and also, Of Giants, and, that God is immutable; also,

(c) That Dreams are sent from God, according to the opinion of Moses's five Books. And thus many are the Books he wrote on *Genesis* which have come to our hands. We have also known five Books of his, of *Questions and Solutions upon Exodus*; and also that, of the Tabernacle, and that of the Decalogue, and those four Books, of those Laws which in specie have reference to the chief heads of the Decalogue; and that, of those beasts fit for sacrifice, and, what be the kinds of sacrifices; and that, of the rewards and punishments propounded in the Law as well to the Good as to the Evil; and, of curses. Besides all these, there are extant of his particular

(b) In *Suidas* this Book is called, *πεὶ φύσεως καὶ εὐρήματ'·* which inscription *Suidas* took from *Sophronius* the interpreter of *Jerom*. But our excellent M. SS. *Max. Med. Fuk.* and *Sir Henry Savill's* have it thus, *καὶ ὁ περὶ φύσεως καὶ αἰετέσεως*. Wherefore I agree with *Nicephorus*, who rightly distinguish'd the two Books of *Philo*: the one of which was entitled, *περὶ φύσεως καὶ αἰετέσεως*, Of flight and choice; the other, *περὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ εὐρήματ'*, that is, Of nature and invention. Whence it appears that that Book of *Eusebius's*, which *Nicephorus* made use of, was in this place more correct than our copies. Valef.

(c) 'Tis manifest that *Philo* wrote three Books on this Subject, That Dreams are sent from God. The first of which is lost; the second is extant in the *Paris* Edition of *Philo*, pag. 465. in the beginning whereof he makes mention of a former Book which he had written on that subject. The third is also extant in the same Edition, pag. 1108. but misplaced. Whether he wrote any more than these three, is uncertain. *Suidas* mentions five Books of *Philo's* *De Somniis*. Valef.

Books,

Claudius. Books, as that, *Of (d) Providence, and a Discourse* compiled by him; *(e) Of the Jews, and, of the* the man leading a civil life: also, *Alexander, or, Mar. and That Brutes are endowed with Reason.* Besides, of this, *That every wicked man is a Slave, to which* it's writ-ten to *every* follows in order this Book, *That every man studi-ous of Virtue is free.* After these he compiled that Book *Of Contemplative life, or, of Suppliants,* out of which we have cited those things concern-*ing the lives of the Apostolical men.* Also, the interpretations of the *(f) Hebrew names in the Law and in the Prophets, are said to have been done by his diligence.* This *Philo* com-*ing to Rome in the time of Caius, wrote a Book* of *Caius's hatred of God, which, by way of* scoff and irony, he entitled, *Of Virtues;* which Book, it's said, he rehearsed before the whole *Roman Senate in the time of Claudius;* and the piece was so taking, that his admirable Works were thought worthy to be dedicated to the Publick Libraries. At the same time, when *Paul* travel'd from *Jerusalem* round about to *Illy-ricum, (g) Claudius* expel'd the *Jews from Rome.* *(b) At which time Aquila and Priscilla, with o-* ther *Jews, departing from Rome, arrived in A-* sia, where they conversed with *Paul* the Apostle, then confirming the foundations of those Churches there newly laid by him. Even the Holy Book of the *Acts* teaches us these things. there is an eminent fragment of it in *Eusebius De preparat. Libr. 8. cap. Ultim.* and in *Libr. 7. cap. 21. Valef.*

(e) I doubt not but it should be written *ὁ πρὸς Ἰουδαίων, For the Jews,* for so this Book is quoted by *Eusebius* in his 8 B. *De Preparat. Evan-gel.* chap. 10. where there is a most elegant place produced *ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ὁπρὸς Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογίας, i. e. out of the Apology of Philo* for the *Jews.* *Rufinus* confirms this our emendation; who turns this place thus, *de Judeis Apologeticus Liber. Valef.*

(f) *Jerome* makes mention of this Book of *Philo's,* in his interpreta-tion of the *Hebrew names.* Moreover, *Philo* having only interpreted those names that occur in the Law and the Prophets, *Origen* added afterwards an interpretation of the words and names of the New Tes-tament; supplying that which seemed to be wanting in *Philo's* Book, as *Jerome* writes in that Book of his now mentioned. *Valef.*

(g) *Eusebius* took this out of the *Acts of the Apost.* chap. 18. v. 2. And *Orosius* writes, as he had it out of *Josephus,* that this was done in the ninth year of *Claudius.* But that place of *Josephus* which *Orosius* quotes is not now extant. Therefore *Orosius* seems to me to have for-gotten himself. And truly, it is not very likely, that *Claudius* the Emperor, who had so great a kindness for the *Jews,* as appears by his many Edicts extant in *Josephus,* should drive the *Jews* in particular out of the City. I should rather think, whenas there was a great famine at *Rome* (which in *Eusebius's Chronicon* is said to have happened in the tenth year of *Claudius*) that *Claudius* expelled all Foreigners out of the City, amongst whom were the *Jews* also. For so *Augustus* did before; and 'twas frequently practised by the following Emperors, as oft as the City of *Rome* was in any scarcity of Provision: And so I judge that place of *Luke* in the *Acts* is to be understood. But if any one, relying on the Authority of *Suetonius* (whose Words are these; *Judeos impulsore CHRISTO assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit;* in the Life of *Claudius.* See *Dr. Hammond's Annot. on Acts 26. v. 31.*) does reject this our Opinion, I will not much withstand him. All the Chronologers downwards follow *Orosius;* as does also *Baronius* in his *Annals.* Whom I much wonder at, in that when he had placed this Edict of *Claudius* on the ninth year of his Reign, he should also cast the *Jerusalem Council* upon the same year. Which is manifestly re-pugnant to the History of the *Acts of the Apostles.* For, after the *Je-ru-salem Council,* which is related *Acts 15, Paul* going back to *Antioch,* delivered the Epistle of the Apostles to the brethren, and is said to have tarried there some time. After this, being parted from *Barnabas,* he went into *Syria* and *Cilicia,* Preaching the Word of God. Then he travelled into *Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia,* where he was warned by the Holy Spirit in a dream to sail into *Macedonia,* and first Preach'd the Faith of Christ at *Philippi;* after that, at *Thessalonica* and *Berea.* Sailing thence to *Athens,* he stayed there a good while expecting *Ti-mothy and Sylas;* and Preach'd the Word of God to the *Athenians.* Then going to *Corinth* he found *Aquila and Priscilla* there, who were lately come from *Italy* thither, upon account of the Edict of *Claudius,* commanding all *Jews* to depart from *Rome,* as it is in the 18 chap. *Acts.* From all this it's apparent, that there was a good distance of time between the Council held at *Jerusalem,* and the Edict of *Claudius;* in which space all this we have related was dispatch'd by *Paul* the Apostle. In *Chronico Alexandrino,* the Council at *Jerusalem* is placed on the sixth year of *Claudius;* he had better have said the seventh. For so all things agree exactly. For *Paul* staid at *Antioch* the remaining months of that year wherein the Council was; then

the following year he travelled through *Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Galatia.* At length in the ninth year of *Claudius,* he came into *Greece.* *Valef.*

(b) *Ὁτε ἀκύλας,* that is, *at which time Aquila, &c.* for it may be read in two words, thus *ὅτε,* as I found it written in the King's, and the *Fuk. M. SS. Valef.*

C H A P. XIX.

Claudius.

What a Calamity befel the Jews at Jerusalem on the very Day of the Passover.

BUT *Claudius* yet ruling the Empire, there hapned to be so great a tumult and distur-bance at *Jerusalem* on the Feast of the *Passover,* that there were *(a)* thirty thousand *Jews* slain, being those only who by force were press'd to-*gether about the Gates of the Temple and trod-* den under-foot by one another. So that that *Fe-* stival was turn'd into mourning over the whole Nation, and lamentation throughout every Family. Thus much also *Josephus* relates almost word for word. But *Claudius* made *Agrippa,* the son of *Agrippa, (b)* King of the *Jews;* having sent *(c)* *Felix* Procurator of the whole Country of *Samaria* and *Galilee,* and also of the Region beyond *Jordan.* And when he had reigned thirteen years and eight months, he died, leav-*ing Nero* his Successor in the Empire.

(a) The samenum-ber he sets down in his *Chroni-con.* But *Josephus,* in his 2 B. of the *Jew-ish Wars,* says there was some-what more than ten thou-sand kill'd. But in his 20th B. of *Antiqui-ties,* which Work he compiled after his History, he accounts the number of the slain to be twenty thousand. Which number I would rather agree too, because these Books, as I said, were written last by him. *Valef.*

(b) This *Agrippa* the younger, to speak properly, was never King of the *Jews.* For after the death of *Agrippa* his father, who dy'd the fourth year of *Claudius,* *Claudius* took him being very young and kept him with him, neither did he permit him to succeed in his father's Kingdom. Afterwards *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* being dead, *Claudius* gave *Agrippa* his Uncle's Kingdom; which when he had held 4 years, *Claudius* in the twelfth year of his Reign gave him *Thraconitis,* which was the Tetrachy of *Philip,* and also the Kingdom of *Lyfania;* ha-ving first taken *Chalcis* from him: He transferred to him also the au-thority over the Temple, and the power of electing the High-priests, which his Uncle *Herod* had. A little after, *Nero* added to his King-dom part of *Galilee,* as *Josephus* writes in his twentieth B. of *Antiq.* Which being thus, it's apparent *Eusebius* was mistaken, who wrote both here and in his *Chronicon,* that *Agrippa* the younger succeeded in his father's Kingdom presently after the death of his father, and was made King of the *Jews* by *Claudius.* Altho' *Eusebius* says not here ex-pressly that he was by *Claudius* made King presently after his father's death. Indeed, out of *Josephus* it may be evidently shown that the younger *Agrippa* was not made King immediately after his father's death. For in his second Book of the *Jewish Wars,* chap. 13. he makes the twelfth year of *Nero,* wherein the *Jewish War* began, to be the same with the seventeenth of King *Agrippa.* Therefore the younger *Agrippa* began to reign the eighth year of *Claudius.* Moreover, I will not deny that he was King of the *Jews,* seeing he was King of *Galilee,* and is by *Justus* reckoned among the Kings of the *Jews.* But I deny that ever he was King of *Judea.* For after the death of the Seniour *Agrippa,* which happened in the fourth year of *Claudius,* *Judea* was brought into the form of a Province, and every year the Procurators of *Cesar* were sent thither, as *Josephus* relates. *Valef.*

(c) In the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius,* *Felix* is said to have been sent Pro-curator into *Judea* by *Claudius,* in the eleventh year of his Reign. But in *Scaliger's* Edition of that Work, it is more rightly placed on the tenth year of *Claudius.* Yet it seems to be truer, that *Felix* was sent into *Judea* in the ninth of *Claudius.* For *Tacitus,* in his twelfth Book, says, *That Felix was lately set over the Jews, (Sulla and Otho being* Consuls, which was the tenth year of *Claudius:)* And in *Acts 24. Paul,* pleading his cause before this same *Felix,* which was done on the thirteenth year of *Claudius,* speaks thus to him: *For as much as I know that thou hast been for many years a Judge unto this Nation.* Moreover *Rufinus* is mistaken, in that he thinks these are *Josephus's* Words, when as it appears that they indeed are *Eusebius's.* *Valef.*

C H A P. XX.

What was done at Jerusalem in the Reign of Nero.

NOW in *Nero's* time, *Felix* being Procura-*tor of Judea, Josephus* relateth in the *twentieth Book of his Antiquities,* that there

Nero.

D was

Nero.

was again a *Sedition* of the *Priests* one against the other, in these words: ' There arose also a *Sedition* of the Chief Priests, against the Priests and the Chief of the People of *Jerusalem*. And each of them forming for themselves a company of most audacious fellows, and such as endeavoured to make innovations, behaved themselves as Captains ; and encountering they railed against each other, and threw stones at one another. There was no body to rebuke them ; but, as in a City destitute of a Governor, these things were licentiously done. And so great impudence and presumptuous boldness possess the Chief Priests, that they dared to send their servants to the Threshing-floor, and take the Tythes due to the Priests. Whence it came to pass that the poorest of the Priests were seen to perish for want of sustenance. In such sort did the violence of the Seditious prevail over all justice and equity." And again the same Writer relates, that at the same time there arose a sort of *Thieves* in *Jerusalem*, who in the day-time, as he says, and in the very midst of the City, kill'd those they met with ; but especially on the *Festivals*, being mix'd among the crowd, and hiding little daggers under their garments, they stabb'd the most eminent (a) personages ; and when they fell, these murderers would dissemble themselves to be of the number of those that grieved. Whereby they were undiscovered, because of the good opinion all men had of them. And first, *he says*, *Jonathan* the High-Priest was killed by them, and after him many were slain daily ; and, *he says*, the fear was more grievous than the calamity, in that every one, as in war, hourly expected death.

(a) Τὰς
 Διαδόχους;
 so it is in
 Josephus.
 Gelenius
 renders it,
 enemies :
 which I
 like not.
 For Josephus
 by that term
 means τὰς
 Διαδοχού-
 τας; the
 most emi-
 nent Per-
 sonages.
 Valel.

C H A P. XXI.

Of that Egyptian who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

AFTER these things *Josephus* adds, having interposed some other words: ‘ But the *Egyptian* False Prophet annoy’d the *Jews* with a greater mischief than these. For he, coming into the Country, being a *Magician*, and having gotten himself the repute of a *Prophet*, gather’d together about thirty thousand men such as he had seduced; and leading them out of the *Wilderness* to the Mount called the *Mount of Olives*, prepared by force from thence to enter *Jerusalem*; and having vanquish’d the *Roman* Guards, to seize the Principality over the people, resolving to make them his Guard, who together with him by violence entered the City. But *Felix* prevented his attempt, having met him with the *Roman* Soldiers; and all the people joyn’d their assistance in repelling his injurious violence. So that, the assault being made, the *Egyptian* fled with a few, and most of his party were slain and taken prisoners.” These matters *Josephus* relates in the second Book of his *History*; and it’s worthy our (a) observing, together with what is here related of this *Egyptian*, those things which are declared of him in the *Acts of the Apostles*: There, in the time of *Felix* it is said by the Chief Captain at *Jerusalem* unto *Paul*, when the multitude of the *Jews* raised a tumult against him; * *Art*

(a) ὁβερνῶν, signifies properly to attend to, or observe. In this sense Eusebius uses the word chap. 18. of this Book, and in B. 3. chap. 24. This word occurs in *Athenæus*, *Polybius*, and others. *Valeſ.*
* Acts 21. 28. See *Joſephus* Antiq. B. 20. c. 6, & 7. See also *Dr. Hammond* on Acts 21. 38.

not thou the Egyptian which before these days madest
an uproar, and leddest into the Wilderness (b) four
thousand men that were murtherers? But thus much
concerning the Times of Felix.

Nero.
(b) Jose-
phus says
there were

C H A P. XXII.

How Paul, being sent bound from Judea to Rome, having made his defence, was wholly acquitted.

BUT *Festus* is by *Nero* sent as Successor to this *Felix*: in whose time *Paul* having pleaded for himself is carried bound to *Rome*; *Aristarchus* was with him, whom somewhere in his *Epistles* he deservedly styles his Fellow-prisoner: And *Luke*, who committed to writing the *Acts of the Apostles*, concluded his History here, having shew'd that *Paul* lived two full years at *Rome*, enjoying in a great measure his liberty; and, that he preached the Word of God, no man forbidding him: Then, having made his defence, it is moreover reported that the Apostle travel'd again upon account of the ministration of preaching; and that, coming the second time to the same City, he ended his life by Martyrdom in this Emperor's Reign. At which time, being in bonds, he wrote the *second Epistle to Timothy*, signifying therein both his former defence, and also his approaching death. Take his own testimony hereof. *At my first answer* (says he) *no man stood with me, but all men forsook me, I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge: notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion.* By which words he makes it plainly evident, that at the first time, that his preaching might be fulfill'd, he was deliver'd out of the mouth of the Lion; speaking, as it was likely, of *Nero*, because of his cruelty. (a) But afterwards he has not added any thing like unto these words [*He shall deliver me out of the mouth of the Lion*:] for by the Spirit he saw that his end was now near at hand: wherefore, having said [*and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion*] he adds this, [*The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom*;] evidently signifying that his Martyrdom was at hand; which he more plainly foretels in the same *Epistle*, saying, *For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.* Moreover, in this *second Epistle to Timothy*, he manifestly declares, that only *Luke* was then with him when he wrote it; but, at his first answer, that not so much as he was with him then. Whence 'tis agreeable to reason to think, that *Luke* concluded the *Acts of the Apostles* at that time, having continued the History so long as he accompanied *Paul*. These things we have spoken, that

(a) Indeed this place is very obscure; and therefore *Musculus* (as also *Dr. Hammer*) omitted it. But, having considered upon it long and much, at length I apprehended the true sense of this place. *Eusebius* therefore says, that from the second Epistle of

' the

Nero. 'the Temple, that from an high thou may'st
'be conspicuous, and thy words readily heard
'by all the people; for upon account of the
'Passover, all the Tribes, together with the

(g) *Petavius* does here deservedly reprove *Scaliger*, who had denied, that it was lawful for any *Gentile* to be present at the Festival of the *Jews*. For besides that place which *Petavius* quotes; *John* 12. 20. we are supplied with many testimonies out of *Josephus*, to evidence this matter. *Vitelius* the President of *Syria* went up to *Jerusalem* at the feast of the Passover, and was honourably entertained by the *Jews*: As we may read chap. 6. B. 18. of *Josephus's* *Antiq.* He writes the same concerning *Quadratus* the President of *Syria*, B. 20. of his *Antiq. Vales.*

(h) This word *Hosanna*, is a corruption of the *Hebrew* word, *הושיעני* (which signifies, preserve me, or, make me safe,) being the *Imperative mood* *Hiph.* with the *Affixe* *ו* derived from the *Theme* *ושיע*. See the original Text of *Jer.* 17. 11. And also, see *Bishop Pearson* on the *Creed*, in his marginal notes, pag. 70. Edit. Lond. 1669.

(i) These words, which *Hegeſippus* says the *Jews* then utter'd, ought to be understood of *Christ*, rather than of *James*. For when *James* was set upon the battlement of the Temple, and had declar'd *Jesus* to be the *Christ* and Redeemer of mankind, those that embraced the Faith of *Christ* began to cry out *Hosanna*, to the Son of *David*, that is, to *Jesus Christ*. *Vales.*

(k) So the 71 Translate *Isai.* 3. v. 10. Their words are these, *אֲנִי וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה אֱמָרְנוּ וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה אֱמָרְנוּ*. But the *Hebrew* copy differs much from this Translation, *אֲנִי וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה אֱמָרְנוּ*. Which our Translation following, renders thus in English, *As ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings.* Compare the Sept. Translat. of *Isai.* 3. 10. with the *Hebrew* Text of that place.

'Let us stone *James the Just*; and they began
'to stone him, for he was not fully dead after his
'fall; but turning he kneeled, saying, I intreat
'thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them, for
'they know not what they do. As they were thus
'stoning of him, one of the Priests of the sons

(l) As if he had said, one of the Priests, the son of *Rechab*, of the family of the *Rechabites*; which last words [*וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה אֱמָרְנוּ*] are therefore added, that *Rechab*, the father of this Priest, might be distinguish'd from other *Rechabs*. For many were call'd by the same name of *Rechab*; But this Man, of whom *Hegeſippus* speaks, was of the stock of the *Rechabites*, spoken of by the Prophet *Jeremy*, chap. 35. *Vales.*

(m) *Epiphanius*, in *Heres.* 78, writes, that these words were not spoken by the *Rechabite* Priest, but by *Simeon* the Son of *Cleopas*. *Vales.*

(n) *Εδουλεον αυτον εν τω τοπω*; so the King's M. S. reads it; which *Stephens* followed in his Edit. But our other three M. SS. *Mar. Med.* and *Euk.* have it thus, *καὶ ἐδουλεον αυτον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν*; that is, and they buried him in that place, near the Temple; which reading *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* do confirm. *Vales.*

(g) Nations are come together. Therefore the fore-
said *Scribes* and *Pharisees*
placed *James* upon the bat-
tlement of the Temple, and
cried out to him, and said,
O *Justus*! whom we all
ought to put our confi-
dence in; because the peo-
ple are misled after *Jesus*
who was crucifi'd, declare
to us, which is the gate of
Christ who was crucified:
and he answer'd with a
loud voice, Why do ye
question me about *Jesus*
the son of man? He even
sits in heaven at the right
hand of great power, and
will come in the clouds of
heaven. Now when many
were fully satisfied and
confirmed and glorifi-
ed God for this testimo-
ny of *James*, and cry'd,
saying, (h) *Hosanna* to the
(i) son of *David*, then the
same *Scribes* and *Pharisees*
said again to one another,
we have done ill in exhi-
biting such a testimony
to *Jesus*; but let us go up
and cast him down, that
so the people being terri-
fied may not give credit
to him. And they cried
out, saying, O, O, even
Justus himself is also sedu-
ced. And they fulfill'd that
which was written in *Isai-*
ab. (k) *We will destroy the*
righteous, for he is troublesome
to us; wherefore they shall
eat the fruit of their doings.
They went up therefore
and cast down *Justus*, and
said amongst themselves,

of *Rechab* the son of (l) *Re-*
chabim, testified of by *Je-*
remy the Prophet, cried
out, saying, (m) Cease,
what do ye? *Justus* prays
for us. And one of them,
being one of the Fullers,
took a leaver, with which
he used to squeeze gar-
ments, and smote *Justus*
on the head; and so he
was martyr'd. (n) And

they buried him in that place, and (o) his Grave-
stone as yet remains near the Temple. This man
was a true and substantial witness both to *Jews* (o) How
and *Gentiles*, that *Jesus* was that the Grave-stone, or Monument
the *Christ*: and soon after of this *James* should remain after
Vespasian beset *Judea* round the destruction of the City by the
about, and took the *Jews* Romans? Neither is that very like-
captive. These things *He-* ly, which *Hegeſippus* says, to wit,
gesippus, having related fully that *James* was buried near the
and largely, does therein a- Temple. For the *Jews* used to
gree with *Clemens*. But bury their dead without the City;
James was a person so admi- as appears from the Gospel, and
rable, and so much cried up from the Sepulchre of *Helena*, which
amongst all men for his righ- before we spoke of, at chap. 12. of
teousness, that the most sober this Book. *Rufinus* therefore leaves
men of the *Jews* were of o- out this whole clause, in his Ver-
pinion that this was the sion. In the most antient *Mar.*
cause of the siege of *Jerusa-* M. S. I found (at the Grave-stone)
lem, which immediately fol- this note written in the margin:
low'd upon his Martyrdom: *Ἰσὺς ὅτι ἡ σῶλη αὐτοῦ λίθος ἦν*
and that this siege befel 'em ἀμορφος, ἐπεγραφεὶν ἔχον τὸ ὄνο-
upon no other account than μα τοῦ τεταμμένου Ἰακώβου; ὃς ἔ-
that audacious villany com- χε ἔτι νῦν οἱ χειρῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς μνή-
mitted against this *James*: μασιον αὐτῶν λίθος ἰσῶσιν, καὶ ἡ
Josephus therefore was not a γράμματα ἐν αὐτοῖς γράφουσιν, ἢ
afraid to testify this in wri- πεισμητὸν τοῦ σωρὸς ἐγχαράττειν;
ting, declaring himself in That is, you must know that this
these words: These things Monument was nothing else but a
befel the *Jews* in the way stone not formed into any shape, up-
of revenge for *James* the on which the name of *James* there
Just, who was the Brother of *Jesus* call'd *Christ*; buried was cut: From whence even
because the *Jews* had murder'd him, being a to this time the *Christians* set up
most righteous person. And the same Author stones on their Sepulchres, and either
in the twentieth Book of his *Antiquities*, relates his write Letters thereon, or engrave
death in these words: *Cesar*, being certified of the sign of the Cross. *Vales.*
Festus's death, sent *Albinus* Procurator into *Ju-*
dea: but *Ananus* the younger, who as we said
before had gotten the High-Priesthood, was
a man as to his disposition rash and excessively
bold. He embraced the Sect of the *Sadduces*,
who in matters of judgment are cruel above
all the *Jews*, as we before manifested. *Ananus*
therefore, being such an one as we have de-
scrib'd him to be, supposing he had a fit op-
portunity, in that *Festus* was dead, and *Albinus*
yet upon his journey, call'd an assembly of the
Judges; into which he caused the Brother of
Jesus call'd *Christ* (whose name was *James*)
with certain others to be brought, whom he
accused as violators of the Law, and so deli-
ver'd them up to be (p) stoned. But as many
as seem'd to be the mildest and most modest in

(p) What can be more different, yea contrary, than this relation of *Josephus's*, and that of *Hegeſippus*, about *James's* Martyrdom? For *Josephus* says, he was condemned in a publick Council of the *Jews*; and *Hegeſippus*, that he was murdered in a sedition and tumult of the people: *Hegeſippus* relates, that he was killed with a Fuller's Club in the midst of the City: But *Josephus* declares that he was stoned; which was always done without the Gates of the City. Farther, *Josephus* shews us the year, wherein *James* died, by these two Remarks, to wit, that it was when *Ananus* was High-priest, and when *Albinus* came first into *Judea*. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, writes that *Albinus* succeeded *Festus* in the sixth year of *Nero's* Empire; and yet the same Author places the Martyrdom of *James* on the year following, which manifestly contradicts what *Josephus* has related: For he expressly says that *James* was murdered before *Albinus* came into that Province. *Eusebius* therefore ought to have included the beginning of *Albinus* his Procuratorship, and *James* his Martyrdom in the same year. But *Baronius* denies all this, and proves, that the Martyrdom of *James* happened on the seventh year of *Nero*; which assertion he confirms both from the consent of all the Antients, and also from *Josephus* his History of the Jewish Wars, B. 2. chap. 12. But I judge that the consent of *Jerome*, *Nicephorus*, and others, who wrote from, and follow'd *Eusebius's* *Chronicon* (*Eusebius's* opinion not being discus'd) is not much to be esteem'd of: Now the place in *Josephus* proves nothing else, than that *Albinus* was Procurator of *Judea* in the fourth year before the Jewish War began, and in the seventh before the City was taken. But from that place in *Josephus* it cannot be concluded that *Albinus* began his Procuratorship in the seventh year before the taking of *Jerusalem*. Yea, it seems truer in my judgment, that *Albinus* came

came into Judea in the fourth year of Nero. For Porcius Festus Governed Judea two years, as appears by his Acts, of which Josephus relates but few. To him succeeded Albinus in the fourth year of Nero, and continued there to the tenth of that Emperor, as Eusebius has out of Josephus rightly observed. Therefore James was Martyred in the fourth year of Nero. Epiphanius confirms this our conjecture (in Heres. 78.) where he says James presided over the Church at Jerusalem about twenty four years, from the Lord's Ascension. Valef.

Nero. the City, and who were the strictest observers of the Law, were very much offended hereat; and sending privately to the King, they intreated him to write to (q) Ananus, to warn him that he should not any more attempt any such thing. For that he had not done this first fact regularly and legally. And some of them also went to meet Albinus journeying from Alexandria, and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus without his consent to assemble the Sanhedrim. Albinus being induced to believe what they said, wrote in great anger to Ananus, threatening that he would punish him. And King Agrippa for this very thing took the High-Priesthood from him, which he had held three months, and constituted Jesus the son of (r) Damnaeus High-Priest. Thus much concerning James, whose the first of those called the General Epistles is reported to be. But you must know it is (s) suspected to be spurious. Therefore not many of the Antients have made mention of it, like as neither of that called Jude, being also one of the Seven, termed the General Epistles: Yet notwithstanding we know, that these with the rest have been publicly read in most Churches.

Claudius's Empire, from his seventh year to the beginning of Nero's reign; a Man that was the most potent of all the Jews in his age, as Josephus testifies in his twentieth Book of Antiq. But moreover, that Catalogue of High-priests, which is there put down by Nicephorus, is to be made up out of Josephus's Books: And after Joseph the Son of Cama, Ananias the Son of Nebedeus is to be placed, of whom Josephus speaks in the 3 chap. of his twentieth Book. After him was Ishmael the Son Phabaus, made High-priest by Agrippa junior. After whom succeeded Joseph, surnamed Cabus, the Son of Simon; and then Ananus, the Son of Ananus, who is here spoken of. Valef.

(r) In Josephus and Nicephorus it is Damnaeus. Valef.
(f) Rufinus and Christophorus translated this place so, as if this were the opinion of some; which sense we have followed in our Version. But, having now considered the matter better, we think otherwise, to wit, that Eusebius did absolutely pronounce this Epistle to be Spurious. Jerome (de Jacobo) says thus, Unam scripsit Epistolam, que & ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente, obtinuerit auctoritatem: That is, He wrote one Epistle, which is affirmed to have been set forth by another, under his name; though by degrees in process of time it hath obtained authority. Valef.

C H A P. XXIV.

How, after Mark, Annianus was constituted the first Bishop of the Church of the Alexandrians.

BUT Nero being in the eighth year of his Reign, Annianus, the first after Mark the (a) Apostle and Evangelist, succeeded in the publick charge of the Church at Alexandria; (b) being a man beloved of God, and in all respects admirable.

(a) In the King's M. S. it is written, *ὁ ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν*, that is, Mark the Apostle and Evangelist; but in the rest of the M. SS. *Ματ. Μεδ. Φυκ. and Savil.* these words [*ἀποστόλων καὶ*, i. e. *Apostle and*] are wanting: which neither are in Rufinus's translation. I know indeed, that Mark may deservedly be called an Apostle; in that he was the first that Preach'd the faith of Christ to the Alexandrians. Athanasius (in Synopsi) indeed calls Mark and Luke Apostles. Idatius also (in Fastis) styles Luke and Timothy Apostles. See what we noted above at the last chap. of the first Book. But we do not here enquire what title Mark deserv'd, but only what Euseb. wrote. Valef.

(b) This whole clause is wanting in our three M. SS. copies, *Ματ. Μεδ. and Φυκ.* and in the translation of Rufinus. But because it was in the King's M. S. we have put it in. We have also written the name of Annianus with a double n; from the authority of the *Ματ. and Μεδ. M. SS.* To which agree Rufinus, Jerome, and others. For Annianus is a Roman name, and is derived from Annius. Valef.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the Persecution in the time of Nero, in which Paul and Peter were for Religion graced with Martyrdom at Rome.

Nero.

THE Empire being now confirm'd to Nero, he giving his mind to the commission of nefarious facts, arm'd himself against the very worship of the Supreme God. Indeed, how wicked a person he was, our present leisure will not permit us to describe. But, in as much as many have related in most accurate Treatises those things that were done by him, he that is desirous may from thence see the cruelty and insolent rage of the man. Whereby having without all consideration destroy'd an infinite number of men, he arriv'd to such an height of murdering cruelty, that he forbore not his most familiar and most beloved friends; but slew his Mother and his Wife, with innumerable others that were related to him, as if they had been enemies and adversaries, by sundry kinds of death. This indeed also ought together with the rest to have been ascrib'd to him as one of his titles, That he was the first of the Emperors that demonstrated himself to be an Adversary to the worship due to God. Thus much again Tertullian the Roman does record, saying after this manner: (a) Consult your

Records: There you will find that Nero was the first, who with the Imperial Sword rag'd against this Sect then greatly flourishing at Rome. But we even boast of such a beginner of our persecution: for he that knows him, may understand that nothing but some great Good was condemn'd by Nero. Thus therefore this man, being proclaim'd the first and chiefest enemy of God, set upon slaughtering the Apostles. Wherefore they relate that in his time Paul was beheaded at Rome, and also Peter crucified. And the name of Peter and Paul unto this present time remaining upon the Burial-places there doth confirm the story. In like manner, even an (b) Ecclesiastical

man, by name Caius, who flourish'd in the time of Zephyrinus Bishop of Rome, and wrote against Proclus a great defender of the opinion of the Cataphrygians, says these very words concerning the places where the sacred bodies of the aforesaid Apostles were deposited: I am able to shew the Trophies of the Apostles: For if you would go to the Vatican, or to the way Ostia, you will find the Trophies of those who founded this Church. And

here of Caius's Book against Proclus, gives each of them his proper Epithet: he styles Caius [an Ecclesiastical Man] and Proclus he calls [the defender of the opinion of the Cataphrygians,] i. e. an Heretick. The Sect of the Cataphrygians was divided into two parts; the Ringleader of the one party was Proclus; of the other Eschynes. So Tertullian, in his Book De praescript. Haeret. Valef.

(c) Peter was buried in the Vatican; Paul in the Via Ostia. Valef.

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(a) He that translated Tertullian's Apology into Greek, (were it Eusebius, which I think not to be true, or whoever it was;) he understood not Tertullian's words. Neither is this true of this place only, but of many others also of Tertullian, which are produced in Greek by Eusebius in this Work. Valef. Tertullian's Words are these: *Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc Sectam, tum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum.* Tertul. Apolog. p. 6. Edit. Rigal.

(b) The term [Ecclesiastical] is used in three senses. Sometimes it's taken for a Christian, and opposed to an Heathen, or Gentile: So Jerome in his Preface to his Book, De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Sometimes it denotes a Catholick, and is opposed to an Heretick; So Jerome also in his Preface to St. Matthew, and on Chap. 13. Ezechiel. So Origen also, Tome 16. Explanat. on St. John's Gospel. Lastly, sometimes it signifies a Clergy-man, and is opposed to a Laick, or Secular Person. So Jerome again, in his Epistle to Pammachius, and in his 46 Epist. to Rufinus. I would rather take this word in the second sense here, both because that signification of this word is more frequent, and also in regard Eusebius, speaking here of Caius's Book against Proclus, gives each of them his proper Epithet: he styles Caius [an Ecclesiastical Man] and Proclus he calls [the defender of the opinion of the Cataphrygians,] i. e. an Heretick. The Sect of the Cataphrygians was divided into two parts; the Ringleader of the one party was Proclus; of the other Eschynes. So Tertullian, in his Book De praescript. Haeret. Valef.

Nero. that they both suffer'd martyrdom at the same time, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, writing to the *Romans*, doth thus affirm; "So also you, (d) by answers this your so great an admonition, have joyn'd together the plantation both of the *Romans*, and also of the *Corinthians*, made by *Peter* and *Paul*. For both of them coming also to our City of *Corinth*, and having planted us, did in like manner instruct us. Likewise they went both together into *Italy*, and having taught there, suffer'd martyrdom at (e) the same time." And thus much I have related, that the *History* hereof might be yet farther confirm'd. way ad-

monished them, as *Eusebius* hereafter declares, B. 4. Chap. 23. The same thing *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle had before done. *Dionysius* therefore says to *Soter*; You by this your admonition have again united the Plantation of the Roman and Corinthian Churches heretofore made by *Peter* and *Paul*. This I have the more largely explained, because the Translators, and especially *Christophorus*, have been much mistaken in the Version of this place. Valef.

(e) *Dionysius* does not expressly say that *Peter* and *Paul* suffered on the same day, but only at the same time; which may be so understood, as that there might be an interval of many days between their sufferings. *Prudentius* [*de exil. et deo*] says that they were both Martyr'd on the same day, but not in the same year: And that there was a years space between their deaths. With *Prudentius* agrees *Augustine*, in his 28 Sermon, *De Sanctis*; And *Arator*. Lib. 2. Hist. Apost. But *Simeon Metaphrastes* takes these words of *Dionysius* so, as if he said that *Peter* and *Paul* were Martyred on the same day together. His words are to be found in *Comment. de peregrinat. Pauli ac Petri, apud Surium, Tome 3.* Valef.

C H A P. XXVI.

How the Jews were vex'd with innumerable Mischiefs, and how at last they entred upon a War against the Romans.

(a) At these words I began the chapter, following the authority of the King's M. S. But in the M. S. we found another reading, and a different distinction. For

(a) Moreover *Josephus*, discoursing at large about the calamities that hapned to the whole Jewish Nation, makes it manifest in

that begins the Chapter from these words (which are the conclusion of the foregoing Chapter) [*And thus much I have related, &c.* and it points the whole place thus, [*And thus much I have related that the History hereof might be yet farther confirmed. Moreover, Josephus, discoursing, &c.*] and puts the full point after these words [*makes it manifest in express words.*] The same reading is observed by the *Med.* and *Fuk. M. SS.* But the reading and punctuation in the King's M. S. seems to me to be much better; which both *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* followed. I had almost forgot to put you in mind, that these words [*τὸ ὅσον*] in the title of this Chapter, ought to be taken adverbially; for so *Rufinus* translates it; *Ut innumeris Judæi malis afflicti sint, ac novissime contra Romanos arma moverint.* Valef.

express words, amongst many other things, that a great number of the most eminent personages amongst the Jews, having been cruelly beaten with scourges, were crucified even in *Jerusalem* by the command of *Florus*. For it hapned that he was Procurator of *Judea*, when the War at first broke out, in the twelfth year of *Nero's* reign. Afterwards, he says, that, "After the revolt of the Jews there followed great and grievous disturbances throughout all *Syria*, those of the Jewish Nation being by the Inhabitants of every City every where destroyed as enemies, without all commiseration: In so much that a man might see the (b) Cities filled with dead bodies that lay unburied; and the Aged together with the Infants cast forth dead; and Women, not having so much as any covering upon those parts which nature commands to be concealed; and the whole (c) Province was full of unspeakable calamities: But the dread of what was threatened was greater and more grievous than the mischiefs every where perpetrated." Thus much *Josephus* relates word for word. And such was the posture of the Jews affairs at that time.

Josephus and *Nicephorus* 'tis written τὴν ἐπαρχίαν. By the we must in this place understand *Judea*, which after the death of *Agrippa* the Elder was reduced into the form of a Province, and govern'd by Procurators sent from the Emperor. Valef.

THE

THIRD BOOK

Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

C H A P. I.

In what Parts of the World the Apostles preached Christ.

NOW the affairs of the Jews being in this posture, the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour, being dispersed over the whole world preached the Gospel. And *Thomas*, as tradition hath it, had *Parthia* allotted to him; *Andreas* had *Scythia*; *John* *Asia*, where after he had spent much time he died at *Ephesus*. *Peter*, 'tis probable, pre-

ached to the * Jews (a) scattered throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Asia*. (a) The Jews were dispersed at several times, and for several causes. First, when they were carried Captive into *Babylon* and into *Egypt* and *Syria*; and also when they were subdued by *Pompey*. Then, in the times of the *Maccabees*, they did of their own accord remove out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. For the Law forbade not the Jews to remove into other Countreys, as it is manifest from the Book of *Ruth*. Thirdly, they dispersed themselves upon account of gaining Proselytes, which they admitted of all Nations, whence it came to pass that they were scattered over the whole World. Valef. Those Jews that were dispersed in *Europe* had their chief Assembly at *Alexandria*; and there the *Septuagint* Translation of the Bible was in use; and thence they were called (*John* 7. 35.) διασπορὰ Ἑλλήνων, the dispersion of the Hellenists: And of these there were many also in *Jerusalem*, which used the same translation of the Seventy

Seventy two, being thus skill'd in the Greek tongue; and these living not in Greece are yet call'd (*Acts* 6. 1.) *Ελληνισται*, because they used the Greek language and the 72 translation, whereas the other are called there (*See Acts* 6. 1.) *Εβραϊοι*, Hebrews, who used the *Jerusalem* Paraphrase. The *Asian* dispersion is mentioned 1 *Pet.* 1. 1. they had *Babylon* for their Metropolis, and used the *Targum*, or *Caldee* Paraphrase of *Onkelos* in their Synagogues.

Nero. Who at last coming to *Rome*, was crucified with his head downwards; for so he desired to suffer. It is needless to say any thing of *Paul*; who having fully preach'd the Gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* unto *Illyricum*, at last suffer'd Martyrdom at *Rome* in the time of *Nero*. Thus much (b) *Origen* declares word for word in the Third Tome of his *Expositions on Genesis*.
(b) It is very doubtful where these words of *Origen's*, whom *Eusebius* here quotes, do begin; whether it be at those words, *And Thomas*, &c. or rather at those, *Peter 'tis probable*, &c. For *Eusebius* has not shown us where they begin. *Vale*.

CHAP. II.

Who first presided over the Roman Church.

After the Martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter*, *Linus* was the First that was elected to the Bishoprick of the *Roman* Church. *Paul*, writing from *Rome* to *Timothy*, makes mention of him in the Salutation at the end of the Epistle; saying, * *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Prudens, and Linus, and Claudia*.
* 2 Tim. 4. 21.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Epistles of the Apostles.

Indeed, one Epistle of *Peter's*, called his First, hath by general consent been receiv'd as genuine; for that the worthy *Antients* in former ages quoted in their writings, as being unquestionable and undoubted. But as for that called his (a) *Second Epistle*, we have been inform'd by the tradition of our Predecessors that it was not acknowledged as part of the *New Testament*. Yet, because to many it seem'd useful, 'twas diligently read together with the other Scriptures. But the Book called *his Acts*, and the Gospel that goes under his name, and that Book termed *his Preaching*, and that stiled *his Revelation*, we know these have in no wise been accounted genuine Writings: because no Ecclesiastical Writer either ancient or modern hath quoted any authorities or proofs taken out of them. But in the procedure of our *History* we will make it our chief business to shew, together with the Successions, what Ecclesiastical writers in every age have used the authority of such Writings as are question'd as spurious:
(a) That this 2d Epistle of *S. Peter* was not at first receiv'd in the Church of Christ with so universal agreement and consent as the former, may be concluded from this passage in *Eusebius*. But notwithstanding, there are great and sure evidences of this Epistles being written by the acknowledg'd Author of it, as (1.) the Title of *Simon Peter* with the Addition of *An Apostle of Jesus Christ* (Chap. 1. v. 1. (2.) There is a whole passage in this Epistle (Chap. 1. v. 16, 17.) which doth signally belong to *Peter*, that of having been on the holy Mount with Christ, and hearing those words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. which certainly belongs to the transfiguration, *Matth.* 17. where only *Peter* and *James* and *John* were present with Christ. (3.) This is said to be a 2d Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 1.) written much to the same purpose with the former. (4.) *St. Jude* speaking (v. 18.) *Of the scoffers that should come*, &c. cites that Prediction from the *Apostles* of our Lord *Jesus* (v. 17.) where it is reasonable to believe that this Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 3.) is referred to; for in it those very words are met with (and are not so in any other Apostolick writing) *Knowing this first*, &c. Compare *Jude* the 17 and 18. v. with 2 *Epist. Pet.* 3. chap. v. 3. All this in all Copies stands unmoved to secure the authority of this Epistle, and to convince us of the author of it. See *Dr. Hammond's* Preface to the 2d. *Epist. Pet.*

likewise what they say of those Scriptures that are canonical and by general consent acknowledged as genuine, and also what concerning those that are not such. And thus many are the Writings ascribed to *Peter*, of which I have known only one Epistle accounted to be genuine, and universally acknowledged as such by the *Antients*. But of *Paul's* there are fourteen Epistles manifestly known, and undoubted. Yet it is not fit we should be ignorant, that some have rejected that to the *Hebrews*, saying, it is by the *Roman* Church denied to be *Paul's*. Now what the *Antients* have said concerning this Epistle, I will in due place propose. But as for those *Acts* that are called his, we have been inform'd from our Predecessors, that they are not accounted as unquestionable and undoubted. And whereas the same Apostle, in his *Salutations* at the end of the Epistle to the *Romans*, makes mention among others, of one *Hermas*, who, they say, is Author of that Book intitl'd *Pastor*; you must know that that *Treatise* also has been question'd by some; upon whose account it must not be placed amongst those which by general consent are acknowledged as genuine: but by others it has been judg'd a most useful Book, especially for such as are to be instructed in the first Rudiments of Religion. Whereupon we know it is at this time publickly read in Churches; and I do find that some of the most ancient Writers do quote it. Let thus much be spoken in order to a representation of the Holy Scripture, to discriminate those Books, whose authority is in no wise contradicted, from those that by general consent are not acknowledg'd as genuine.

CHAP. IV.

Of the first Succession of the Apostles.

That *Paul* therefore, preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations of those Churches from *Jerusalem*, and round about unto *Illyricum*, is manifest both from his own * words, and also from what *Luke* has related in the † *Acts*. 15. 19. Likewise in what Provinces *Peter*, preaching the Gospel of Christ to those of the Circumcision, deliver'd the Doctrine of the *New Covenant*, is sufficiently apparent from his own * words out of that Epistle of his, which, we have said, is universally acknowledg'd as genuine; which he wrote to the *Jews* that were dispersed throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*, and *Bithynia*. Now how many and what sincere followers of them have been approved as sufficient to take the charge of those Churches by them founded, it is not easie to say; except such and so many as may be collected from the words of *Paul*. For he had very many fellow-labourers, and, as he termed them, fellow-soldiers; many of which were by him vouchsafed an indeleble remembrance, he having in his own Epistles ascrib'd to them an everlasting commendation. But *Luke*, enumerating in the *Acts*, the Disciples of *Paul*, makes mention of them by name. Moreover, *Timothy* is reported to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of the *Ephesian* Church: as also *Titus*, of the Churches in *Crete*. *Luke*, by original extract an *Antiochian*, by profession a *Physician*, for the most part accompanied *Paul*; and being diligently conversant with the rest of the Apostles, has left us, in two Books written by Divine inspiration, Lessons that are medicinable for our souls,
D 4

Nero. souls, which he procured of them. The one is *the Gospel*, which he * professes he wrote as they delivered it unto him, *who from the beginning were Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word*, in all which things, he says, *he had perfect understanding from the very first*. The other is *the Acts of the Apostles*, which Treatise he composed now not of such passages as he had received by report, but of what he had seen with his own eyes. They say also that *Paul* was wont to mean the Gospel according to *Luke*; when, speaking as it were of his own Gospel, he says, † *According to my Gospel*.
 † 2 Tim. 2. 8. Of the rest of the Followers of *Paul*, *Crescens* is by the Apostle himself declared to be one; who was sent by him into (a) *Gallia*. *Linus* also, whom, in his *second Epistle to Timothy*, he mentions to be at *Rome* with him, who was before manifested to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, after *Peter*. *Clement* also, who was likewise constituted the third Bishop of *Rome*, is attested by *Paul* himself to have been his Fellow-labourer and Companion in sufferings. Furthermore, that *Areopagite* (by name *Dionysius*, whom *Luke* in the *Acts* records to have been the first that believed after the Sermon made by *Paul* to the *Athenians* in (b) *Areopagus*) another *Dionysius*, one of the *Athenians*, a Pastor of the *Corinthian Church* relates to have been the first Bishop of the *Athenian Church*: But as we go on with this Work of ours, we will in due place declare the Successions of the Apostles in their several times. Now we will proceed to that part of our History which follows in order.

But the other reading is the truest, which *Clement* confirms in his *Constitut. Apost.* *Theodoret* reads *Galatia*, but says that thereby is meant *Gallia*. Valef.

(b) *Areopagus* was the Senate or standing Court of Judicature in *Athens*, by whose Laws and Orders any new Gods were received among them; and therefore as soon as they perceived that *Paul* was a promulger of strange Deities, they bring him to the *Areopagus* to have him examined what Gods they were that he thus Preached. Two Judicatures they had at *Athens*; one every year changed, made up of 500 chosen Men, of whom the Republick consisted; the other perpetual, which judged of Murthers and the like capital Offences; and this was in *Areopago*; of which and the customs thereof, See *Budæus* on the *Pandecks*. Why it was called *Areopagus*, see *St. Aug. de civit. Dei* L. 18. c. 18. The Judges which sat in this Court were call'd *Areopagites*, who were look'd upon with such reverence, that an *Areopagite* signified proverbially an excellent Person. *Gell. L. 12. c. 7.* *Dionysius* was one of these *Areopagites*.

C H A P. V.

Of the last Siege of the Jews after Christ's Death.

Vespasian. After *Nero*, who held the Government thirteen years, *Galba* and *Otho* having reigned a year and six months; *Vespasian* grown famous in the Wars against the *Jews*, was made Emperor in *Judea*, being proclaimed by the Army there. He therefore going immediately to *Rome*, committed the management of the War against the *Jews* to his son *Titus*. Moreover, after the Ascension of our Saviour, when the *Jews*, besides the audacious wickedness committed against him, had now contrived and executed very many cruel designs against his Apostles; (first *Stephen* being stoned to death by them; then after him *James* the son of *Zebedee* and brother of *John* beheaded, and last of all that *James* who was first chosen into the Episcopal seat there, after our Saviour's Ascension, murder'd according to the foremention'd manner;) when the rest of the Apostles, were by innumerable wiles laid wait for to be put to death; and being driven out of *Judea*, were gone to

preach the Doctrine of the Gospel to all Nations, assisted by the power of Christ who had said unto them; * *Go and teach all nations in my name*: And furthermore, when the whole Congregation of the Church in *Jerusalem*, according to an Oracle given by revelation to the approved persons amongst them before the War, were commanded to depart out of the City, and inhabit a certain City (they call it (a) *Pella*) beyond *Jordan*; into which when those that believed in Christ had remov'd from *Jerusalem*, and when the Holy Men had as it were totally relinquish'd the princely Metropolis of the *Jews*, and the whole Country of *Judea*: then at length Divine Vengeance seiz'd them who had dealt so unjustly with Christ

and his Apostles, and utterly destroy'd that wicked and abominable Generation from among men. But, how great calamities then befel the whole Nation in every place; and how they especially who were Inhabitants of *Judea* were driven to the extremity of misery; and how many * *Myriads* of men, together with women and children, were destroy'd by Sword and Famine, and by infinite other kinds of death; and how many and what Sieges there were of the Jewish Cities; and how great miseries and more than miseries they beheld who fled into *Jerusalem* it self, as into the best fortified Metropolis; and also the manner and order of the whole War, and every particular action therein; and how at length the abomination of desolation predicted by the Prophets was set up in the very Temple of God, heretofore famous, but now about to suffer all manner of pollution, and to undergo its last destruction by fire: He that is desirous to know it, may accurately read all this in the History written by *Josephus*. But, how the same Writer relates, that a multitude of about thirty hundred thousand persons assembled together from all parts of *Judea* at that time of the *Passover-feast*, were shut up in *Jerusalem* (as it were, says he, in a prison) I think it requisite to shew in those his own words. (b) For it was fit, that at that very time (wherein they had kill'd the Saviour and Benefactor of all, Christ the Son of God,) that in the same days, I say, they should be shut up as it were in a prison, to receive that destruction from Divine Vengeance which awaited them. But I will omit the particular relation of those miseries which befel them, and their great sufferings by the Sword and otherwise, and do think it necessary to propose only the Calamities of the Famine; that so they who shall read this our Work may from that part of their Sufferings understand, that the Divine Punishment for their enormous Impieties committed against the Christ of God, did not long after light upon them.

against the authority of all the M. SS. Copies, and also without any necessity. Neither *Rufinus* nor *Nicephorus* hath inserted this passage of *Josephus*'s; and *Eusebius* did sufficient to intimate it, and to produce some words from it, as are those, *ὡς περ ἐν ἐργῇ*, i. e. as it were in a prison; which Words *Eusebius* does sufficiently shew to be *Josephus*'s, in that he says, *ὡς περ ἐν ἐργῇ ἐμαρτυροῦντο αὐτοῖς*, &c. In the common Editions of *Eusebius* these words *ἐμαρτυροῦντο αὐτοῖς* were wanting, which we have put in, warranted thereto by the old M. SS. Copies, *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* we found those Words also in the King's M. S. which *Robert Stephens* made use of in his Edition of *Eusebius*; who too much favour'd his own conjecture, by expunging those words here, and putting them in a little after, thus, *ἀναγκάσας δὲ ἐμαρτυροῦντο αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐμνήσαντο*, against the authority of all Copies. Valef.

C H A P.

Vespasian.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Famine that oppressed the Jews.

* Joseph.
Hist. of
the Jewish
Wars,
Book 5.
Chap. 26.

(a) Josephus means that those wretched people tore the meat from one another; not that they greedily devoured it, as Chrysostom took his meaning to be, he translating it, *αὐτὸν ὁ ἀβρίπιον*. That is the meaning of those words *ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐδίηκον*. Valef.

Come on therefore, let us again take the fifth Book of Josephus's History into our hands, and rehearse the Tragedy of those things then and there done. * Moreover, (*says he*) for those that were rich to stay it was equally destructive. For they were slain for their wealth under a pretence of their revolting to the enemy. Together also with the famine, the insolent rage of the seditious increased, and both those mischiefs daily grew more extremely sharp and violent. Besides, there was no food any where openly to be seen; but they rush'd violently into houses, and made a strict search: and when they had found any, they beat the masters of the houses after a most cruel manner, because they denied they had any: but if they found none, they tortured them, as if they had most carefully hid it. Moreover, the bodies of the wretches were a certain sign whether they had any food or no: for those who were yet strong and lusty they supposed had plenty of provision; but such as were already lean and macerated, they medled not with. For it seem'd irrational to kill those that were ready to die for want of sustenance. Many also privately exchanged their estates, the richer sort for one measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley: then locking themselves up in the inmost recesses of their houses, some of them by reason of their excessive want of food, eat the unground corn; others made bread of it after such a manner as necessity and fear advised them. Indeed there was no where any table furnish'd; but they snatch'd the meat while it was raw from the fire, and (a) tore it from one another. The food was miserable, and the spectacle truly worthy of lamentation; in that the stronger sort got all, whilst the weaker bewailed their own condition. Famine doubtless is superior to all the affections of the mind; but nothing is so utterly destroy'd by it, as is a dutiful and observant behaviour. For that which otherwise is worthy of a reverent regard, in this case (*to wit, in the necessity of famine*) is contemn'd. Therefore the wives tore the meat from their husbands, the children from their parents; and, which was most exceedingly lamentable, the mothers snatch'd it out of the very mouths of their infants; yea, they spared not to deprive them of those very drops of milk which were their only sustenance to keep them alive, whilst their most beloved babes languish'd in their arms. And whilst they eat such food as this, they notwithstanding could not secure themselves from being discover'd; because the seditious were every where at hand, preying upon them: for when they at any time saw a house shut, that was a sign that those within were eating victuals; and immediately breaking open the doors they rush'd in, and squeezing the bits of meat even out of their very jaws, they took them away. The old men, who would not part with their food, were beaten; and the women which hid what they had in their hands were drawn about by the hair of the head. No compassion was shewn to the hoary-head, or to infants; but lifting up the little children on high, hanging at their morsels of meat, they dash'd them against the pavement. Now to those who prevented their in-

curfion, and before-hand devoured what they would by force have taken away, they were more inhuman, as if such had done them an injury. Moreover, they invented cruel ways of tortments for the searching out of provision; for they stop'd up the passage of the Privities of those miserable men with the pulse called *Orobos*, and thrust sharp rods up their fundaments; and to force any person to confess he had but one loaf of bread, or to extort from him a discovery of his having but one handful of meal hidden, he underwent such tortments as are most horrible to be heard. Now the tormentors themselves were not oppress'd with hunger; for it would have seem'd less cruel for them to have done all this out of necessity: but they did it to exercise their outrageous insolence, and to procure themselves provision for the following days. Those also, who by night crept out as far as the Roman watch to gather wild herbs and grass, they met; and when they supposed they had now escaped the enemy, these men by force took from them what they had gotten. And when they often intreated, and by the most sacred name of God beseech'd them to communicate some part of that to them which they had brought off with the hazard of their lives, they imparted nothing thereof to them; yea, they were to look upon it to be a kindness, that they were not also kill'd, as well as rob'd of what they had gotten." To this, after some other words, he adds, saying, "The Jews, after they were hindred from going out of the City, were depriv'd of all hope of relief. And the famine encreasing extremely, consumed the people throughout every house and family. The houses were fill'd with women and infants destroy'd by the famine: and the narrow streets with dead old men: the children and young men as pale as ghosts wander'd up and down the market-places, and fell down where-ever the distemper seiz'd any of them; neither were the sick able to bury their relations: and those who were strong were loth to undertake it, both upon account of the vast numbers of the dead, and also because of the uncertainty of their own condition. For very many dropt down dead upon those whom they were interring. Many also betook themselves to their Coffins or Sepulchres before death seiz'd 'em. Neither was there mourning or lamentation in these calamities; but the famine had suppress'd every one's affection. And they who struggled with the very pangs of death, with dry eyes beheld those who went to rest before them. A profound silence and darkness laden with death encompass'd the City. But the thieves were more pernicious than all this; for they digg'd through into houses, now turn'd into burial-places, and rob'd the dead: and taking away the coverings from off the corps, went out laughing. They also tried the edges of their swords upon the dead bodies: and some of those that lay along, and yet alive, they run through, to make trial of the sharpness of their weapons: but those that beseech'd 'em to make use of their hand and sword upon 'em, by way of scorn they let alone to be destroy'd by the famine. And every one of them that died, leaving the seditious yet surviving, (c) fix'd always prayed to God with their Eyes turn'd towards the holy City, and Temple. We have an example of this custom in *Dan. 6. 10.* and *1 Kings 8. 48.* and *1 Esdr. 4. 58.* Hence perhaps was derived the custom of the Christians, to pray towards the East. Valef.

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(b) In Josephus it is *ἀνὰ τὰς ἀρχαίας*; but in the M. SS. copies of Eusebius it is *ἀνὰ τὰς ἀρχαίας*, &c. which is the better reading: For the Greeks call that *ἀρχαία*, which the Latines call *avrem*, and we in English the edge, &c. Valef.

(c) Observe here the religion of the Jews, who in what parts of the world soever they were

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their eyes stedfastly upon the Temple. At first they gave command that the dead should be buried at the charge of the publick Treasury, not being able to endure the stench of the dead bodies: but afterwards being insufficient to continue so doing, they cast them from the walls into deep pits; which *Titus* having view'd round, when he beheld them fill'd full with the dead, and a thick gore issuing from the putrified bodies, he sigh'd, and stretching forth his hands, call'd God to witness, that it was not his fact." To all this, after the interposition of some words, he adds, saying; "I will not be afraid to declare what grief commands me to speak; I think, had the *Romans* been slack to destroy those flagitious wretches, that either they would have been swallow'd by the earth opening under them; or that the City would have been drown'd by an inundation; or, that, like *Sodom*, it would have been destroy'd by lightning. For it had brought forth a generation of men by far more abominably impious than those, who had suffer'd such things. By reason therefore of the desperate outrageousness of those men, the whole body of the people was together with them destroy'd." And in his Sixth Book he writes thus: "Of those who perish'd being destroy'd by the famine throughout the City, the multitude was innumerable; the afflictions that befel them can't be utter'd. For in every house where there appear'd but the least shadow of provision, there was fighting; and such as were dearest friends strove one with the other, snatching from one another the miserable provision of their life. Neither were those that died believed to expire for want of sustenance. But the Thieves search'd those that gave up the ghost, lest any one having meat in his bosom should feign himself to die. The Thieves themselves, empty and hollow for want of sustenance, wandred and hunted up and down like mad dogs, striking against the doors like drunken men; and by reason of their stupified condition, breaking into the very same houses twice or thrice in one hour. Necessity made all things to be eaten: and what was unfitting to be given to the most fordid irrational creatures, they gather'd up, and endured to eat. Therefore at the last they did not forbear to eat girdles and shoes; and pluck'd the leather from off their bucklers and eat it. The stumps of old hay were made food by some; and others gather'd the very stalks or small fibres of plants, and sold the least weight of them for four (d) *Attick drachms*. But what need I speak of the sharpness and extremity of the famine, as to the eating things without life? for I will declare such a fact, the like whereof is no where recorded either among the *Grecians* or *Barbarians*; which may seem both horrid to be related, and also incredible to be heard. And indeed lest I might seem to posterity to feign monstrous stories, I could very willingly leave this sad accident unmention'd; but that I have innumerable witnesses thereof, to wit, men that are cotemporary with me: And besides, I should do my Country a very frigid and inconsiderable kindness, should I go about to conceal the rehearsal of what it really suffer'd. A woman, of the Region beyond *Jordan*, by name *Mary*, the daughter of *Eleazar*, of the village *Bathazar*, (which word signifies, *The house of Hyssop*) for descent and wealth eminent,

(d) That is, ten Shillings in our coin. See note on B. i. chap. 8. in the margin, concerning the word *Drachms*.

flying with the rest of the multitude into *Jerusalem*, was there together with them besieg'd. All her goods, which she had taken with her out of the Region beyond *Jordan* and brought into the City, the Tyrants robb'd her of. The remains of what she had, which was of greatest value and price, and what ever provision of food she could any way procure, the Spear-men breaking in daily took from her. A most vehement indignation moved the woman; and oftentimes she reviled and cursed those ravenous pillagers, and provok'd them against herself. But when none of them could be either instigated by anger, or moved by compassion to kill her; and she being grown weary of finding victuals for (e) others; and provision being now nowhere to be found; the famine also having entred her very bowels and marrow, and her anger being more exceedingly hot than the famine was sharp; she took Fury and Necessity as her advisers, and in a hostile manner invaded nature it self. And having snatch'd up her son (for she had a sucking-child) *Miserable Babe*, said she, amidst these Wars, Famine and Sedition, for whom shall I preserve thee? Amongst the *Romans* if they let us live, we shall be Slaves; and the Famine must precede that Servitude; but the Seditious are more mischievous than both those evils. Behou therefore my food, a (f) Fiend to take revenge upon the Seditious, and a Story for men to talk of, which is only yet wanting to compleat the Calamities of the Jews. Having said this, she kills her son; then roasting him, she eat half of him; the remainder she kept cover'd. The Seditious came immediately, and having smelt the horrible savour, threatn'd to kill her forthwith, if she would not bring out to them what she had provided. But she, answering that she had reserv'd a good part for them, uncover'd the remains of her son. Horror and astonishment of mind suddenly seized them; and they stood benumm'd as it were, with amazement at the spectacle. This, said the woman, is the son of mine own womb, and this mine own fact: eat, for I have eaten of him already; be not you nicer than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you are religious and abhor this my sacrifice, I have eaten the one half already, and let the rest also remain with me. After this they went out trembling, abash'd at this very one thing, and with much ado yielded to leave this food with the mother. Immediately the whole City was filled with the noise of this detestable fact; and every one setting before his eyes this unnatural deed was horribly afraid and trembled as if it had been audaciously perpetrated in (g) his own house. And now all who were sorely press'd with the famine, earnestly hastned to die, and happy were they accounted, who were taken away by death before they heard such an horror at this fact, as if it had been done in their own houses. *Vales*.

(e) That is for the Thieves, not for herself: And therefore it is in the original *Εὐρεῖν σίτον ἄλλοις*; not ἑαυτῇ; as the Gene-va Edit. of Eusebius adds in the margin. *Vales*.

(f) The Jews, as well as the Grecians, believed, that the Ghosts of such as had been murdered followed those that kill'd them, to take revenge of them. In this sense those words may be taken, that occur Gen. 4. 10. *The voice of thy brother's blood cryeth unto me from the ground*: i. e. thy brother, whom thou hast wickedly slain, requires that I should revenge him, and punish thee for his murder: Then it follows v. 12. *A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth*; i. e. thy brother's Ghost, whom thou hast slain, shall follow thee every where, and be always troublesome to thee. *Vales*.

(g) That is; all the Citizens were bricken with such an horror at this fact, as if it had been done in their own houses. *Vales*.

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C H A P. VII.

Of Christ's Predictions.

BUT it is worth while to adjoyn hereunto the most true Prediction of our Saviour, wherein he manifestly foretels these very things after this manner: * *And wo unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day: for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.* But the same Writer adding together the whole number of those that were destroy'd, says, that by the Famine and by the Sword an hundred and ten Myriads perish'd: and that the Seditious and the Thieves that were left, discovering one another, after the City was taken, were put to death: that the tallest and comliest of the young men were reserv'd to adorn the triumph: that of the rest of the multitude, such as were above seventeen years of age were sent bound to the Mines in Egypt; and that very many were distributed through the Provinces to be destroy'd in the Publick Shews by the Sword and by Wild Beasts: that those who were under seventeen years of age were carried Captive and sold; and that the number of those only amounted to

(a) Eusebius is here mistaken; for Josephus does not say so; but only affirms that the number of those that were taken captive, during the whole War, by the Romans, amounted to ninety thousand Men. The Words of Josephus are to be seen at the latter end of his sixth Book of the Hist. of the Jewish Wars. Valef.

if they had been present, wept and lamented, according to the History of the Holy Evangelists, who have related his very words; one while speaking as it were to Jerusalem it self: *If thou hadst known (said he) even thou at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee.* Then speaking concerning the people: *For there shall be (said he) great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled:* And again, *when ye shall see Jerusalem compass'd with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.* Now whosoever does compare the words of our Saviour with the rest of our Writers relations of the whole War, he can't but with admiration confess the Prescience and Prediction of our Saviour to have been truly divine, and exceeding wonderful. Therefore concerning those things which befel the whole Jewish Nation after the Salutary Passion of Christ, and after those words, whereby the multitude of the Jews desired a Thief and a Murderer should be released from his punishment of death, and that the Prince of Life should be destroy'd, it is needless to (b) add any thing to the relation given by Josephus. So much only is requisite further to be annex'd, as may represent the

(b) Ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν; these are the Words of Eusebius; by which he means, not his own History, as Bishop Christopherson thought, but the History of Josephus: In our translation therefore we have expressed his name; but it is not, we confess, in the original of Eusebius. Valef.

endearing Goodness of the most excellent Providence of God, deferring the destruction of these men full forty years after their most audacious Villany committed again Christ. During which space, many of the Apostles and Disciples, (and James himself the first Bishop there, he that was called the Brother of the Lord) being yet alive, and making their abode in the City of Jerusalem, continued to be a most impregnable Fortification to that place: Divine visitation hitherto patiently forbearing them; that, if peradventure they would yet repent of what they had done, they might obtain remission and salvation; and to so great a patience and forbearance, adding wonderful signs from Heaven, foreshewing what was about to befall them unless they repented. Which signs, having been accounted worthy to be recorded by the foresaid * Writer, nothing hinders but we may * That is, here propose to those that shall look upon this Josephus. our Work.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the Prodigies that appear'd before the War.

LET us then take the sixth Book of his History, and rehearse what is therein related by him in these words; 'Therefore those Impostors, and such as feign'd themselves to be sent of God, and by their false persuasions deceiv'd the wretched people at that time: so that they neither gave heed to, nor believed those evident Prodigies which foreshew'd their desolation to be at hand. But being like persons thunder-struck, and having neither eyes nor understanding, they contemned and disregarded the fore-warnings of God. First, a Star in the likeness of a Sword stood over the City; and then a (a) Comet continued a whole year. Further also, when, before the revolt and the first beginnings of the War, the people were gather'd together to the feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth day of the month April, at the (b) ninth hour of the night, so great a light shined round about the Altar and the Temple, that it seem'd to be bright day; and so continued for the space of half an hour: And this was judged by those that were unskilful a good sign; but by the (c) Scribes that were skill'd in the Law, it was immediately concluded to portend those calamities which afterwards hapned: and at amongst the same Feast, a Cow, led to be sacrificed by

(a) We read ὄρε, as it is in Josephus B. 7. pag. 960. But Nicephorus thought that this Star which appeared in the likeness of a Sword, and the Comet which continued a whole year, was all one; which as we judge, is not right. Valef.

(b) The Jews divided the whole νύχθ' ἡμέραν, i. e. night and day, or four and twenty hours, into eight parts, each of them containing 3 hours; the 3d, the 6th, the 9th, and the 12th hour of the day; and the like again for the several watches of the night: The ninth hour of the night (or third watch) according to their account, was commonly betwixt our hours of twelve and three a clock in the Morning. See Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. Chap. 13.

(c) The Scribes were the same with the Doctors of the Law, as Petavius has well observed, in Animadvers. ad Hæres. 15 Epiphani. Their office it was, to keep the holy Books of the Law, and to read them in the presence of the People, in the Temple and in the Synagogues. But their principal Office was to be assessors with the chief Priests and Elders in the great Council called the Sanhedrim. See the 6 and 23 Chapters of the Acts. The name of Scribe therefore was the name of a Magistrate among the Jews as well as the among Grecians. And as the [γραμματεῖς] Scribes in Greece were to be present at Assemblies and Judicatures, and to have the custody of the Laws and Statutes made by the People, and Decrees made by the Senate; so also were the Scribes amongst the Jews the keepers of the Law. That this was no small honour, appears from many places in the Gospel; where our Blessed Saviour reprove their pride and insolence. After the same manner, amongst the Grecians,

arians, the Scribes [*γραμματεῖς*] were in great authority, as appears from that which S. Luke relates *Acts* 19. 35. [our translation calls him *Town-Clerk*, how truly, Mr. Jo. Gregory of Oxford will tell you in his *Notes on the Text*; chap. 9. p. 43. of his *Works*.] Amongst the Jews the Scribes were so much the more respected by how much that Nation above all others esteemed their own Laws: Of which the Scribes were not only the keepers, but the interpreters also. Moreover they were consulted as being taken to be Men of great knowledge and skill, and who were best able to interpret Signs and Prodigies; and also who best knew the mysteries of the Law. So we read *Matth.* 2. 4. *Herod* there consults the Scribes; and in this place of *Josephus* here, the Scribes foretell the meaning of the Prodigies. Moreover the Magistrate of the City of *Jerusalem* who was called *Ἐπαρχὸς*, had his Scribe, as *Josephus* tells us *B.* 20. But whether this Scribe was among the number of those that were interpreters of the Law, it is hard to say. Farther, the [*ἱεργραμματεῖς*] amongst the Egyptians were certain Priests who look'd after the Ordinances about the things Sacred, and had the keeping of the mystical Learning, and foretold things to come; concerning whom see *Joseph.* *L.* 2. c. 5. where he calls them *ἱερεῖς*. These, after the *Cantor* and the *Horoscopus* went in the third place into the Temple, wearing Wings on their Heads, and carrying before them in their Hands, Ink, and a Pen, with a Book. They had also the Hieroglyphical Books of *Mercury*, and those of *Cosmography*, and of the situation of Countries, and of *Egypt*, and of the Nile, and of the places consecrated in honour of their Gods, committed to their custody, as *Clem. Alexandrinus* writes in his 6 *B.* *Lucianus* saith that these sort of Men had been of long continuance in *Egypt*. Valef.

Vespasian. the High-Priest, brought forth a Lamb in the midst of the Temple. Also the Eastern-Gate of the Inner-Temple made all of Brass, exceeding massy, and scarcely to be shut in the evening by twenty men, (being made also very strong by vast iron hinges on which it moved, and having bolts that went into the ground a great depth,) was seen to open of its own ac-

(d) After these Words *Eusebius* omits some passages that are extant in *Josephus*, as, of this Prodigies being told to the *Ἐπαρχῷ*, or Magistrate; for an account of whom, and his office see the Learned *Hammond* in his *Notes* on *Luke* 22. 52.

cord about the sixth hour of the night. (d) Not many days after the Feast, upon the one and twentieth of May, was seen a Ghost for Prodigiousness wholly incredible.

But that which I am now

about to say would seem an idle story, were it not related by those that saw it, and had not the subsequent calamities been answerable to such Prodigies. For before Sun-set there was seen in the air over the whole Country, Chariots, and whole Companies of armed men, running up and down in the Clouds, and investing Cities. Also at the feast, called *Pentecost*, the Priests, as it was their manner, going by night into the Temple to perform their offices, reported that they perceived at first indeed a motion and heard a noise; but that afterwards they heard a voice as of a great multitude, saying, *Let us depart hence*: But what was more dreadful than all this; one *Jesus*, the son of *Ananias*, a country-man of the ordinary rank, four years before the War, (the City being then in perfect peace and in a flourishing condition) coming to the Feast in which it's customary for all to make Tabernacles to the honour of God near the Temple; on a sudden began to cry out with a loud voice: A voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four Winds, a voice against *Jerusalem* and the Temple, a voice against the Bridegrooms and the Brides, a voice against all the People. This he went up and down crying, day and night throughout all the narrow streets and crossways of the City. But some of the chief of the people were very much disturb'd at this ominous cry, and, being highly incensed, took

(e) The reading must be, *παρόντας*, i. e. those that beat him, as it is in *Josephus*; not *παρόντας*, i. e. those that were present; although *Rufinus* followed that reading. Valef.

the man and beat him with many and also grievous stripes. But he neither spoke any thing for himself, nor said any thing in private to those that (e) beat him, but persisted

crying those very words he did before. Then Vespasian. the (f) Magistrates, supposing (as indeed it was) that the man was moved by Divine impulse, bring him to the Magistrate of the Temple, the Roman (g) President, chief Priests, and the Scribes. Valef. where being beaten with (g) That was *Albinus*, who stripes till his very bones then was Procurator of *Judea*. Valef. were bare, he neither in-

treated for himself, nor shed a tear: but to the utmost of his power changing his voice into a doleful tone, he answer'd every stripe, *Wo, Wo to Jerusalem*. There is another thing also more wonderful than this, which the same Writer relates, saying, that a Prophecy was found in the Holy Scriptures comprehending thus much, to wit, That about that time one was to come out of their Country who should rule over the whole world; which this Writer un-

derstood to have been fulfilled in (h) Vespasian. But he did not rule over the whole world, only obtain'd the Roman Empire. This therefore may more justly be referr'd to Christ, to whom it was said by the

(h) *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio; esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano quantum eventu postea prædictum patuit. Judæi ad se trabentes, rebellavit. So Suetonius in the Life of Vespasian.*

Father: * *Desire of me and I shall give thee the Heaven for thine inheritance; and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession*: And the † sound of whose Holy Apostles at the very same time went out into all Lands, and their words unto the ends of the world. * *Psal.* 2. 8. † *Psal.* 19.

CHAP. IX.

Of *Josephus*, and the Writings he left.

AFTER all this, it is fit that we should not be ignorant of this same *Josephus*, who has given us so great assistance in the History we now have in hand, from whence, and of what stock he came. And he himself does manifest even this also, saying after this manner: *Josephus*

the son of (a) *Mattathias*, a Priest of *Jerusalem*, who my self also at first fought against the Romans, and was by necessity forc'd to be present at what was done afterwards. This man was esteem'd the most eminent person of all the Jews of those times, not only by his own country-men, but also by the Romans: in so much that he was honour'd with a Statue dedicated to him in the City of *Rome*, and the Books compiled by him were accounted worthy to be placed in

(a) In the King's M. S. it is *Ματθίας*. and so also in *Josephus*, in the Book of his own Life, and in the proeme to the History of the Jewish Wars. In *Sophronius's* Book, *Descriptio Eccles.* it is, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ ματθιαίου*. So also *Sozomen* calls him in the beginning of his first Book. And *Rufinus* calls the father of *Josephus* *Matthias*; *Josephus*, says he, *Matthias filius, ex Hierosolymis sacerdos*. So it is written in the most excellent M. S. of the *Parisian Church*. Valef. *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Vespasian*, has this passage of *Josephus*; *Unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula; constanter asseveravit fore, ut ab eo brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore.*

the Publick Library, He wrote all the Jewish Antiquities in twenty entire Books; and the History of the Jewish War, in his own time, in seven Books; which History he himself testifies, he put forth not only in Greek, but also in his own Country language; and he is worthy to be credited both in this, and in other things. There are also two other Books of his extant very worthy to be read, which are about the Antiquities of the Jews: in which he answers *Apion Grammaticus*, who at that time wrote a (b) Volume against the Jews, and some others who had

are *σωμολογία λόγων*; but *Nicephorus* writes *λόγους*, which *Josephus* seems to confirm, who testifies that *Apion* wrote more Books than one against the Jewish Nation. But *Jerom*, in *Catalogo*, where he speaks of *Josephus's* Writings, defends the ordinary reading. Valef.

attempted

Vespasian. attempted to calumniate the (c) Antiquity and Laws of the Jewish Nation. In the former of these he sets forth the number of the Canonical Books of that called the Old Testament, which of them are among the Hebrews unquestionable and undoubted, as being received from ancient Tradition; discoursing of them in these words.

(c) *Josephus* in his Books against *Apion*, answers not only those who had calumniated the Laws and Institutions of the Jews; but also he more especially writes against those who had forged certain Falsities concerning the Original and Antiquity of the Jews, as appears by his first Book. But about the end of his second Book he answers *Apollonius*, *Asolon*, and *Lyfymachus*, who had written some lies about the Laws and Institutions of the Jews. The word *παλαια* therefore in this place must mean both these, to wit, the Antiquity, and the Laws of the Jewish Nation. Valef.

C H A P. X.

How Josephus makes mention of the Holy Bible.

Here are not therefore amongst us an innumerable company of Books disagreeing and contradicting one another; but only (a) two and twenty, containing an historical account of all times; which are worthily believed to be Divine. And five of these are the Works of *Moses*, which comprehend both the Laws, and also a continued Series of the Generations of Men, and what was done by them from their first Creation until his own death. This space of time wants little of three thousand years. And from the death of *Moses* until the Reign of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Persians*, Successor to *Xerxes*, the Prophets, whose succeeded *Moses*, wrote what was done in their Ages, in thirteen Books: The remaining four contain Hymns to God, and Precepts and Admonitions for the well-ordering of Men's lives. Also from *Artaxerxes* until our own times every thing is indeed recorded, but these Books have not been accounted worthy of the like authority with the former, in that the Succession of the Prophets was not so accurately known. But it is manifestly apparent how highly we revere our own Writings: For in so many Ages now pass'd over, no one has dared either to add or to diminish from them, or to change any thing therein; but it is implanted upon all us Jews immediately from our very birth, to think that these are the Precepts of God, and to persevere in them, and, if need so require, willingly to die for them." And let these words of this Writer be profitably here inserted. He compiled also another elaborate Work not unworthy of himself, about the Empire of Reason, which some have entitled *Maccabees*, because it contains the Conflicts of those Hebrews, in the Writings called the *Maccabees*, so termed from them, who valiantly fought for the Worship of God. And, at the end of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*, he intimates, as if he purposed to write in four Books (according to the opinion of the Jews, which they had recei-

ved from their Ancestors) of God, and of his Essence, also of Laws, why according to them some things are lawful to be done, and others forbidden. Himself also in his own Books mentions other Works compiled by his diligence. Moreover it is also consonant to reason to adjoyn those words of his which he has inserted at the (b) Conclusion of his *Antiquities*; for the Confirmation of the Quotations and Authorities we have taken out of him. He therefore, blaming (c) *Justus Tiberiensis*, (who had taken in hand, as well as he, to write an History of those very Times,) as having not related the Truth, and accusing the Man of many other faults, at last adds thus much in these words: 'But I was not, in that manner as you were; timorous concerning my Writings, but gave my Books to the Emperors themselves, when the deeds done were fresh and almost yet to be seen: For I was conscious to my self, that I had all along faithfully observed the delivery of the Truth; upon account whereof, hoping for their evidence, I was not disappointed of my expectation. And moreover I communicated my History to many others, some of whom were actually present in the War; as was King *Agrippa*, and (d) several of his Relations: Also *Titus* the Emperor was so willing that the knowledge of what was done should be delivered to Men solely out of them, that he (e) subscribed my Books with his own Hand, and gave command they should be the close of that Book, and at the end of this Book, of his own Life. *Scaliger* therefore is mistaken, in his *Animadvers.* on *Euseb.* p. 188. where he says, *Eusebius* forgot himself here; and so is *Christopherson*, who, supposing this place in *Eusebius* to be corrupted, alter'd it. But had they seen the Greek MSS. Copies of *Josephus*, or had they consulted the *Basil. Edit.* of him, they might easily have found, that which I have said to be true, to wit, that this Book of *Josephus's*, of his own Life, was nothing else but an Appendix or Conclusion of his 20 Book of *Antiquities*. Valef.

(c) Our MSS. Copies, *Mar.* *Med.* and *Euk.* have it thus written, *Τιβεριεύς*; corruptly as I judge. For both *Stephanus Byzantius* doth acknowledge it to be *Τιβεριεύς*; and also *Jerom*, in his Book *De Scriptorib. Ecclesiast.* calls him *Justus Tiberiensis*; whom we have followed. But *Scaliger* styles him *Tiberiadensis*. This *Justus* wrote an History of the Jewish Wars, as *Josephus* tells us in his Book, *De vita sua*; and *Stephanus*, in the word *Τιβεριεύς*. Besides, this History he wrote a *Chronicle of the Kings of the Jews*, as *Photius* testifies, in *Bibliotheca*: Which Work he dedicated to King *Agrippa*, as *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animadvers. Euseb.* pag. 176. And he adds these Words: *Nemo de obitu Regis Agrippæ certius pronuntiare potuit quam is qui illi opus suum dedicavit*, i. e. No body could speak more certainly of the death of King *Agrippa*, than he who dedicated his Work to him. Which I indeed wish had not dropt from so acute a Man. For how can an Historian testify of the death of him to whom he dedicates his History? Unless we say that *Justus* dedicated his *Chronicle* to *Agrippa*, when he was dead, which is absurd. But as *Scaliger* without all ground asserted, that *Justus Tiberiadensis* dedicated his *Chronicle* to King *Agrippa*; so what he infers therefrom is also absurd. But from *Photius* his testimony it is manifest, that that Work was put forth by *Justus* after the death of King *Agrippa*. *Josephus* relates that the History of the Jewish Wars was published by *Justus* also after the death of *Agrippa*, although it was written twenty years before. A Book of this same *Justus's*, whose title was *Στέφανος*, is quoted by *Laërtius*, in the Life of *Socrates*; which *Photius* says was the same with his *Chronicle*. Valef.

(d) He means *Julius Archelaus* and *Herod*, as *Josephus* himself declares, in his first Book against *Apion*. *Julius Archelaus* was Brother-in-law to King *Agrippa*; for he had married his Sister *Mariamne*; so says *Josephus* at the end of his 19 and 20 Books of *Antiquit.* Valef.

(e) *Nicephorus*, in his 3 Book, Chap. 11. interpreting these Words of *Josephus*, says that *Titus* with his own hand copied out the Books of *Josephus* his History of the Jewish Wars. See what *Johannes Langus* has noted at that place of *Nicephorus*. But all Interpreters who have translated this place of *Josephus* into Latin, understand thereby that *Titus* only subscribed the Books of *Josephus* with his own hand, and did not copy them out himself. But I would rather follow the opinion of *Nicephorus*. Neither do these Words of *Josephus* [ὡς χειρῶν τῶν αὐτῆς χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία, δημοσιεύσας ποσὶ τὰς ἐν] seem to sound any thing less to me. Thus this place is pointed in all Copies as well as MS. as Printed. But if this place of *Josephus* were to be understood only of *Titus* his subscribing *Josephus* his Books with his hand, then the distinction or comma ought to be put after the word *χειρὶ*: But here you see it put after the word *βιβλία*. Valef.

Vespasian. (f) publicly read. And King Agrippa wrote sixty two Epistles, testifying therein, that the (f) In the ' Truth was delivered by me.' Two whereof *Josephus* there adjoins. But let thus much be thus far manifested concerning him. We will now proceed to what follows.

Max. Med. Fuk. and in

Sir Henry Savil's MS. it is written [*ἡμολογούμενος*]; which reading all Interpreters seem to have followed: But I like *Rufinus* his Version best, who translates it: *To be publicly read*; in which sense the same Word is used by *Eusebius* in chap. 22. of his second Book, where he speaks of the General Epistles of *James* and *Jude*; and in chap. 3. of his third Book. But from these Words of *Josephus* we may gather; that the History of the Jewish Wars was put out by him in the Reign of *Vespasian*; but his *Antiquities* were published by him in the thirteenth year of *Domitian*, as he himself testifies at the end of his 20 Book, and at the close of his Book, of his own Life. But, that which *Scaliger* affirms, in *Antimad. Euseb.* p. 187. to wit, that the Book of *Josephus* his own life was by him put out seven years after his *Antiquities*, seems not probable to me; for that Book is, as we made it out before, only the conclusion of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*; and at the end of it *Josephus* reckoning up the Roman Emperors, concludes with *Domitian*. Valef.

C H A P. XI.

How, after James, Simeon governed the Church at Jerusalem.

AFTER the Martyrdom of *James* and the taking of *Jerusalem*, which immediately followed thereupon, report goes, that the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, who were yet alive, met together from all parts in the same place, together also with the Kinsmen of our Lord according to the flesh, (for many of them hitherto survived,) and that all these held a consultation in common who should be adjudg'd worthy to succeed *James*: And moreover, that all with one consent approved of (a) *Simeon* the Son of

(a) This account of *Cleophas*, of whom the History of the Gospel makes mention, to be worthy of the Episcopal Seat there; which *Simeon*, as they say, was Cousin-German by the Mother's side to our Saviour: For *Hegesippus* relates, that *Cleophas* was written in the (b) Brother of *Joseph*.

of his called his *Chronicon*: For there he writes, that presently after the death of *James*, *Simeon* was elected; to wit, in the seventh year of *Nero*. But here he makes it evident, that after the murder of *James*, the Episcopal See was vacant for the space of about eight or nine years. Which interval of time, that the Author *Chronici Alexandrini* might fill up, he places the death of *James* on the first year of *Vespasian*. Valef.

(b) That is, because (as we conjecture) he married *Mary* which was Sister to the Blessed Virgin; upon which account *Simeon* the Son of this *Cleophas* is here called Cousin-German by the Mother's side to our Saviour; for so we translate the word [*ἀνεψιμῶν*]; not *patruelem*, i. e. Cousin-German by the Father's side, as it is in the Version of *Valesius*; but *consobrinum*, i. e. Sister's Son. For *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, and the Blessed Virgin were Sisters. See *Jo.* 19. 25. and so *Simeon* the Son of the former *Mary*, and our Saviour the Son of the latter, were Sisters Children. See the Learned Bp. *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 175, & 176. Edit. Lond. 1669. And *Petavius*, in *Heres.* 78. *Epiphan.* cap. 7, & 14. and also St. *Jerom.* in *Catalog.*

C H A P. XII.

How Vespasian commanded that the Descendants of David should be sought out.

AN D moreover, it is reported, that *Vespasian* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, commanded all those that were of the Kindred of *David* to be diligently sought out, lest any one of them who were of the Royal Race should be left remaining amongst the *Jews*; and that a most sore Persecution was thereby again brought upon the *Jews*.

C H A P. XIII.

That Anencletus was the Second Bishop of the Roman Church.

BUT when *Vespasian* had reigned ten years, his Son *Titus* succeeded him in the Empire: In the second year of whose Reign, *Linus* Bishop of the Roman Church, having held that publick Charge twelve years, delivered it to (a) *Anencletus*. And *Titus*, after he had reigned two years and as many months, was succeeded by his Brother *Domitian*.

that all our Books have it written *Anencletus*. And so *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*, and his Translator *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* in *Chronolog. Tripartit.* reads it. So also *Nicephorus Calistus* in *Libr.* 3. cap. 2. and *Georgius Syncellus*, and the MSS. copies of *Rufinus*. So likewise *Irenaeus* (in *Lib.* 3. where he reckons up the Roman Bishops in order) names him *Anencletus*; and omits the name of *Cletus*, which to me seems to be made of a piece of the word *Anencletus*. Neither does *Optatus*, nor St. *Augustine*, in his 165 Epistle (where he counts up the Romish Bishops) acknowledge *Cletus*. But on the contrary, in two very ancient Catalogues of the Roman Bishops, one whereof is in the Monastery of *S. German*, and the other in the *Jesuits College at Clermont*—there is no mention of *Anencletus*; but only of *Cletus*, who succeeded *Linus*, and sat eleven years, one month, and two days. From whence 'tis evident that *Cletus* and *Anencletus* was the same Man. See more of this in *P. Halloixius*, in *notat. ad cap. 7. vita Irenaei*. Valef.

C H A P. XIV.

That Avilius was the Second Bishop of Alexandria.

FURTHERMORE, in the fourth year of *Domitian*, (a) *Amianus* the first Bishop of the *Alexandrian* Church, having there spent two and twenty years compleat, died. After whom succeeded (b) *Avilius*, being the second Bishop there.

said before, concerning *Linus* Bishop of *Rome*, at the 2 Chap. of this Book. For *Mark* was the Apostle of the *Alexandrians*, as we before have said. But the Apostles were not reckoned amongst the number of the Bishops. There was therefore no need of putting in here *Mark*, as *Nicephorus* did. See *Selden's Notes ad Eutychium patriarcham Alexandr.* Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* and the other Translators call this Man *Abilius*; and also *Jerom* himself, in *Chronico*, not so rightly as I judge. For he ought to be called *Avilius*, which is a Roman name; as well as *Anianus*, who was Bishop before *Avilius*. Besides, the order of the Chapters is here disturbed in the common Edition; this Chap. of the succession of *Avilius* being put before that of the succession of *Anencletus*: But we by the direction of the MSS. Copies *Max.* and *Fuk.* have placed them in their true order. This was a very ancient mistake; for in the Index of the Chapters prefixed before the 3 B. of *Rufinus* his Translation, and in all the Greek Copies except in that of *Fuk.* the same Error is committed. But in the Body of the *Max.* MS. (which Book has the Titles of the Chapters exactly placed in their order) this Error is corrected. Valef.

C H A P. XV.

That Clemens was the Third Bishop of the Roman Church.

AL SO in the twelfth year of this Emperor's Reign, *Anencletus* having been Bishop of the Roman Church twelve years, had to his Successor *Clemens*; whom the Apostle, writing an Epistle to the *Philippians*, declares to be his Fellow-labourer, saying; * with Clement also, and * Phil. 4. with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in 3. the book of life.

C H A P.

Domitian.

C H A P. XVI.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens.

Moreover, there is extant one Epistle of this Clemens's, which by general consent is acknowledged as genuine, and is singularly excellent and admirable; which he wrote in the name of the Roman Church to that of the Corinthians, there being at that time a Faction raised in the Corinthian Church: which Epistle also we have known to have been publickly read in many Churches before the whole Congregation, both in times past, and also in our own memory. Now, that in the time of the aforementioned Clemens there was a Faction raised in the Corinthian Church, Hegesippus is a Witness worthy to be credited.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Persecution in Domitian's Time.

(a) Rufinus thought these words that follow here, were the words of Hegesippus, whom Eusebius quoted at the end of the foregoing chapt. whence it appears that Rufinus read as it is in our MSS. copies, *Mat. Med.* and *Fuk. μαρτυρῶ ὅτι ἡ γένεσις πολλήν καὶ μὴν, &c.* Moreover in Rufinus the chap. 17. begins at those words, *Now that in the time of the forementioned, &c.* as I observed it to be also in the *Mat.* and *Fuk. M. SS.* But I rather approve of the ordinary writing and distinction. *Valef.*

(b) *Εὐπαρίστος* has the same import with *εὐγενής*, that is, it signifies one that is descended from an illustrious and noble stock. So *Gregor. Nazianz.* in Oration 40. *μη ἀπαξιάσης συμβαπιδύναει πένησι, πλέσι δὲ δὲ ἐὐπαρίστος τῷ συγγενεί.* St. *Jerom.* in *Chronico Anno 8.* *Domitian.* says, *Domitianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit, atque occidit.* *Valef.*

C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning John the Apostle, and his Revelation.

IN this Persecution 'tis reported, that John the Apostle and also Evangelist, who yet lived, was banish'd into the Isle *Patmos*, upon account of the Testimony he exhibited to the Word of God. Indeed, * *Irenaus*, writing concerning the number of the name of *Antichrist* mentioned in the † *Revelation* of John, does in these very words, in his fifth Book against *Heretics*, thus speak concerning John: 'But if at this present time * his name ought publickly to be preach'd, it would have been spoken of by him who saw the Revelation. For it was seen not a long time since, but almost in our age, about the latter end of Domitian's Reign.' But so mightily did the Doctrine of our Faith flourish in those forementioned times, that even those Writers, who were wholly estranged from our Religion have not thought it troublesome to set forth in their Histories both this Persecution, and also the Martyrdoms suffer'd therein. And they have also accurately shewn the very time; relating, that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, *Flavia Domitilla*, Daughter of the Sister of *Flavius Clemens* at that time one of the *Consuls* at Rome, was, together with many others also, banish'd into the Island *Pontia*, for the Testimony of Christ.

* Lib. 5. c. 5.

† Rev. 13.

* That is, Antichrist's name.

C H A P. XIX.

How Domitian commanded that the Descendants of David should be slain.

WHEN the same Domitian gave command that the Descendants of David should be slain, there goeth an ancient report that some Hereticks accused the Posterity of Jude, (who was the Brother of our Saviour according to the flesh) as being of the Off-spring of David, and bearing affinity to Christ himself. And this *Hegesippus* manifests word for word, saying thus.

C H A P. XX.

Concerning those that were related to our Saviour.

THERE were yet surviving (who were related to our Lord) the Nephews of that Jude, who was called the (a) Brother of Christ after the flesh, whom they accused as being descended from David. And these (b) *Evocatus* brought to *Cæsar Domitian*. For Domitian was afraid of the coming of Christ, as well as *Herod*. And he asked them, if they were of the Stock of David; and they acknowledged it. Then he questioned them how great Possessions they had, or what quantity of Money they were Masters of; and they said, that they both had but nine thousand (c) Pence, a moiety whereof belonged to each of them: and these they said they had not in ready Money, but in Land of that value, being only thirty nine Acres; of which also they paid (d) tribute, and themselves were maintained by their own labour. And then they shewed their Hands; producing, as an evidence of their working, the hardness of their Skin, and a brawniness imprinted on their Hands by reason of their assiduous labour. Being also ask'd concerning Christ and his Kingdom, of what sort it was, and when and where it would appear; they return'd answer, that it was neither Worldly nor Terrestrial, but Celestial and Angelical, that it should be at the end of the World, when he would come in Glory to judge the Quick and Dead,

(a) So he is called *Mat. 13. 55.* But it was the usual language of the Jews to call the first Cousins brethren. See *Bishop Pearson* on the Creed, pag. 175, 176. Edit. Lond. 1669. See also *Bishop Montague's* Acts and Mon. chap. 4. S. 6. concerning the *Desposyni*.

(b) *Rob. Stephens*, in his Edition of *Eusebius* calls him *ἰσκαρ*, and so does the *Med. M. S.* but in the King's M. S. I found it written [*ἰσκαρ*] which *Rob. Stephens* observed also in his Notes added at the latter end of his Edition. *Georg. Syncellus*, in *Chronico*, reads it *ἰσκαρ*. We from our three M. SS. Copies, 10 wit, *Mat.* *Fuk.* and *Sir Henry Savil's*, have made good the true writing of this place, *τίτλις δ' ὁ ἰσκαρ* ἤγαγε, and these *Evocatus* brought, &c. This reading *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* do confirm; the Words of *Rufinus* are, *Hos Revocatus quidam nomine, qui ad hoc missus fuerat, perduxit ad Domitianum.* *Nicephorus*, Lib. 3. cap. 10. has it written *ἰσκαρ*. These *Evocati* were Soldiers of an higher degree who having performed their service and being dismiss'd, were upon occasion summon'd by the Emperor himself. There is mention of these in the ancient Inscriptions, *Evoc. Aug. i. e. Evocatus Augusti*. No Man need wonder, that *Hegesippus*, a Greek writer, should make use of a Latin word here; for that is usual with him; and in this very relation of his he has [*σπαστωρεύειν*] and [*συνδεῖν*] both Latin words. *Valef.*

(c) So we translate the word [*συνδεῖν*] warranted thereto by the same translation of that word, occurring *Matth. 22. 19.* The value of that Penny there shewed Christ, was, says *Dr. Hammond* on the place, a whole *Attick Drachm*; but what value these here were of, it is hard to say, in regard there were several sorts of these *Denarii*, which were also of a different value. See *Voss. Etymol.*

(d) *φόροι* were Tributes, or Taxes, raised upon Lands, and they were commonly paid in Wheat, Barley, Wine, and the like; as it appears from *Cod. Theodosian*. *Τέλη* was the Toll gathered by the Publicans, who farmed it commonly; it was paid in ready money. The word here is *φόρος*; which we therefore render *Tribute*. *Valef.*

Domitian. and reward every Man according to his deeds. Upon which answer *Domitian* condemn'd them not, but scorning them as despicable persons, he dismiss'd them unbound, and by Edict appeased the Persecution rais'd against the Church. But they, thus released, (as 'tis said) afterwards presided over Churches, as being both Martyrs, and also allied to our Lord; and, peace ensuing, they liv'd till the Reign of *Trajan*." So far

(e) *Tertullian's* words are to this effect, *That after Nero, who first rag'd against the Christians, Domitian also, like another Nero, attempted the same; but as Men are sickle and mutable, he soon desisted from his enterprize.* But *Eusebius*, or whosoever he was that translated *Tertullian's* Apology, takes the meaning of those words [*Quia & homo*] to be, as if *Tertullian* had said, *That Domitian was something of a Man, but Nero was rather a savage Beast than a Man.* Valef.

C H A P. XXI.

That Cerdo was the third that presided over the Alexandrian Church.

Trajanus. BUT *Nerva* having reign'd something more than a year, *Trajan* succeeded him. It was his first year, wherein *Cerdo* succeeded *Avilius* who had govern'd the *Alexandrian* Church thirteen years. This *Cerdo* was the third from *Anianus*, who first presided there. At this time also *Clemens* yet govern'd the *Roman* Church, he being also the third that after (a) *Paul* and *Peter* had the Episcopal Dignity there: *Linus* being the first, and after him *Anencletus*.

(a) Here, and before, we may observe *Paul* put before *Peter* by *Eusebius*. In the Seals of the *Roman* Church *Paul* is put on the right hand, and *Peter* on the left, as *Baronius* observes, in *Expositione Concil. Nicen.* and *Eusebius* seems to make them both Bishops of *Rome* together. Valef.

C H A P. XXII.

That Ignatius was the second that presided over the Alexandrian Church.

MOREOVER, *Euodius* having been constituted the first Bishop at *Antioch*, the second was *Ignatius*, a man famous in those times: *Simeon* likewise was the second, who, after our Saviour's Brother, at the same time (a) entred upon the publick charge over the Church at *Jerusalem*.

(a) The King's M.S. reads according to our translation, *τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγκύχρησεν ὁ ἴδιος*. But the other four M. SS. i. e. *Max. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savil's* have it written *τὴν λειτουργίαν ἔχεν*, had the publick charge, &c. Valef.

C H A P. XXIII.

A Relation concerning John the Apostle.

AT the same time the Apostle and also Evangelist *John*, (the same whom *Jesus* loved) remaining yet alive in *Asia*, govern'd the Churches

there, being return'd from his Exile in the Island *Trajan*. after the death of *Domitian*: for that he was hitherto alive, it is sufficiently confirm'd by two, who evidence the matter: and they are very worthy of credit, having been constant Assertors of Catholick sound Doctrine: I mean these persons *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*: the former of whom, in his second Book against *Heresie*, writes thus word for word: * And all the Elders that * *Irenæus* were conversant in *Asia* with *John* the Disciple of our Lord, do testify that *John* deliver'd it to them: for he continued among them until *Trajan's* time." And in the third Book of that Work he manifests the same thing in these words: "Moreover, the Church at *Ephesus* was founded indeed by *Paul*, but *John*, continuing among them until *Trajan's* time, is a most faithful Witness of the Apostolick Tradition." And *Clemens* likewise, having evidently shown the time, adds withal a Relation very necessary for those who delight to hear good and profitable things (in that Work of his which he entitled, *Who that rich man is that shall be saved.*) Let us therefore take his Book and read the Story, which is thus. "Hear a Relation, which is not a feign'd Story, but a real Truth, delivered concerning *John* the Apostle, and kept in remembrance. For after the death of the Tyrant he return'd from the Island *Patmos* to *Ephesus*, and being thereto requested, he went to the neighbouring Provinces, in some places constituting Bishops, in others setting in order whole Churches, (a) and other where electing into the Clergy some one or other of those who were made known to him by the Spirit. Coming therefore to one of the Cities not far distant, the (b) name whereof some mention; and moreover having (c) refresh'd the Brethren; at length casting his eyes upon a Youth of a goodly stature of Body, comely Countenance, and lively Disposition, he look'd upon him whom he had Ordain'd Bishop, and said, This Youth I do with all imaginable care commit to thy charge, in the presence of the Church, and of Christ as a Witness. And when he had undertaken this charge, and promised his utmost care thereof, *John* declared and desired the same again; and afterwards returned to *Ephesus*. But the (d) Presbyter, taking home the Youth committed to his custody, educated him, and kept him within compass, and cherished him, and at length baptized him: but after that he abated something of his great care and caution over him, because he had fortifi'd him with that most absolute defence, to wit, the (e) Seal

(a) The Words of *Eusebius* in the Edit. of *Valesius* (which in our translation we follow) are these, *ὅτι δὲ κλήρω ἐνάγκη τινὰ κληρώσαν, &c.* In *Rob. Stephen's* Edit. of *Eusebius*, it is thus, *ὅτι δὲ γε κλήρον ἐνά τινὰ κληρώσαν, &c.* *Valesius* says, he alter'd the reading here upon account of the Authority of the three M. SS. *Max. Med. and Fuk.* rejecting the reading of the King's M. SS. (which *Rob. Stephens* followed) in that he was not able to make sense of it: And moreover, says *Valesius*, *Rufinus* his Version confirms this our Emendation; for he translates this place thus: *Rogabatur etiam vicinam illustrare provincias, quò vel Ecclesias fundaret, in quibus non erant loci; vel in quibus erant, sacerdotibus ac ministris instrueret, secundum quod ei de unoquoque Spiritus Sanctus indicasset.* Valef.

(b) The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls the name of this City *Smyrna*. Valef.

(c) *Ἀναπαύσας τὰς ἀδελφάς.* This Verb occurs often in the New Testament, as in 1 Cor. 16. 18. 2 Cor. 7. 13. &c. where our English translation generally renders it [to refresh] upon which account we thus translate it here.

(d) See Dr. *Hammond*, concerning the use of this word *Presbyter* by the Apostles and Writers of the New Testament, and by the Fathers in the first Apostolical times, in his Notes on *Acts* 11. 30.

(e) The Primitive Christians so termed Baptism, as *Gregor. Nazianz.* *Orat.* 40. where he observes that Baptism is called by Christians by divers names; *ῥάση καλῶν χειρῶν, βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, σφραγίς, ἀσφαλεία, ἐνδυμα, λήξον παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγίς πάντι τῆμον, &c.* Now the reason why Baptism is called *σφραγίς*, a Seal, is annex'd by the same *Gregory Nazianz.* because, to wit, Baptism is, as it were, a preservation, or a mark of dominion. Valef.

Trajan. the Lord. But, having obtain'd his freedom
a little too early, some idle dissolute young
men, that were inured to all manner of Vice,

(f) Περὶ οὐδὲν ἑστῶτος, the word
here in the original is the same,
in signification, with μετὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
i. e. *accedere ad aliquem, adjungi,*
to be of the same company, or to be
familiarily acquainted: only it is ta-
ken in a bad sense. Valef.

(f) keep him company:
And first of all, they en-
tice him with sumptuous
Banquets; then going out
by night to rob and strip
those they could meet
with, they carry him along

with them; afterwards they desire him to be
their Complice in greater Rogueries: So by
little and little he was accusom'd to lewdness;
and because he was high-spirited, having once
left the right way (like a strong hard-mouth'd
Horse holding the Bitt between his Teeth,) he
was so much the more fiercely hurried into de-
struction. In fine, despairing of the Salvation
of God, he spent not his thoughts now upon
any trifling design; but attempted some enor-
mous wickedness, and in as much as he was whol-
ly past all hope, he (g) scorn'd to run the hazard
of so mean a punishment as other Thieves did.

(g) Grute-
rus reads
it, ἐκ τῆς
and so Ru-
finus and
Musculus
seem to
have read;
I should
rather like
ἀμείβω, he
scorned,
&c. Valef.

Taking therefore those his Accomplices, and ha-
ving form'd them into a troop of Thieves, he
was readily made their Commander in chief;
being the fiercest, the most bloody, and cruellest
person of them all. Some time after, and there
happening some necessity for it, they send again
for John; who, after he had set in order those
things upon account whereof he came, said;
Come on, Bishop, restore us that which was com-
mitted to thy custody, which I and Christ deli-
ver'd to thee to take care of, in the presence of
the Church as witness, over which thou dost pre-
side. But he at first was astonish'd, supposing him-
self to be falsely accused about money which he
had not receiv'd; neither could he give credit to
John concerning his demand of what he had
not, nor yet durst he disbelieve him. But when
John had said, I demand the young Man and
the Soul of our Brother; the old Man, fetching
a deep sigh, and also weeping, said, he is dead.
How? and what kind of death? To God, said
he, he is dead; for he proved wicked, and ex-
treemly naught, and in conclusion a Thief. And
now in stead of continuing in the Church, he
hath taken possession of the Mountain with a
troop of Associates like himself. The Apostle
therefore having rent his Garment, and with a
great outcry smiting his Head, I left, said he,
an excellent Keeper of our Brother's Soul! But
let an Horse be presently brought me, and let
me have a Guide to direct me in the way. He
rode (as he was) forthwith from the Church,
and coming to the place, is taken by the Watch
which the Thieves had set; he flies not, nor
makes entreaty, but calls out, For this purpose I
came, bring me to your Captain: He in the
mean time, armed as he was, stood still; but as
soon as he knew John approaching, being a-
shamed, he fled: but he, forgetful of his Age,
with all possible speed pursued him; crying out,
Son, why dost thou flee from thy Father, un-
arm'd and aged? Have compassion on me, my
Son; fear not; as yet there is hopes of thy sal-
vation; I will intercede with Christ for thee; if
need require, I will willingly undergo death for
thee, as the Lord underwent it for us; I will by
way of recompence give my Soul for thine;
stand still; believe me, Christ hath sent me. He,
having heard this, first stood still looking down-
ward; then he threw away his Armour; after-
wards trembling, he wept bitterly, and embrac'd

the approaching old Man, craving pardon as
well as he could for crying, and being as it were
baptized the second time with tears; only he hid
his Right Hand. The Apostle promising him,
and solemnly swearing that he had obtain'd re-
mission for him of our Saviour, praying, knee-
ling, and kissing the young Man's Right Hand,
as being now cleansed by repentance, brought
him into the Church again. And partly by a-
bundant prayers making supplication for him,
partly with continual fastings striving together
with him, and also comforting his Mind with
divers (b) Sentences out of Holy Scripture, he
departed not, as they say, until he had (i) re-
stored him to the Church; having hereby shewn
a great example of true repentance, an illustri-
ous instance of Regeneration, and a Trophie
of a conspicuous Resurrection.

Trajan.
(b) φησὶς
ἀόρων,
are sayings
or senten-
ces taken
out of the
holy Bible,
with
which
John com-
forted the
young
Man's
mind.
Valef.

(i) There is a difference between *being brought in*, and *restored to the Church*: He is brought into the Church, who promises he will repent: But he is restored to the Church, who, having been actually and truly penitent, is received into it again, and owned as a member thereof. Valef.

C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning the Order of the Gospels.

THESE words of Clemens we have here in-
serted, upon account both of the Story it
self, and the Profit it may yield to the Readers.
But, we will now declare and recount the unque-
stionable Writings of this Apostle. And indeed
the Gospel according to him, well-known to all
the Churches throughout the World, must in the
first place be without controversie acknowledg'd
and received as undoubted and genuine. Now
that it was truly, and upon a good account put
in the fourth place after the other three Gospels
by the Ancients, may after this manner be made
apparent. Those Heavenly and truly Divine
Persons (I speak of the Apostles of Christ) ha-
ving been as to their Lives and Conversations per-
fectly purified, and as to their Souls adorn'd with
all manner of Vertue, were indeed rude of speech
and uneloquent; but they put their confidence in
that divine and wonderful power of working Mi-
racles bestow'd on them by our Saviour, and nei-
ther attempted nor knew
how to be (a) Embassadors
of their Master's Precepts in
wittiness of words and arti-
ficiousness of language. But
they solely made use of the
demonstration of the Divine
Spirit cooperating together
with them, and the power of
Christ with which they were
fully endow'd, and which by them perform'd Mi-
racles; and so they publish'd the knowledge of the
Kingdom of Heaven to the whole world; making
it the least of their care to be diligent about wri-
ting Books: And this they did, because they were
employ'd about a more excellent and more than
human work. Indeed Paul, who was the most
powerful of them all in the furniture of words,
and the most able in weighty expressions, hath left
in writing nothing more than some very (b) short
Epistles; although he could have disclosed innu-

(a) The word in the Original is
ἀπερβέβηται, which we translate, *to
be Embassadors of*, warranted there-
to from the same word occurring
1 Cor. 5. 20. and there so transla-
ted. This Word signifies the Apo-
stolical Office, and that from God
to Men, offering pardon on his
part, and requiring on their part
reformation for the future. See
Dr. Hammond on 2. Cor. 5. 20.

(b) It is
doubtful
whether
Eusebius would call Paul's Epistles *short* or *few*: Both may be said of
them; *to wit*, that they are *few*, being in number not above fourteen;
and they are *short* to them that Piously and Religiously read them over.
Origen in Libro 5. Exposition. in Evangelii. Johan. calls them, ὀλίγοι
λόγοι, that is, *containing few Verses*: He that desires to read Origen's
Words, will find them hereafter quoted in the sixth B. of Eusebius,
chap. 25. Valef.

Trajan. merable secrets, because he attained unto a contemplation of those things that are in the third Heaven, and being caught up into the divine Paradise, was vouchsafed to hear there unspeakable words. Moreover, the rest of our Saviour's Preachers, both the Twelve Apostles, and also the Seventy Disciples, together with innumerable others besides them, were not unexperienced in these things. And yet of all the Disciples of the Lord, only *Matthew* and *John* have left us written Records; who also, as report says, were necessitated to write. For *Matthew*, having preach'd first to the *Hebrews*, and being about going to other Nations, did in his own Country language pen the Gospel according to him; supplying by writing the want of his presence and converse

(c) *Nicephorus*, Libr. 2. chap. 45. reads it *τὸ λέγοντι τῷ αὐτῷ παρρησιας*; and *Rufinus* and *Museculus* translate it as we have done. But *Christophorus* interprets it otherwise; thus, and what seemed to be wanting to those from whom he departed whilst he was present with them, that he fully made up by his sedulity and labour in writing. In which translation this is to be blamed, to wit, in that he says *Matthew* wrote his Gospel after his departure from the *Hebrews*, when as *Eusebius* says the contrary; For in the Greek it is, *ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέλλετο*, i. e. from whom he was going. *Athanasius* in his *Tract de Libr. S. Scrip.* and *Chrysostome*, write that *Matthew* first wrote his Gospel at *Jerusalem*: And *Nicephorus* and the Author of *Chronic. Alexandr.* say he wrote it in the 15th year after Christ's Ascension. *Christophorus* referred those Words *τάτοις ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέλλετο* to the Words *λεγοντι*; whereas they are referred to the Word *ἀπεπλήρεν*. And in the King's *Mar.* and *Med.* M. SS. after the word *παρρησιας* and *ἐξέλλετο*, the comma is put. *Vales.*

Baptist's being shut up in prison; and that they have expressly evidenc'd the same at the beginning of their History. For, after the forty days Fast, and the Temptation that follow'd thereupon, *Matthew* does plainly set forth the time of his own writing, saying, * *When he had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed out of Judea into Galilee.* And in like manner *Mark*; † *Now after that John, says he, was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee.* And *Luke* also, before he begins the relation of the Acts of Jesus, does in like manner make this remark, saying, that *Herod, adding yet this to all the evils he had done, shut up John in prison.* Therefore they say, that the Apostle *John*, being for these causes thereto requested, has declared in a Gospel according to him, the time pass'd over in silence by the former Evangelists, and what was done by our Saviour therein, (and they were the things that he did before the imprisonment of the *Baptist*;) and that he manifests the same thing, partly when he says thus; *This beginning of miracles did Jesus*; and partly when he makes mention of the *Baptist*, whilst he is speaking of the Acts of Jesus, as being at that time * *Baptizing in Arnon, near to (d) Salem*: And this he evidently declares by saying thus; *For John, says he, was not yet cast into prison.* Therefore *John* indeed in the penning of the Gospel according to him, declares those things that were done by Christ, the *Baptist* being as yet not cast into prison; but the other three Evangelists give an account of those things Christ

did after the *Baptist's* confinement to prison. And to him that shall attentively consider these things, it will not appear that the Gospels disagree one with the other; seeing the Gospel according to *John* contains the first part of the Acts of Christ; but the remaining three give a relation of what was done by him at the latter end of the time. With good reason therefore has *John* pass'd over in silence the Genealogy of our Saviour after the flesh, as having been before written of by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and has begun with his Divinity, reserv'd as it were by the Divine Spirit for him, as being the more excellent person. Let thus much therefore be spoken by us concerning the writing of the Gospel according to *John*. Now what was the occasion of writing the Gospel according to *Mark* hath been manifested by us in what we said * before. And *Luke* also himself, in the beginning of his Gospel, hath shew'd the cause for which he compiled that History; for he makes it manifest that, because many had rashly taken in hand to make a declaration of those things which he himself most certainly knew, he judg'd it necessary to disengage us from the uncertain conjectures made by others, and therefore hath in his own Gospel deliver'd a most firm and true account of those things, the evidence whereof himself had sufficiently obtain'd, having been assisted therein both by the company and converse of *Paul*, and also by his familiarity with the rest of the Apostles: And thus much now concerning these things. But at a more opportune season we will endeavour to manifest, by a Quotation of the ancient Writers, what has been said by others concerning this very matter. Among the Writings of *John*, besides his Gospel, also the former of his Epistles hath without controversie been admitted as genuine, both by those men that are Modern, and also by the Antients: the two other Writings of his are question'd. The Opinion concerning his Revelation is even at this time on both sides much controverted among many: But this Controversie also shall at a seasonable opportunity be discuss'd by the authority of the Antients.

C H A P. XXV.

Concerning those Divine Writings, which are without controversie acknowledged; and those which are not such.

BUT it will in this place be seasonable summarily to reckon up those Books of the New Testament which have been before-mention'd. In the first place therefore is to be ranked the four Sacred Gospels: Next to which follows the Book of the Acts of the Apostles: After that are to be reckon'd the Epistles of *Paul*; after which follows that which is called the First Epistle of *John*, and in like manner the Epistle of *Peter* is to be admitted as authentick. Then is to be placed, if you think good, the Revelation of *John*: the Opinions concerning which I will in due place declare. And these are the Books that with general consent are acknowledg'd. Among those which are question'd as doubtful, which yet are approved and mention'd by many, is that which is called the Epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, also the Second Epistle of *Peter*, and those called the Second and Third Epistles of *John*, whether they were written by the Evangelist, or another of the same name with him. Amongst the

Trajan.

* Book 2. Chap. 15.

Trajan. the (a) *Spurious Works* let there be rank'd, both the Work intitl'd *The Acts of Paul*, and the Book called *Pastor*, and the *Revelation of Peter*; and moreover that which is called the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and that named the (b) *Doctrines of the Apostles*; and moreover, as I said, the *Revelation of John* (if you think good) which some, as I have said, do reject, but others allow of, and admit among those Books that are received as unquestionable and undoubted. And among these some do now number the (c) *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with which those of the *Hebrews* that have embraced the Faith of Christ are chiefly delighted. All these Books may be question'd as doubtful. And I thought it requisite to make a Catalogue of these also, that we may discriminate those Scriptures that according to Ecclesiastical Tradition are true and unforg'd, and with general consent receiv'd as undoubted, from those other Books which are not such, nor incorporated into the *New Testament*, but are question'd as doubtful; which yet have been acknowledg'd and allow'd of by many Ecclesiastical Persons: And further that we may know these very Books, and those others that have been put forth by Hereticks under the name of the Apostles, containing as well the supposed Gospels of *Peter*, *Thomas*, and *Matthias*, and of some others besides them; as also the supposed Acts of *Andrew* and *John*, and other of the Apostles. Of which Books no (d) Ecclesiastical Writer even from the Apostles times hitherto hath in any of his Works vouchsafed to make the least mention. But moreover also, the manner of the Phrase and the Style wherein they are written are much different from the Apostolick natural propriety and innate simplicity: and the meaning and drift of those things delivered in these Books, being mightily dissonant from Orthodoxal truth, doth manifestly evince that they are the forgeries of Heretical Men. Upon which account they are not to be rank'd amongst the *spurious Writings*, but altogether to be rejected, as wholly absurd and impious. But we will now proceed to what follows of our History.

(a) *Eusebius* does here use this word [*υβδου*] very improperly, to wit, to signifie those Books whose Authority is doubtful; whereas those Books are to be called *υβδου*, which are adulterated and forged by *Hereticks*, of which sort he makes mention at the end of this Chapter; which that it may more manifestly appear, you must understand, there are three sorts of Sacred Books. Some are without Controversie true; others without Controversie false; a third sort are those, of which the antients doubted. This latter sort can't be called *υβδου*, because many accounted them to be genuine: It remains therefore that the second sort only be called *υβδου*, i. e. *Spurious Books*. Of which sort is *Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans*, which *St. Jerome* says was with one consent exploded by all. But *Eusebius* corrects himself in chap. 31. of this Third Book, where he manifestly differences the *Spurious Books* from those which are doubtful. See his Words there. *Gregory Naz.* in *Iambico carmine ad Seleucum*, manifestly confirms our opinion. For of the Books of Sacred Scripture, some, says he, are genuine and true, which he there reckons up; others are supposititious, which he calls *υβδου*, *Spurious*; a third sort he makes those to be, which come nearest to those Books that are genuine; which division *Gregory* had from *Origen*, out of his 13 *Tome of Explanat. in Johan.* But to speak properly, there are but two sorts of Sacred Books, those namely that are true, and those whose authority is asserted by some, and questioned by others. For the *Spurious Books* deserve not to be reckon'd amongst the Sacred Books. *Valef.*

(b) Concerning this Book see the Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher* in his Dissertation on *Ignatius's Epistles*, Chap. 7. Edit. *Oxon.* 1644.

(c) Concerning this Gospel, *St. Jerome*, in *Catalogo*, where he is speaking of *James* the brother of our Lord, says thus, *Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, & a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque Sermonem translatum est, quo & Origenes sæpe utitur, &c. Julianus Pelagianus, Lib. 4. speaks of this Gospel, where he accuses Jerome, because in his Dialogue against the Pelagians, he made use of an authority of a fifth Gospel, which he himself had translated into Latin. But that which Eusebius adds, that the Jews which embraced Christianity are chiefly delighted with this Gospel, makes him seem to mean the *Nazareans* and *Ebionites*; for they use to read that Gospel written in Hebrew, as *St. Jerom* shews, in *Esai.* c. 11. and in *Ezech.* c. 18. *Valef.**

ἡ δὲ καὶ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, is the same as ἡ καὶ ἐκδοχὰς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, i. e. of the Ecclesiastical Writers in every Age. For, as heretofore amongst the Jews there was a succession of Prophets, tho' sometimes interrupted (as *Josephus* says in his first Book against *Apion*;) so in the Church there always was a succession of Learned Men and Writers which were called Ecclesiasticks. Moreover in the M. SS. *Mat. Med.* and *Fuk.* it is written καὶ τὰς διαδοχὰς, with the Article. *Valef.*

Trajan.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of Menander the Impostor.

Menander, succeeding *Simon Magnus*, shew'd himself to be, as to his Disposition and Manners, a second (a) Dart of Diabolical force no whit inferior to the former. He also was a (b) Samaritan; and, arriving to no less height of imposture than his Master, abounded much more in greater and more monstrous illusions: for he said that he himself was a Saviour, sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible ages; and he taught that no man could otherwise overcome the Angels the makers of this world, unless he were first instituted in the magical knowledge delivered by him, and initiated in the Baptism by him imparted. Of which Baptism those that were adjudg'd worthy, they, he affirmed, would be partakers of a perpetual immortality in this very life; they should be no longer subject to death; but continuing in this present life should be always young and immortal. And indeed 'tis easie to know all this from the Books of *Irenæus*. And *Justinus* in like manner having made mention of *Simon*, adds also a Narration of this Man, saying, "And we knew one *Menander* a Samaritan also of the Village *Caparatta*, a Disciple of *Simon's*, who being moved by the fury of Devils, and coming to *Antioch*, seduced many by magical art; who also perswaded his followers that they should not die; and at this time there are some of his Sect that profess the same." Wherefore it was the device of the Diabolical power by such Impostors, going under the name of Christians, to endeavour to illuminate by Magick the great Mystery of Godliness, and by them to expose to reproach the Ecclesiastical opinions concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the Dead. But those who joyn'd themselves to such Saviours as followers of them, were frustrated of the true hope.

Hen. Savil's, I found a far different punctuation of this place from that which *Christopherson* followed, as appears by his Version. For in the said M. SS. it is thus pointed, ὁ πλὸν δεύτερον ἐ χειρὶ τῶ πρεσβυτέρου, τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ὑποδείκνυσθαι τὸ τέρον· ἢ καὶ οὐτὸς σαμαρεὺς. And truly this punctuation is far better than the vulgar. For what can the meaning of these words be [τὸ τέρον ἢ καὶ οὐτὸς σαμαρεὺς?] I know the Jews hated the Samaritans, as the worst of Men; inasmuch that the name of Samaritan was accounted by the Jews the greatest reproach. But here *Menander's* Country is spoken of; his Manners *Eusebius* speaks of hereafter. Moreover he is said to be a Samaritan in the same sense that *Justin* in *Apologet.* and *Clemens* in *Libr. Recognit.* calls *Simon* a Samaritan; i. e. he was of the Province or Country of Samaria, he came not out of the very City Samaria. For *Simon* was of the Village *Girton*; but *Menander* of the Village *Caparatta*. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Heresie of the Ebionites.

THE malicious Devil being unable to remove others from the love of the Christ of God, finding that they might (a) some other way be surpriz'd, he made them his own. These the Antients fitly term'd *Ebionites*, in that they had a poor and low opinion of Christ: for they accounted him an ordinary man, and nothing

(a) Θαλασσιπλῆγες. A new word made up of a strange kind of composition: of θάλασσαν, and λαμβάνω, to take or catch on some other side, or some other way. *Valef.*

Trajan. thing more than a man; justified only for his proficiency in Vertue, and begotten by *Mary's* accompanying with her Husband: And they asserted that an observance of the Law was altogether necessary for them, supposing they could not be saved only by Faith in Christ and a life agreeable thereto. But others among them being of the same name have eschewed the monstrous absurdity of the fore-cited Opinions, denying not that the Lord was begotten of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost: But notwithstanding, these in like manner also, not confessing that he existed before all things, as being God the Word, and the Wisdom of the Father, are led into the same impiety with the former; especially in that they make it their business to maintain and observe the bodily worship of the Law. They also think that all the Epistles of the Apostle *Paul* ought to be rejected, calling him an Apostate from the Law: they made use only of the Gospel called *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*; the rest they made small account of: They observ'd also the Sabbath and all other Judaical Rites in like manner as the *Jews* do; but on *Sundays* they perform'd the same things with us in remembrance of the Lord's Resurrection. From whence, because of such opinions by them held, they got this name, *to wit*, the appellation of *Ebionites*, a name that betokens the poverty of their understanding. For by this name a Beg-

(b) *בגין* gar is called amongst the (b) *Hebrews*.

signifies

Egenus, a beggar, in Hebrew; from the theam *בגין* *Voluit, desideravit*; because a beggar desires, or craves supplies for his wants. *Buxtorf's Lexic. Rab.* See *Origen. Lib. 4. de Princip.* concerning these Hereticks.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the Arch-Heretick Cerinthus.

WE have heard that at the same time there was one *Cerinthus* a Founder of another Heresie. *Cains*, whose words I before quoted, in that Disputation of his now extant, writes thus concerning him. 'But *Cerinthus* also, who by Revelations written by himself, as it were by some great Apostle, hath feign'd monstrous Narrations as if they had been shew'd him by Angels, and sets them abroad amongst us, saying, that after the Resurrection the Kingdom of Christ will be terrestrial, and that men living again in the flesh at *Jerusalem* shall be subject to Desires and Pleasures. He also being an enemy to Divine Scripture, and (a) desirous to induce men into error, says that there shall be the number of a thousand years spent in a Nuptial Feast.' And *Dionysius* also, who in our time was chosen Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, (b) in his second Book concerning Promises, speaking something of the *Revelation of John*, as from ancient tradition, mentions this Man in these words: 'But *Cerinthus*, the Founder of the Heresie called from him the *Cerinthian Heresie*, was, they say, the Author of that

(a) *Θέλων σπλανάν*. So it is Printed in *Rob. Stephen's Edition*, I know not by what accident. Which error of the Press the *Geneva Edition*

afterwards followed: But we, from our M. SS. copies, and from *Nicephorus* his Book, have made good the true reading of this place, thus, *Θέλων πλανάν*, desirous to induce Men into error, &c. *Valef.*

(b) It should be thus written *ἐν δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ ἐπαγγελιών*, in his second Book concerning promises. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrote two Books of promises, or rewards, which God promised to give to pious Men after this Life. The second of these was written against *Nepos* a Bishop of *Egypt*, who from the *Revelation of John* asserted that Christ's Kingdom would be terrestrial, as *Eusebius* declares in his seventh Book. *Valef.*

Book, (c) being desirous to put a creditable name *Trajan.* upon his own forgery. For this was one of the Tenets of his Doctrine, that the Kingdom of (c) This Christ should be terrestrial: And those things place of *Dionysius* which he, being a lover of his body, and alto- is to be ther carnally minded, earnestly lusted after, in found them he dreamt the Kingdom of Christ con- whole and sisted, *to wit*, in the Satiety of the Belly, and entire in of those parts beneath the Belly; that is, in the 7th B. Meats, Drinks and Marriages, and in those History, things whereby he thought these might with a chap. 25. (d) greater pretence and shew of piety be pro- from cured, *that is*, in Feasts, Sacrifices, and in the thence is slaying of Offerings." Thus far *Dionysius*. But the expli- to be had *Irenæus*, in his first Book against Heresies, does recite cation of some more secret false Opinions of this Man's; this pas- and in his third Book he delivers in writing a cer- sage. Some tain Story (unworthy to be forgotten) as from say *Dio- nysius* there the Tradition of *Polycarp*, saying, that *John* the said that Apostle going on a time to the Bath to bath him- the Book self, and understanding that *Cerinthus* was with- of the Re- in, retired in great haste from that place, and was made fled out at the door, not enduring to go under by *Cerin- the same roof with him; and that he perswaded thus the* those who were with him to do so also, saying, *Arch-He- retick,* Let us be gone, lest the Bath fall, *Cerinthus*. that who pub- enemy of the Truth being within it. lished it under the

name of *John the Apostle*, that he might get the greater authority for his own Opinions. *Valef.*

(d) *Christophorson*, in stead of [*ἐυφημότερον*] read [*εὐθυμότερον*] from B. 7 c. 25. But that place in B. 7. is rather to be corrected by this, than this corrupted from that. Our M. SS. Copies *Max.* and *Med.* have it written *εὐθυμότερον* in B. 7. So also *Nicephorus* in his 3d B. c. 14. Under the name of Feasts and Sacrifices *Cerinthus* hid his Lusts, that he might make a shew of honesty and decency.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of Nicholas, and those Hereticks who bear his name.

(a) AT this time the Heresie called the Here- (a) In the sie of the *Nicholaites*, continued for a M. SS. very short time; of which also the *Revelation of* and Sir *John* makes mention. These boasted of *Nicholas H. Savil's* (one of the Deacons, who together with *Stephen* it is ἐπὶ τὰ πτωχὰ, i. e. were Ordain'd by the Apostles to minister to the poor) as the Author of their Sect. Now *Clemens A-* after him, *lexandrinus* in the third of his *Stromatôn* relates *Cerinthus*. thus much of him word for word: 'He, they *Valef.* say, having a beautiful Wife, being after our Saviour's Ascension blamed by the Apostles for his Jealousie, brought his Wife forth, and permitted her to marry whom she had a mind to. For this deed, they report, is agreeable to that saying of his, *to wit*, That we ought to abuse the Flesh. Those therefore who follow his Heresie, (b) simply and rashly assenting to this say- (b) These Words ing, and imitating this deed, do most impu- [*ἀπλῶς καὶ ῥαβδωδῶς*] dently give themselves over to Fornication. But I am given to understand that *Nicholas* πῶς, i. e. made use of no other Woman besides her he simply and married; and that those of his Children which ought to were Daughters remained Virgins when they be refer- red to the

Word [*καὶ ἀκολούθησαν αὐτῷ*, i. e. assenting to] and not to the Word [*εἰρημύω*, i. e. this saying:] Which being not minded by *Christophorson*, he widely mistook *Clemens* his meaning. For *Clemens* does not say that that fact, or that saying was done or said by *Nicholas* rashly and inconsiderately. Yea, he declares in the 2d of his *Stromatôn* about the latter end, that this saying [*ἀπλῶς καὶ ῥαβδωδῶς τῇ παρὰ*] was one of *Nicholas* his Apophthegms, or Pithy Speeches. Which saying of his, his followers interpreted so, as if *Nicholas* had commanded every one to abuse his Flesh with all manner of voluptuousness and lasciviousness: But *Nicholas* meant the clean contrary by this his speech, *to wit*, that the Flesh ought not to be indulged to, but to be kept under, and wearied out with continual exercises of Vertue. *Valef.*

were

Trajan. were old; and his Son continued undefil'd by women. Which things being thus, his bringing of his Wife, (over whom he was said to be jealous) forth before the Apostles, was a sign of his rejecting and bridling his passion; and by those words of his [*that we ought to abuse the Flesh,*] (c) he taught Continence, and an abstaining from those Pleasures which are with so much earnestness desired by men. For, I suppose, he would not (according to our Saviour's commandment) serve two Masters, Pleasure and the Lord. Moreover, they say, that *Matthias* taught the same Doctrine, that we should war against the Flesh, and abuse it, allowing it nothing of pleasure; but that we should enrich the Soul by Faith and Knowledge." Let thus much therefore be spoken concerning those who endeavour'd about that time to deprave the Truth, but on a sudden were wholly extinct.

(c) These words are spoken by *Clemens Alexandrinus* by way of Enallage; for thus they are to be taken, as if he had said, *ὅτι τὴν σαρκὶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν γνώμην*, i. e. by those words of his [*that we ought to abuse the flesh*] He taught Continence and an abstaining from pleasures, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning those Apostles that are found to have been married.

BUT *Clemens*, whose words we even now recited, after that Passage of his before-quoted, does reckon up those Apostles that are found to have been married, upon account of such as despise Marriage; saying, What will they reprehend even the Apostles also? For *Peter* and *Philip* begat Children; and *Philip* match'd his Daughters to Husbands. *Paul* also, in one of his Epistles, fears not to name his Wife, whom he carried not about with him, that he might with more expedition perform his Ministrations." But because we have mention'd these things, it will not be troublesome to produce also another Story of his worthily memorable, which he hath set forth in the seventh of his *Stromaton*, after this manner: "Now they say that *St. Peter*, seeing his Wife led to be put to death, rejoiced because she was call'd by God, and because she was returning home: and that calling her by her name he exhorted and comforted her, saying, O woman remember the Lord. Such was the Wedlock of the Saints, and such the entire Affection of most dear Friends." And thus much, being pertinent to the subject now in hand, we have here seasonably plac'd.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Death of John and Philip.

IN deed, both the time and manner of the death of *Paul* and *Peter*, and moreover the place where after their departure out of this life their Bodies were deposited, we have before manifested: concerning the time of *John's* death we have already also in some sort spoken; but the place of Sepulchre is demonstrated by the Epistle of *Polycrates* (who was Bishop of the *Ephesian* Church) which he wrote to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he mentions both him and also *Philip* the Apostle and his Daughters after this manner. "For also in *Asia* the Great (a) Lights are dead, which

(a) *Μεγάλας φωταί.* *Jerome* and *Musculus* translate it *Elementa*, elements, or foundations. *Christophorson* turns it *Seminaria*, Seedplots: But *Rufinus* best of all, calls it *Lumina*, Lights. For the *Grecians* were wont to call the Signs of the Zodiac *φωταί.* So *Diogen. Laert.* in the Life of *Menedemus*. Now the Heathens call'd those Signs so, because they thought the Principles of the lives and fortunes of Men were placed in them. See *Epiphani. in Hæres. Phariseorum.* *Vales.*

shall be raised again at the last day, the day of the Lord's coming, wherein he shall come with Glory from Heaven, and shall find out all his Saints: I mean (b) *Philip* one of the Twelve Apostles who died at *Hierapolis*; and two of his Daughters who continued Virgins to the end of their lives. Also his other (c) Daughter, who having lived by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, died at *Ephesus*. And moreover *John*, who leaned on the Breast of the Lord, and was a Priest and wore a (d) plate of Gold, and was a Martyr and a Doctor; this *John*, I say, died at *Ephesus*." And thus much concerning their deaths. And also in the *Dialogue* of *Caius*, of which we a little before made mention, *Proculus*, against whom he instituted the dispute, agreeing with what we have inforded concerning the death of *Philip* and his Daughters, says thus; "After that also, the four Prophetesses the Daughters of *Philip* were at *Hierapolis* a City of *Asia*, their Sepulchre is there, and also their Father's." Thus he, *Luke* likewise in the *Acts* of the Apostles makes mention of the Daughters of *Philip* that lived then at *Cæsarea* of *Judea* with their Father, who were endow'd with the gift of Prophecy, saying word for word thus: "We came unto *Cæsarea*, and we entered into the House of *Philip* the Evangelist, (which was one of the Seven) and abode with him. And the same Man had four Daughters, Virgins, which did Prophecy." Having thus far therefore treated of those things which came to our knowledge, both concerning the (e) Apostles and the Apostolick times, and the Sacred Writings they left us, both those that are question'd as doubtful, which yet are publickly read by many in most Churches, and those also that are altogether spurious and repugnant to Apostolical found Doctrine, we now proceed to the subsequent part of our History.

(b) *Christophorson* in this place did in no wise perform the office of a good translator, who for *Philip* one of the Twelve Apostles put in *Philip* one of the seven Deacons. It was an ancient mistake, to confound *Philip* the Deacon at *Cæsarea* of *Judea* with their Father, who were and Evangelist with *Philip* the Apostle. And because they read *Acts* 21. v. 8, 9. that *Philip* had four daughters, that *Proculus* prophesied, they altered *Philip* the Apostle was married and begot daughters.

ters. So, besides *Polycrates*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* said in the foregoing chap. and so said *Papias*, as we shall see hereafter. But from the *Acts* of the Apostles it may be manifestly gathered, that *Philip* the Deacon (he that Baptized the Eunuch, and that had the four Daughters that were Prophetesses) was not the same with *Philip* the Apostle, but another Man. See *Isidore Pelusiota*, in his first Book Epist. 447. and so on, where he evidently demonstrates this. *Vales.*

(c) This third Daughter of *Philip*, *Polycrates* separates from the other two which died Virgins; whence it may be collected that she was married. Neither is this repugnant to the *Acts* c. 21. For it may be answered that then when these things were done that *Luke* mentions, *Philip's* Daughters were Virgins: But afterwards one of them was given in marriage by her Father. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* seems to intimate thus much in those words of his, which *Eusebius* quotes in the foregoing chap. Moreover *Christophorson* confounds this third daughter of *Philip's* with the two former. Whose translation did much trouble *Baronius* as appears from his *Annals*, ad Annum Christi 58. chap. 113. *Eusebius* repeats this passage of *Polycrates* in his fifth Book chap. 24. where *Christophorson* does rightly distinguish the three Daughters of *Philip*, and amends his former error. But it may here be deservedly questioned, why *Polycrates* mentions only three Daughters of *Philip's*, whereas in the *Acts* they are counted four. I answer *Polycrates* mentioned only those that died and were buried in *Asia*, as may be seen from his whole Epistle which is recited in the fifth Book of *Euseb. Hist.* seeing therefore one of the four Daughters died at *Cæsarea*, or some where else, upon that account *Polycrates* mentions her not. Moreover of these Daughters of *Philip*, one was called *Hermione*, the other *Eutychis*. For so it is in *Menæo Græcorum* die 4. Sept. See the place. *Vales.*

(d) *Τὸ πέταλον*, that's the word in *Polycrates* here quoted by *Eusebius*. The 72 use this word *Exod.* 28. 36. for so they translate *כִּתְיָה* the Hebrew word there, which properly signifies a floor, but by our translators is in English rendred a plate there, and afterwards, *Exod.* 39. 30. it is called a plate of the Holy Crown. It was a long plate of Gold, two fingers broad, and reach'd from one Ear of the Priest to the other, says *Maimon.* in his Treatise of the Implements of the Sanctuary, Chap. 9. Sect. 1. See *Ainsworth* on the Pentat.

(e) In our four MSS. copies, *Max. Med. Fuk.* and *Sir Hen. Savil's*, I found it written *ὅτι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποστόλων ἀντὶ*, i. e. concerning the Apostles themselves, the word *ἀντὶ* being in them added. *Vales.*

Trajan.

C H A P. XXXII.

How Simeon the Bishop of Jerusalem suffered Martyrdom.

After the Persecution of Nero and Domitian, whose times we now recount, there was a Persecution raised against us by piece-meal throughout every City, which proceeded from a popular Insurrection. In which we have by tradition received,

(a) In the King's MS. it is *Σίμων*, *Simon*, as *Rob. Stephens* observed. *Jerom*, in *Chronico*, testifies that the name of this Bishop of Jerusalem was written two ways, to wit, *Simeon* and *Simon*. The same *Georg. Synellus* observes, and also the Author *Chronici Alexandrini*. Valef.

ved, that (a) *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, who we declar'd was constituted the second Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem, finish'd his life by Martyrdom. And this the same Writer attesteth, several words of whose we have

before quoted, that is, *Hegesippus*: Who, giving a relation of certain Hereticks, adds, that this *Simeon*, being at that time by them accused and tormented divers ways, and for the space of many days, because he was a Christian, struck with a great amazement both the Judge and those about him, and at length died by the same kind of suffering that the Lord did. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the Writer relating these things word for word, thus: 'Some of those Hereticks accus'd *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, as being a Descendant from *David*, and a Christian; and so he suffered Martyrdom when he was an hundred and twenty years old, under *Trajan* the Emperor, and

(b) That is, when *Atticus* was Deputy of Syria. The Syrians us'd to shew their years, by the name of these their Presidents. Moreover, of the Emperor's Deputies some were of the Consular Order; others of the Pretorian. Wherefore *Atticus* is here called *ὑπασις*, to shew that he was of the Consular Order, or had been Consul. In the MS. Copies of *Rufinus* his translation (that is in the King's Library) it is, *Alatyr effectus est cum esset annorum centum xxx. i. e. he was Alatyr'd when he was 125 years old.* Valef.

(b) *Atticus* of the Consular order then President of Syria."

And the same Author says, that those his accusers, (such as were of the Royal Family of the Jews being at that time sought for) hapned to be convicted, as belonging to that Family. Now, should any one say that this *Simeon* was one of those who both saw and heard the Lord, he would speak what is in no wise absurd, having as an undoubted Evidence

thereof the great length of his life, and the mention made in the Gospels of *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*; whose Son that he was, * our former words

* Book 3. chap. 11. have manifested. Also the same Writer says, that others, related to one of those called the Brethren of our Saviour (whose name was *Judas*) lived until this † Emperor's Reign, after their profession of the Faith of Christ under *Domitian*, * which we mentioned before. For thus he writeth, 'They

† i. e. *Trajan's*. * Book 3. chap. 20. come therefore and preside over the whole Church, as being Martyrs, and of the Kindred of our Lord. And a profound Peace ensuing over the whole Church, they continued alive till the times of *Trajan* the Emperor, until the foresaid *Simeon*, the son of *Cleophas* (who was (c) Uncle to our Lord) being accused by the (d) Hereticks, was in like manner also impeach'd for the (e) same thing before *Atticus* the President. And being cruelly tortured for many days he with

(c) That is, because he married *Mary* the Sister to the Blessed Virgin. See Note A in chap. 11. of this Book.

(d) The Author *Chronici Alexandrini* supposes that the *Cerinthian* Hereticks and the *Nicholaites* are here meant: To whom I do not assent. *Hegesippus* means those Sects which at that time were potent at Jerusalem, to wit, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and others, of whom hereafter, at Book 4. Chap. 22. Valef.

(e) That is, because he Preach'd the Faith of Christ, as he said before, and says again, Book. 4. Chap. 22. Valef.

constancy professed the Faith of Christ; in so much that the President and all those about him wondred greatly, how a man of an hundred and twenty years old as he was, could have endured such torments. And in fine, it was order'd he should be crucified." Moreover the same Man, relating what was done in those times, adds, that until then the (f) Church continued a pure and undefiled Virgin; those who endeavour'd to corrupt the sound Rule of wholesome Doctrine, if any such persons there were, absconding themselves hitherto in obscure darkness. But after the sacred company of the Apostles was by various kinds of death become extinct, and that generation of those men, who were accounted worthy to hear with their own ears the Divine Wisdom, was gone, then the conspiracy of impious Error took its rise from the deceit of False Teachers; who, in as much as not one of the Apostles was then surviving, did now at length with a bare face attempt to preach up—the knowledge falsely so call'd, in opposition to the Doctrine of the Truth. (g) And thus much this Author, treating of these things, has after this manner said. But we will proceed to what in order follows of our History.

B. 4. *Eusebius* seems to have attributed that to the whole Church which *Hegesippus* spake of the Church at Jerusalem in particular. Valef.

(g) All these Words, to the end of the Chapter, are wanting in the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. neither doth *Rufinus* acknowledge them in his translation, as appears therefrom. And this whole Clause seems to me to be Spurious and supposititious. For whosoever added it, thought the Words that went before were *Hegesippus's*; whereas they are not his, but *Eusebius's*, as we may see from chap. 22. B. 4. Valef.

C H A P. XXXIII.

How Trajan forbade that the Christians should be sought after.

Moreover, so great a Persecution raged against us at that time in many places, that *Plinius Secundus* the most eminent amongst the Governours of Provinces, being moved at the multitude of Martyrs, gave the Emperor an account of the great numbers of those that were destroy'd because of their Faith; and together therewith certified him, that he found they did nothing of Impiety, nor acted any thing contrary to the Laws; only that they rose at break of day, and sung Hymns to Christ, as unto God; but that they abhor'd the commission of Adultery and Murther, and such-like horrid crimes; and that they did all things consonant to the Laws. Upon account of which *Trajan* made this Edict, That the Christians should not be sought out; but if by accident they were lighted on, they should be punish'd. Which being done, the most vehement heat of the Persecution that lay heavy upon us, was in some measure quenched: but to those who had a mind to do us mischief there remain'd Pretexts no whit less fair and specious; in some places the People, in others the Rulers of the Provinces, forming treacheries against us; in so much that even when there was no open and general persecution, yet there were particular ones throughout the Provinces, and very many of the Faithful underwent various sorts of Martyrdoms. We have taken this account out of *Tertullian's* Apology, written in Latin (of which we before made mention) the Translation whereof is thus; 'But we have found that the inquisition after us has been prohibited. For *Plinius Secundus*, when he was Governour of the Province, having condemned some Christians, and deprived other

some

Trajan. some, being at length troubled at their great number, asked advice of *Trajan* then the Emperor, what he should do with the residue, saying, that, besides their obstinacy in not sacrificing, he found nothing of impiety in their religious Myſteries, only that they held early Aſſemblies in ſinging Hymns to Chriſt as unto God, and that they had a (a) certain Symbol or Signal of their Polity; that they forbade Murder, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiousneſs, and ſuch like crimes. Then *Trajan* returned answer, that thoſe ſort of Men ſhould not indeed be diligently ſought out, but if by chance (b) they were lighted on and brought before the Governours, they ſhould be puniſhed." And this was then the poſture of Affairs.

(a) He that tranſlated the Words of *Tertullian* into Greek, has rendered them unhappily. For neither

does ἐπισημήν ſignifie diſcipline, nor διαουλάσσειν, to agree together. I would therefore rather tranſlate theſe Words of *Tertullian* thus, καὶ ἵνα ὡς περὶ τὸ σύμβολον ἔχουσιν τῆς ἀντιπάλῃς πολιτείας, i. e. and that they had a certain Symbol or Signal of their Polity. Valeſ.

(b) Here alſo the Greek Tranſlator of *Tertullian* hath done ill; for *Tertullian*, or rather *Trajan*, calls thoſe Oblatos, who were brought in before the Judges; for ſo the Latines uſe to ſpeak. The ſenſe therefore of the Emperor *Trajan*'s Reſcript againſt the Chriſtians is this, that the Governours of Provinces ſhould not too diligently hunt after the Chriſtians by ſending out Spies and Officers to take them, but if any Chriſtians were by chance found out by their Officers, or if they were made appear to be ſuch by their Accuſers, that then they ought to be puniſhed. Valeſ.

C H A P. XXXIV.

That Evarestus was the Fourth that governed the Roman Church.

Clemons, one of the Roman Biſhops, having left his Epiſcopal Office to *Evarestus*, finiſhed his life in the third year of the foreſaid Emperor's Reign; when he had had the charge of the Doctrine of the Divine Word for full nine years ſpace.

C H A P. XXXV.

That Juſtus was the Third that governed the Church at Jeruſalem.

BUT moreover, *Simeon* having finiſhed his life after the foreſaid manner, a certain Jew, by name *Juſtus*, ſucceeded in the Epiſcopal Seat at *Jeruſalem*; there being then an innumerable company of the Circumciſion (of which he was one) that believed in Chriſt.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning Ignatius and his Epiſtles.

Moreover, at this time *Polycarp* a Diſciple of the Apoſtles flouriſhed in *Aſia*, to whom was committed the Biſhoprick of the Church at *Smyrna*, by thoſe that ſaw and miniſtered to the Lord. At the ſame time (a) *Papias* was famous, who alſo was Biſhop of the Church at *Hierapolis*, a man moſt eminently learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures. *Ignatius* alſo, renowned amongſt many even to this day, who was choſen Biſhop of *Antioch*, being the ſecond and in ſucceſſion there, after *Peter*. Report goes that this Man was ſent from *Syria* to *Rome* to be made food for Wild Beaſts, upon account of the Profeſſion of his Faith in Chriſt. And being led through *Aſia* under the cuſtody of a moſt watchful Guard, he confirm'd the Churches in every City through which he paſſed, by Diſcourſes and Exhortations; warning them moſt eſpecially to take heed of the Hereſies, which then firſt ſprung up and increaſed: And he exhorted them firmly to keep the Traditions of the Apoſtles, which he thought neceſſary for the more certain knowledge of Poſterity to be put in writing, having confirm'd them by his own teſtimony. Coming therefore at length to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarp* then was, he wrote one Epiſtle to the Church at *Ephesus*, mentioning *Onesimus* the Paſtor there; and another to the Church at *Magnesia* ſtanding on the River *Meander*, wherein again he makes mention of *Damas* the Biſhop: and another to the Church at *Trallis*, the Governour whereof at that time he declares was *Polybius*. Beſides theſe Epiſtles he wrote alſo to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he earneſtly beſeeches them that they would not intreat him to avoid Martyrdom, leſt they ſhould defraud him of his deſired hope. Out of which Epiſtle 'tis worth our quoting ſome ſhort Paſſages for the confirmation of what we have ſaid. Thus therefore he writes word for word: "From *Syria* to *Rome* I fight with Beaſts, by ſea and land, day and night, bound to ten Leopards, that is, to a File of Soldiers, who being kindly treated by me, become (b) worſe. But by their Injuries I am the more inſtructed; but for all that I am not juſtified. Oh! that I might enjoy the Wild Beaſts that are provided for me! which I even heartily wiſh may be found to be fierce! which I will allure to devour me immediately, that they ſpare me not, as out of fear they have left ſome untouched. But if they be unwilling to do it, I will compel them by force. Pardon me; I know what is good for me: Now I begin to be a Diſciple: (c) Let nothing viſible or inviſible divert me from, or envy my happineſs of attaining Chriſt Jeſus. Let Fire and the Croſs, the Aſſaults of the Wild Beaſts, the pulling aſunder of Bones, the cutting off of Members, the ſtamping in pieces of the whole Body, the puniſhment of the Devil, come upon me; ſo I may obtain Chriſt Jeſus. And thus much he wrote from the foreſaid City to the Churches before named. Being now gone beyond *Smyrna*, he from *Troas* again ſent Letters to thoſe at *Philadelphia*, alſo to the Church at *Smyrna*, and privately to *Polycarp* the Prelate thereof: To whom, becauſe he well knew him to be an Apoſtolic Man, he entruſted his Flock at *Antioch*, being a very true and good Paſtor; requeſting him, that he would have a diligent care thereof. The ſame perſon writing to thoſe of *Smyrna*, borrows ſome concerning words, which whence he had I (d) know not; out of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews; which was either omitted by *Eusebius*, or unknown to him. *Jerome*, in his Book *De Eccleſiaſt. Scriptor.* informs us hereof; as alſo in his 18 B. of Commentaries on *Eſaiab*. See *Uſher's* Annotat. on *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, pag. 43. number 23.

(a) This whole Elogie of *Papias* is wanting in our MSS. copies, *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* Neither did *Rufinus* read theſe Words in his Copies, as may be gathered from his Tranſlation. Wherefore I doubt not but they were inſerted by ſome unſkilful Scholiast, againſt the mind and opinion of *Eusebius*. For how can it be, that *Eusebius* ſhould here ſtile *Papias* a Man moſt excellently learned, and very ſkilful in the Scriptures, whenas himſelf does at the end of this Book expreſſly affirm, that *Papias* was a Man of an ordinary Wit, and altogether ignorant and ſimple. Valeſ.

(b) In the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. 'tis read χετέρες χυνοίαι. A little after I read, with *Iſaac Voſſius*, αὐτὸν ἐξομῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐγγεθῆναι, that is, which I heartily wiſh may be found to be fierce, which amendment *Rufinus* his Tranſlation confirms. For thus he turns it, Quas ergo opto acrioras parari. Therefore *Rufinus* read, οὐρανὸν, not οὐρανῶν, which ſignifies [soon, or ſtraight-ways.] The ſame Error is amended by us hereafter, in the ſixth Book; for there οὐρανῶν was Printed for οὐρανός. Valeſ. But Biſhop *Uſher* reads χετέρες; and alſo, οὐρανῶν. See his Annotat. on this Epiſtle, Number 48.

(c) It is as much as if *Ignatius* had ſaid, Let nothing envy me the Glory of being a Diſciple of Chriſt; Let no Man pluck me from his Embraces. The holy Martyr alludes, as he uſes to do, to thoſe Words of St. Paul, Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love of Chriſt? Rom. 8. 35. Valeſ. See Biſhop *Uſher's* Notes on *Ignatius* Epiſt. to the Romans, Number 52.

(d) This paſſage of *Ignatius's* ing Chriſt is taken

some

Trajan. Speaking thus much concerning Christ; 'But I both know and believe that after the Resurrection he was in the flesh; and that, coming to Peter and those who were about him, he said unto them, take hold of me, handle me, and see, for I am not an incorporeal Spirit: And straightway they touch'd him, and believed.' *Irenaeus* also speaks of his Martyrdom, and mentions his Epistles, saying thus: 'As one of our Men, condemn'd to the Wild Beasts for his Faith in God, said, I am the Bread-corn of God, and I must be ground by the Teeth of Wild Beasts, that I may be found to be pure Bread.' And *Polycarp* mentions the same Epistles in that of his to the *Philippians*, in these very words: 'I therefore beseech you all to obey those that are over you, and to exercise all manner of Patience, which you have evidently seen, not only in those Blessed Men *Ignatius*, *Rufus*, and *Zosimus*, but also in others of us; likewise in *Paul* himself, and in the other Apostles; being fully perswaded that all these ran not in vain, but proceeded in Faith and Righteousness; and that they are in that place due to them from the Lord, together with whom they suffer'd. For they loved not this present World, but him who died for us, and was by God raised for us again.' And a little after he adds; 'Both you and *Ignatius* wrote to me, that if any one went into *Syria*, he should carry your Letters thither: Which I will do if I can get a fit opportunity; either I my self, or some other, whom I will send as a Messenger on purpose for you. Those Epistles of *Ignatius* sent by him to us, and all the other we had here with us, we have sent to you, according as you enjoyn'd us; they are made up with this Letter; from which Epistles you may profit very much; for they contain Faith, Patience, and whatever is conducive to our Edification in the Lord.' And thus much concerning *Ignatius*: After whom succeeded *Heros* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning those Preachers of the Gospel who at that time were eminent.

In our MSS. Max Med. Tuk. and Sir Henry Savils, it is written, Διαπρεπισται, i. e. eminent, or excellent Disciples. Valef.

Among those who were illustrious in those times *Quadratus* was one, who, as some say, flourished at the same time with the Daughters of *Philip*, in the gift of Prophecy. Many others also besides these were famous at that time, having obtain'd the first place among the Successors of the Apostles: Who, because they were the (a) eminent Disciples of such Men, built up those Churches, the Foundations whereof were every-where laid by the Apostles; promoting greatly the Doctrine of the Gospel, and scattering the salutary Seed of the Kingdom of Heaven at large over the whole World. For many of the then Disciples, whose Souls were inflamed by the Divine Word with a more ardent desire of Philosophy, first fulfilled our Saviour's Commandment, by distributing their Substance to those that were necessitous; then after that travelling abroad, they perform'd the work of Evangelists to those who as yet had not heard the word of Faith; being very ambitious to preach Christ, and to deliver the Books of the Divine Gospels. And these Persons, having only laid the foundation of Faith in remote and barbarous places, and constituted other Pastors, committed to them

Trajan. the culture of those they had perfectly introduc'd to the Faith, departed again to other Regions and Nations, accompanied with the Grace and Cooperation of God. For the Divine Spirit as yet wrought many wonderful works by them; inso-much that at the first hearing, innumerable multitudes of men did with most ready minds altogether admit of and engage themselves in the worship of that God who is the Maker of all things. But it being impossible for us to recount by name all those who in the first Succession of the Apostles were Pastors or Evangelists in the Churches throughout the world, we will here commit to writing the mention of their names only, whose writings, containing the Apostolical Doctrine they delivered, are to this day extant amongst us.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens, and those other Writings, which are falsely attributed to him.

AS for example, the Epistles of *Ignatius*, which we have reckoned up, and that of *Clemens* acknowledg'd by all as undoubted, which he wrote in the name of the Roman to the *Corinthian* Church. Wherein, seeing he has inserted many Sentences taken out of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and sometimes had made use of the express words of it, it evidently manifests that that Work is not new; whence it has seem'd agreeable to reason to reckon this Epistle amongst the rest of the Writings of that Apostle. For *Paul* having written to the *Hebrews* in his own Country-Language, some say that *Luke* the Evangelist, but others that this *Clemens*, of whom we speak, translated that Work. Which latter seems the truest Opinion, because both the Style both of *Clemens's* Epistle, and also of that to the *Hebrews* appears to be very like; and the Sense and Expressions in both the Works are not much different. You must also know that there is a second Epistle, which is said to be *Clemens's*: But we know for certain that this is not so generally acknowledg'd, nor approved of as the former, because we are sure the Antients have not quoted any Authorities out of it. Further also, some have of late produced other voluminous and large Works, as if they were his, containing the (a) Dialogues of *Peter* and (b) *Apion*; (c) of which there is not the least mention extant amongst the Antients; neither does there appear in them the (d) pure Form of Apostolical sound Doctrine. Now therefore 'tis apparent which are the genuine and undoubted Writings of *Clemens*: we have also spoken sufficiently concerning the Works of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*.

Antioch with *Anubion* about the same time that the Apostle *Peter* came thither. But there is nothing said there of *Peter's* dispute with *Apion*. What shall we say then? That the Book of *Clemens* which contains *Peter's* dispute with *Apion* is different from his Books *Recognit.*? To me indeed they seem not to be two Books. For if there had been two Books of *Clemens's*, the one *Recognit.* the other containing the dispute of *Peter* with *Apion*, why should *Eusebius* mention one only, and omit the other; There was therefore but one Book of *Clemens's*, entitled *πρεδξαι*, or *Πρεδξαι Πέτρης*. But 'twas divided into two parts; the former mentioned *Matidia* and *Faustianus* to be acknowledged of their Children; in the second part was contained the Dialogues of *Peter* and *Apion*. Indeed *Rufinus*, who translated that Book of *Clemens's* into Latin, does testify, in his Epistle to *Gaudentius* the Bishop, that there were two parts of this Book in the Greek; in the one of which some things occurred which the other had not: He writes also, that on set purpose he omitted some things, because they disagreed from sound Doctrine. (b) This name is written with a double p, in all our MSS. but that of Mr. *Fukett*, where 'tis writ with a single p, as it is in *Josephus* and others. *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* chap. 112. agrees with our Copies; and

(a) In the 10th Book *Recognit.* of *Clemens Romanus* there is mention of *Apion*, who is said to have come to

and Clemens also in B. 10. *Recognit.* where he says that *Appion Plistonicensis* came to Antioch with *Anubion*. Lastly *Agellius*, in his 6 B. says *Appion Græcus homo qui Plistonices est appellatus*. Undoubtedly *Appion* is a Roman name, wrested into a Greek form, as is *μαρκίων*, *νοδπαριων*, and the like. *Appion* was a common name amongst the Egyptians derived from *Apis*, whom they worshipped; as, *Serapion*, *Anubion*, and the like. *Ptolemæus* King of the *Cyrenæ* was called *Apion*. Wherefore seeing this Grammarian the Son of *Plistonices* was an Egyptian, it seems that he should be called *Apion*, rather than *Appion*. For *Appion* that was Consul in *Justinian's* time, the Latin Annals calls *Appion*, but the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls him *Apion*. Valef.

(c) But *Origen*, in his 3d Book *Explanat.* on *Genesis*, makes mention of these Books of *Clemens's*; and quotes a passage out of them, which is still extant in the Books of *Clemens's Recognit.* This quotation of *Origen's* is in the 22 chap. *Philocal.* (pag. 81. Edit. *Cambr.* 1658.) and in the common Editions of that piece the place is said to be taken out of his B. 2. against *Celsus*; but in the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus* now extant, it is not to be found. This quotation out of *Clemens* is indeed in his 3d B. *Explanat.* on *Genesis*. — But I have observed that *Origen* does often quote Books, whose Authority is unknown; wherein he does, like the Bee, gather Honey from venomous Flowers. Valef.

(d) *Photius* testifies the same, chap. 112. *Biblioth.* and before him, *Rufinus* in his Epistle to *Gaudentius* the Bishop, to wit, that in those Books *Recognit.* of *Clemens's* there are some things said concerning the Son of God, which disagree from the true rule of Faith, and make for the opinion of the *Arrians*. *Epiphanius*, in *Hæres. Ebionæorum* chap. 15. does expressly affirm, that those Books of *Clemens Romanus*, entitled *αἱ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, were corrupted and falsified by the *Ebionites*. Valef.

Trajan.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Book of Papias.

THE Books of *Papias* now extant, are five in number, which he entitled, *An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord*. *Irenæus* mentions no more than these five to have been written by him, saying thus; ‘And these things *Papias*, the Auditor of *John*, the Companion of *Polycarp*, one of the ‘Ancients, attests in writing, in the fourth of ‘his Books; for he compiled five.’ Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Papias*, in his Preface to his Books, does not evidence himself to have been a Beholder or an Auditor of the Holy Apostles, but only, that he received the Matters of Faith from those who were well-known to them; which he declares in these words: ‘But it shall not be tedious to

(a) In the King's MS. it is *συνομινοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ*, agreeable to our Translation. *Rufinus* reads this place so, as appears by his Translation. For he renders it thus, *Non pigebit autem nos tibi omnia quæ quondam à Presbyteris didicimus, & bene retinemus, recordantes exponere cum interpretationibus nostris*. But in the other MSS. *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Nicephorus*, it is, *συνομινοῦντες*. Valef.

‘me, to (a) set down in order, together with my Interpretations, those things ‘which I have well learn'd ‘from the Elders, and faithfully remembred, the truth ‘whereof will be confirm'd ‘by me. For I delighted not ‘in those who speak much, ‘as most do, but in those ‘that teach the truth: Nor ‘in those who recite strange and unusual Precepts; but in such as faithfully rehearse the Commandments given by the Lord, and which proceed from the Truth. Now if at any time I met with any one that had conversed with the Elders, I made a diligent enquiry after their sayings, what *Andrew*, or what *Peter* said; or what *Philip*, or *Thomas*, or *James*, or *John*, or *Matthew*, or any other of the Lord's Disciples, were wont to say; and what *Aristion*, and *John* the Elder (the Disciples of our Lord) utter'd. For I thought that those things contain'd in Books could not profit me so much, as what I heard from the Mouths of Men yet surviving.’ In which words 'tis very observable that he recounts the name of *John* twice; the former of whom he reckons among *Peter*, *James*, *Matthew*, and the rest of the Apostles; manifestly shewing thereby that he speaks of *John* the Evangelist: But, making a distinction in his words, he places the other *John* with those who are not of the number of the Apostles; putting *Aristion* before him; and ex-

pressly calls him *The Elder*. So that hereby is shown the truth of their Relation, who have said that there were two in *Asia* who had that same name; and that there are two Sepulchres at *Ephesus*, and each of them now called the Sepulchre of *John*. Now I judg'd it very requisite to make this observation. For 'tis likely that the second, (unless any one would rather have it to be the first) saw that Revelation which goes under the name of *John*. Further, this *Papias*, whom we speak of, professes he received the sayings of the Apostles from those who had been conversant with them; and was, as he says, the Hearer of *Aristion* and *John* the Elder. Indeed he mentions them often by name, and has set down in his Works those Traditions he receiv'd from them. And thus much has been said by us, not unprofitably, as we judge. It is also worth our adding to the fore-quoted words of *Papias*, other Relations of the same Authors, wherein he gives an account of some Miracles, and other Passages, which he received by tradition. Indeed, that *Philip* the Apostle together with his Daughters lived at *Hierapolis*, has been manifested by what we said * before. Now * Chap. we are to shew, that *Papias*, who liv'd at the same 31. of this time, mentions his receiving a wonderful Narrati- 3d Book. on from the Daughters of *Philip*. For he relates, that in his time a dead was Man raised to life again: And further, that there came to pass another Miracle about *Justus* who was surnamed (b) *Barsabas*, (b) In 3 of our MSS. how that he drank deadly Poison, and by the Grace of the Lord sustain'd no harm. That this *Justus*, *Mar. Med.* after our Saviour's Ascension, was together with *Matthias* set forth by the Holy Apostles, and that they pray'd that one of them might in stead of the it is *Bap- τιστῆν*, *Barsabbus*. Traitor *Judas* be allotted to fill up their number; Valef. the Book of the *Acts of the Apostles* doth after this manner relate — And they appointed two, *Joseph* *Acts* 1. called *Barsabas*, who was surnamed *Justus*, and *Mat- 23, 24. thias*. And they pray'd and said. Moreover the same Writer has set down some other things which came to him barely by word of mouth, to wit, certain strange Parables of our Saviour's, and Sermons of his, and some other more fabulous Relations: Among which he says there shall be a thousand years after the Resurrection from the Dead, wherein the Kingdom of Christ shall be corporally set up here on earth: And, I judge, he had this opinion from his misapprehending the Apostolical Discourses, in that he did not see through those things they spake mystically by way of similitude. For he seems to have been a man of a very narrow understanding, as it may be conjectur'd from his Books. Yet he gave occasion to very many Ecclesiastical Persons after him to be of the same erroneous Opinion with him; who had a regard for the Antiquity of the Man, as for example, to *Irenæus*, and to every one also who has declared himself to be of the same Opinion. He relates also in his Books other Interpretations of the aforesaid *Aristion's*, of the sayings of the Lord; and the Traditions of *John* the Elder. To which we do refer the studious Readers, and judge it requisite now only to adjoyn to his fore-mentioned words a Passage he relates concerning *Mark* the Evangelist, in these words; ‘This also the Elder said; *Mark*, being the (c) Interpreter of (c) *Jerom*, in *Catalo- go*, calls *Mark* the interpreter of *Peter* from this place of *Papias*, as I judge. Hence 'tis, that many of the Greeks write, that the Gospel of *Mark* was dictated by *Peter*. So *Athanasius* in his Treatise, *de Libris Sacre Scripturae*. Which, how it's to be understood, *Papias* declares in this place. For it is not to be supposed that *Mark* wrote his Gospel from the mouth of *Peter* dictating to him; but, when he heard *Peter* Preaching the Word of God to the Jews in Hebrew, *Mark* carefully digested those things in the Greek Language, which concerned Christ. Valef.

F

Peter

Trajan. Peter, accurately wrote whatever he remembred; but yet not in that order, wherein Christ either spake, or did them: For he was neither an Hearer of the Lord's, nor yet his Follower; but, as I said, he was afterwards conversant with Peter, who preach'd the Doctrine of the Gospel profitably to those that heard him, but not so as if he would compose an History of the Lord's Sayings. Wherefore Mark committed nothing of error, in that he wrote some things so as he had remembred them. For he made this one thing his chiefest aim, to wit, to omit none of those things he had heard, nor yet to deliver any thing that was false therein." Thus much Papias relates concerning Mark. Concerning Matthew, he says this; Moreover Matthew wrote his Divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them, as they were able. This Papias also has quoted Authorities taken out of the First Epistle of John, and likewise out of the former Epistle of Peter. He has set down also another Relation about a Woman who was accused of many Crimes before the Lord; which Relation is contain'd in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. And thus much we have usefully and diligently observed, and added to those things which before he had set down.

THE

FOURTH BOOK

Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

Who were the Bishops of the Roman and Alexandrian Churches in the Reign of Trajan.

(a) In the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, the beginning of Primus his being Bishop of Alexandria falls upon the 10th year of Trajan. Also the beginning of Alexander's being made Bishop of Rome is placed on the 10th year of Trajan. But in the digesting of the years of the Bishops both of Rome, and also of other Cities, I have observed that Eusebius's *Chronicon* does often dissent from his *Ecclesiastical History*. Whether it be the fault of the Transcribers, or of Jerom the Translator, or of Eusebius himself, I cannot positively affirm: For in so great a diversity it's difficult to assign the cause of the mistake. But, seeing that the *Ecclesiastical History* was written by Eusebius after his *Chronicon*, wheresoever such a disagreement occurs, that seems rather to be followed, which is asserted in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Valef.

* Book 3. chap. 21.

CHAP. II.

What the Jews suffer'd in this Emperor's Time.

Moreover, the Doctrine and Church of our Saviour flourishing daily, increased more and more: But the Calamities of the Jews were augmented by continual Mischiefs following one upon another. For, the Emperor entring now upon the eighteenth Year of his Reign, there arose again a Commotion of the Jews, which destroy'd a very great number of them. For both at Alexandria, and over, all the rest of Egypt; and

moreover throughout Cyrene, they being stirr'd up as it were by some violent and contentious Spirit, raised Sedition against the (a) Greeks and (a) The Gentiles with whom they dwelt. And they increasing the Faction very much, on the ensuing Year enkindled a great War; Lupus was at that time Governour of all Egypt. Moreover it hapned that in the first encounter they were too hard for the Greeks; who flying to Alexandria, took the Jews that were in the City alive, and slew them. But those Jews who inhabited Cyrene, being frustrated of assistance in the War from them, persisted to infest and destroy the Country of Egypt and all its (b) Prefectures, by Pillages and Robberies, one Lucius being their Leader: Against whom the Emperor sent Marcius Turbo with Horse and Foot, and also with Naval Forces: He in many Engagements, having made the War against them long and tedious, destroy'd many Myriads of Jews, not only of those of Cyrene, but also of those of Egypt, who flockt together to give assistance to their King Lucius. But the Emperor suspecting that those Jews in Mesopotamia would also set upon the Inhabitants there, commanded (c) Lucius Quietus to clear that Province of them: who engaging with them, destroy'd a very great number of them that dwelt there: for which successful piece of service he was appointed Deputy of Judea by the Emperor. And thus much those Heathens, who committed to writing the Transactions of those times, do almost in the very same words relate.

ges they did; on the other hand, the Jews would not live in a meaner condition, than the rest of the Citizens did. Hence arose frequent Contentions, both in Egypt, and also in Syria, as Philo and Josephus do attest. Therefore in our Translation we have inserted both [Grecians and Gentiles] because one word seemed not to suffice. For the Jews did not only assault the Grecians, but the Natives also of Egypt and Lybia: Nor again, the Gentiles only, but the Christians likewise, of whom there was then no small number in Egypt and Cyrene. Valef.

(b) This destroying of all Egypt and Lybia by the Jews, besides Dion, Orosius mentions, in his 7 B. Valef.

(c) This

(c) This Man was a Moor, not of the Province of Mauritania, but of the barbarous Moors, who were Allies of the Roman Empire. At first he commanded a Troop of Moors; not long after he was condemned for his lewdness, and in disgrace cashiered. But afterwards in the Dacick War, when the Army stood in need of the assistance of the Moors, he did a brave piece of Service. Upon which account being rewarded and honoured, he did more and braver exploits in the second Dacick War. At length, in the Parthian War, which Trajan waged against the Parthians, he was so vallant and fortunate, that he was chosen into the Pretorian Order, bore a Consulship, and Governed the Province of Palestine, which Promotion first made him to be envied, then hated, and at last ruined him. Thus much Dion Cassius relates, in Excerpt. Valef.

CHAP. III.

Who, in the Time of Adrian, wrote Apologies in defence of the Faith.

Adrian. **W**hen Trajan had held the Empire twenty years compleat, excepting six months, Aelius Adrianus succeeded in the Government: To whom Quadratus dedicated and presented a Book, wherein he had comprized an Apology for our Religion; because certain malicious Men endeavour'd to molest the Christians. This Work is still extant amongst many of the Brethren, and we also have it. From which Book may be seen perspicuous evidences of the Man's Understanding, and of his truly (a) Apostolical Faith and sound Doctrine. The same Writer makes his own Antiquity sufficiently evident, by what he relates in these very words: 'The Works of our Saviour were always conspicuous, for they were true. Those that were healed, such as were raised from the dead, did not only appear after they were healed, and raised; but also were afterwards seen of all; and that not only whilst our Saviour was conversant upon earth, but also after he was gone they continued alive a great while; insomuch that some of them survived even to our Times.' Such a person indeed was Quadratus. Aristides also, a faithful Man of that Religion profess'd by us, left in like manner, as Quadratus did, an Apology for the Faith, dedicated to Adrian. And this Man's Book is, to this day, preserved by many persons.

(a) The Phrase in the original is [ἐποστολική] i. e. of his Apostolical right division. This word occurs (2 Tim. 2. 15.) In the Old Testament the Greek Translators use of the word belongs to a way or path to go in, which was wont to be cut out that it might be fitter for use; thence the Latin Phrase, *viam secare*, i. e. to cut a way, that is, to go before and direct any in their journey. And with the word [ὁρθός, right] joined with it, it is to go before one, and direct him in the straight way to such a place. Hence the Syriack Version of the New Testament renders this Phrase in Timothy [ὁρθοῦμεν τὸ λόγον,] recte prædicare sermonem, i. e. rightly to preach the word. Fuller's Miscellan. B. 3. chap. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Who were ennobled with the Title of Bishops over the Roman and Alexandrian Churches in this Emperor's Time.

IN the third year of Adrian's Empire, Alexander the Bishop of Rome died, having compleated the tenth year of his Administration. Xystus was Successor to him: and about that time, Primus dying in the twelfth year of his Presidency over the Alexandrian Church, Justus succeeded him.

CHAP. V.

Who were Bishops of Jerusalem from our Saviour, even to these Times.

Moreover, the space of time which the Bishops of Jerusalem spent in their Presidency over that See, I could in no wise find pre-

served in writing. For, as report says, they were very short-lived: But thus much I have been informed of from old Records, that unto the Siege of the Jews in Adrian's Time, there were in number fifteen Successions of Bishops there: All whom they say, were by birth Hebrews, who had sincerely embraced the knowledge of Christ; insomuch that by those, who were then able to give judgment as to such matters, they were approved to be worthy of the Episcopal Office. For that whole Church at Jerusalem was made up of believing Jews, who had continued stedfast in the Faith from the Apostles Times even to the then Siege; wherein the Jews, revolting again from the Romans, were vanquished and destroyed by no small Wars. The Bishops therefore that were of the Circumcision then ceasing, it will be now requisite to give a Catalogue of them in their Order from first to last. The first therefore was James, called the Brother of the Lord; after him the second was Simeon; the third Justus; the fourth Zaccheus; the fifth Tobias; the sixth Benjamin; the seventh John; the eighth Matthias; the ninth Philip; the tenth Seneca; the eleventh Justus; the twelfth Levi; the thirteenth Ephres; the fourteenth (a) Joseph; the fifteenth and last Judas: And thus many were the Bishops of the City of Jerusalem, from the Apostles to this time we are now treating of; all which were of the Circumcision. But now, Adrian being in the twelfth year of his Empire, Telesphorus the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded Xystus, who had compleated the tenth year of his Episcopal Office over the Romans; and within a years space and (b) some months Eumenes, the sixth in Order, succeeded in the Presidency over the Alexandrian Church; his immediate Predecessor there having sat eleven years.

Ephres also is, by Nicephorus, called Ephrem. Valef. month; for so Rufinus seems to have read in his Copy. Valef.

CHAP. VI.

The last Siege of the Jews in the Time of Adrian.

BUT when the Rebellion of the Jews again increased exceedingly, * Rufus the President of Judea, having had Auxiliary Forces sent him from the Emperor, marched out against them; and, making use of their Madness and Desperation as an occasion of his sparing none, he slew Myriads together both of Men, Women and Children; and by the Law of War reduced their Country to servitude and subjection to the Romans. The Leader of the Jews at that time was by name Barchochebas, a name indeed that signifies a Star, but otherwise he was a Man that was a Murderer and a Robber; who by reason of his name did monstrously pretend to his Followers, being (a) Slaves, that he was a Star come down from Heaven to enlighten them who were now oppressed with servitude. But the War growing sharp in the eighteenth year of Adrian's Empire at the City (b) Bethera, which was the best fortified place, and not far distant from Jerusalem; and the Siege continuing a long time; the Innovators also having been utterly destroy'd by famine and thirst; and the Author of this their Madness undergone

* His name was Tinius Rufus. Eusebius in his Chronicon, says this Rebellion happened on the 16 year of Adrian; at which time the said Rufus was President of the Province of Judea. Valef.

(a) He calls the Jews slaves, because of their poverty and baseness of birth; for most of them were descended of those Captives, who were sold under Titus. Valef.

(b) Or, Bithera; there was a Town called Bethar, which was two and fifty Miles distant from Jerusalem; another Village there was called Bethar, which was twelve Miles off Jerusalem: Both these Jerom calls Bethoron. Valef.

Adrian. condign punishment; from that time that whole Nation was (c) altogether interdicted to enter in-
 (c) The same is attested by *Tertul-* to the Country about *Jerusalem*; the Law, Edict and Sanctions of *Adrian* having commanded them, that they should not so much as from afar off be-
lian, Apo- hold their Paternal Soil. *Ariston* of (d) *Pella* re-
 loget. c. lates this. Thus the City being made destitute of
 16. by *Cel-* the Jewish Nation, and wholly cleared of its old
sus in the Inhabitants, was possess'd by Foreigners that
 latter end of B. 8. of dwelt there, and (e) afterwards made a Roman
Origen a- City; and, changing its name, was, in honour
 gainst him; and of the Emperor *Ælius Adrianus*, called *Ælia*. And
 by *Gregor.* when there was a Church there gather'd of the
Naz. in his Nations that dwelt in it, *Mark* was the first who,
 12 Orat. after the Bishops of the Circumcision, undertook
 Only on one day the publick Administration of Matters there.

(that whereon *Jerusalem* was taken and destroyed by the Romans) the Jews out of all Nations were wont to meet in *Palestine*, and having paid a sum of Money to the Soldiers, they entred into that part of the City where *Solomon's* Temple heretofore stood; and there they bewailed the destruction of the City and Temple. See *Scaliger* in *Animadvers.* *Euseb.* p. 198. *Vales.*

(d) That was a City of *Syria*, which, after the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, was the Seat of the Bishops of *Jerusalem*; as *Eusebius* testifies. This *Ariston* of *Pella* wrote a Book entitled a *Dispute of Jason and Papiscus*; this Book *Origen* makes mention of in his 4 B. against *Celsus*: But the Preface of it is only now extant amongst the Works of *Cyprian*. *Vales.*

(e) *Eusebius* is here doubly mistaken; both in that he says *Jerusalem* was wholly destroyed in *Adrian's* time; and also because he thought that *Ælia Capitolina* was built by the same *Adrian* after the Siege of *Bethera*. As to the first; it's evident from *Josephus*, that *Jerusalem* was totally destroyed by *Titus*, in so much that it was ploughed. As to the second, *Ælia* was so far from being built by *Adrian* after this Victory obtained over the Jews, that this War was begun by the Jews upon that very account. For when the Jews saw the Soil of their City occupied by Strangers; and perceived that in that very place where the Temple had been, *Jupiter Capitolinus* was worshipped and sacrificed to; being not able to endure that, they took Arms, and began this War which *Eusebius* here relates. Which was begun in the 16 year of *Adrian*, and ended the 18 of his Empire. But *Ælia Capitolina* was built long before, to wit, in the second year of *Adrian*: From whose times to those of *Constantine the Great* it was always called *Ælia*. But from the time of *Constantine the Great* it recovered again the name of *Jerusalem*, both upon the account of the honour of that name, and also because of its Prerogative, being the first Episcopal Seat. *Vales.*

C H A P. VII.

Who at that time were the Authors of false Doctrine.

NOW, the Churches throughout the whole World shining like most bright Stars, and the Faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ flourishing among all Mankind, the Devil that Hater of Good, as being always the Enemy of Truth, and most malicious Impugner of Man's Salvation, using all his Arts and Stratagems against the Church, at first arm'd himself against it with outward Persecutions: But then afterwards being excluded from them, he made his assaults by other methods, making use of evil Men and Impostors, as being the pernicious Instruments for destroying of Souls, and Ministers of Perdition; devising all ways, whereby these Impostors and Deceivers, cloathing themselves with the title of our Religion, might both lead into the Pit of Destruction, those of the Faithful whom they had enticed to themselves, and also divert such as were unskilful in the Faith from the way that leads to the comfortable Word, by such means as they attempted to put in practice. From that
 * Book 3. chap. 26. *Menander* therefore, whom we a little * before manifested to have been the Successor of *Simon*, there was hatch'd a Serpentine Breed, double-mouth'd as it were, and double-headed, which constituted the Founders of two different and disagreeing Heresies; *Saturninus*, by birth an *Antiochian*, and *Basilides*, an *Alexandrian*; whereof

the former in *Syria*, the other in *Egypt*, set up *Adrian.* Schools of most detestable Heresies. Moreover, *Irenæus* makes it manifest that *Saturninus* feign'd mostly the same things that *Menander* did; but that *Basilides* under a pretext of more mystical matters, most mightily enlarged his Inventions, forming monstrous and fabulous Fictions for the making up of his impious Heresie. There being many Ecclesiastical Men therefore, who at that time were Defenders of the Truth, and eloquent Maintainers of the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Doctrine, some of them forthwith comprized in writing explanatory accounts of the fore-manifested Heresies, which they left as Cautions and Preventions to Posterity: of which there is come to our hands a most strenuous Confutation of *Basilides*, of *Agrippa Castor's*, a most eminent Writer in those times; wherein he discovers the horrible imposture of the Man: Disclosing therefore his Secrets, he says that he made four and twenty

Books upon the (a) Gospel, and that he counterfeited for himself Prophets named by him (b) *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, and some (c) others who never were in being; and that he gave them barbarous names to astonish those who were admirers of such things; and that he taught that it was a thing indifferent to taste of Meats offer'd to Idols, and that in times of Persecutions those did not imprudently who abjured the Faith: and that, after the manner of the *Pythagoreans*, he enjoyn'd a five years silence to his Followers: the foresaid Author having recounted these things and others like them concerning this *Basilides*, hath most diligently detected and brought to light the error of the forementioned Heresie. But *Irenæus* writeth also, that *Carpocrates*, the Father of another Heresie termed the *Gnostick Heresie*, was Cotemporary with these. These *Gnosticks* thought that those magical Delusions of *Simon's* were not to be exposed covertly as he did, but publickly and openly; boasting of amorous Potions accurately and curiously made by them, and of certain Spirits that were causes of Dreams, and (d) Familiars, and of certain other such-like (d) So they Delusions, as if these were the greatest and only were called, because they were supposed to be assistant to Men; and kept them from distributed to all of them their dues by most filthy Diseases, and detestable acts of obscenity. The Devil therefore who delights in mischief, making use of these Instruments, it came to pass that he both miserably enslaved such as were seduc'd by them, and so led had such them into destruction; and also gave those Nations that were unbelievers a great occasion of a- these at bundantly slandering the Divine Doctrine; a report mand, by arising from them being diffused to the reproach- whose ful detraction of the whole Christian Religion. help they Upon this account therefore chiefly it happened did mira- that an impious and most absurd suspicion con- cious things. cerniug us was spread abroad amongst those who *Vales.*

(a) *Eusebius* says not upon what Gospel *Basilides* wrote these Books, perhaps *Basilides* made these Books upon his own Gospel; for he wrote one, and set his own name to it, and called it [the Gospel according to *Basilides*] as *Origen* attests in his 1 Homil. on *Luke*; and *Jerom* in his Preface to *St. Matthew*. These Books were called *Basilides's Exegeticks*. *Clemens* (Lib. 4. *Stromat.*) quotes some places out of the 23d of these Books. *Vales.*

(b) Or, *Barcabbas*: Upon these Prophets, *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, *Isidore* the Son of *Basilides* wrote some Books of *Expositions*, as *Clemens Alexandr.* shews, B. 6. *Stromat.* *Vales.*

(c) *Eusebius* speaks here of those Prophets whom *Basilides* feigned for himself. Our Author is right in his saying that *Basilides's* Heresie sprang up in *Adrian's* Reign. For then the Hereticks began to creep out of their holes: They thought (the Apostles being all dead) that they had then an opportune time to divulge their Errors. *Vales.*

then

Adrian. then were Unbelievers; as if we used detestable carnal Copulation with Mothers and Sisters, and fed upon nefarious Meats. But these Crafts of the Devil's did not long succeed with him; the Truth asserted and confirmed itself, and in process of time shone forth most clearly and apparently. For these Devices of the Adversaries, being repelled by their own force, forthwith became extinct; Heresies of a different sort newly design'd and cut out, and succeeding one after the other, the former forthwith melted and fell away, and being dissolved into kinds that were of divers sorts and fashions, were, some one way, some another, destroy'd. But the brightness of the Catholick and only True Church, being always the same, and so continuing stedfast and like itself, was greatly increased and augmented; the Gravity, the Sincerity, the Ingenious Freedom, the Modesty, and Purity of an Holy Conversation and Philosophical Course of Life, shooting forth a splendor over all Nations both Grecians and Barbarians. That reproachful Detraction therefore wherewith our Religion had been overspread, was instantly suppress'd. Wherefore our Doctrine continued to be the only, and the (e) prevailing Opinion among all Men, and was confess'd to be most eminently flourishing upon account of its Gravity, its Prudent Modesty, and its Divine and Wise Precepts; in so much that no one hitherto hath been so audacious, as to charge our Faith with any foul Slander, or any such reproachful Detraction, as those our old Adversaries were formerly ready and willing to make use of. But moreover, in these times the Truth again produced many that were its Defenders, who engaged these impious Heresies, not only with unwritten Arguments, but also with penn'd Demonstrations.

(e) *Kραίσου* is the term in the original, hence the Christian Religion was by the Heathens call'd *κραίσου δόξα*, i. e. the prevailing opinion; and the Christians were termed *κραίσου* by Porphyrius, in his Book *de Oraculor. Philosoph.* which place Eusebius quotes, in his 9th B. *Præparat. Evangel.* cap. 10. *Valef.*

C H A P. VIII.

What Ecclesiastical Writers there were in those Times.

(a) In my opinion *Hegeſippus* is not rightly placed in the times of *Adrian*; neither do his words, here quoted by Eusebius, evince so much. It's certain, *Hegeſippus* wrote his Books when *E-leutherus* was Bishop of Rome, as he himself attests in the 22 chap. of this Book. He was contemporary therefore with *Irenæus*, who then composed his Elaborate Books against the Heresies. Indeed our *Eusebius*, retracting as it were his former opinion, does, in the 21, and 22 chap. of this Book, place *Hegeſippus* in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*. *Val.*

(b) Which was celebrated every fifth year, at Mantinea in Arcadia, says *Pausanias*, in *Arcad.* *Valef.*

(c) Amongst the Egyptians, the Chief Priest, who was over the other Priests, and distributed to them the Revenue of the Temple, was called a Prophet. For the first Officer of the Temple was the Cantor, then the Horoscopus, after him the Scriba, then the Vestitor; last of all the Prophet took his place, who carried a Water-pot in his bosom. See *Epiphani.* in 3 B. advers. Hæres. &c. Concerning these Prophets of *Antoninus* instituted by *Adrian* there is mention made in an old Greek Inscription, quoted by *Casaubon* in his Notes on *Spartianus*. Wherefore it's no wonder that *Antoninus*, deified by *Adrian*, had his Prophets, seeing he was worshipped chiefly by the Egyptians. *Valef.*

Justin, a sincere lover of the true Philosophy, as yet spent his time about, and was studious in, the Writings of the Gentile Philosophers: He in like manner declares this very time, in his Apology to *Antoninus*, writing thus: *We judge it not absurd here to mention Antoninus also who lived very lately; whom all men through fear have undertaken to worship as a God, notwithstanding they evidently know who he was, and from whence he had his Original.* The same Author, mentioning also the War then waged against the Jews, adds thus much; *For in the (d) late Jewish War, Barchochebas, who was the Head of the Jewish Rebellion, gave command that the Christians only should be most cruelly tormented, unless they would deny Jesus Christ, and blaspheme.* But moreover, declaring in the same Book, his own Conversion from the Gentile Philosophy to the Worship of the True God, that it was not done by him rashly and unadvisedly, but with judgment and consideration, he writes thus: *'I also myself, being much addicted to, and affected with the Platonick Philosophy, hearing the Christians calumniated, and seeing them undaunted at Death, and at whatever else is accounted terrible, thought it impossible that such Men should live wickedly and be given to Voluptuousness. For, what sensual or intemperate person, and one who accounts Human Flesh good food, could willingly embrace death, which would deprive him of his desires? and would not rather use his utmost endeavour to live continually in this life, and conceal himself from the Magistrates? much less would he voluntarily offer himself to be put to death.'* Moreover, the same Author relates, that *Adrian* (having received Letters from that most Eminent Governor (e) *Serenius Granianus* concerning the Christians, setting forth how unjust it was they should be slain uncondemn'd, merely to gratifie the clamours of the People, when no accusation appear'd against them) wrote an Answer to (f) *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of Asia, wherein he commanded that no one should be put to death without a judiciary Prosecution, and an Accusation lawful and allowable. And *Justin* there produceth the Copy of the Rescript in Latin, the Language wherein it was originally written. But before it he premisseth these words: *'(g) And altho' from the Letter of the most Excellent and Renowned Cæsar Adrianus your Father, we might request you would give command, that the judiciary Proceedings against us be made according as we desire; yet we crave this, not so much because it was commanded by Adrian, but, in regard we know and understand our Petition to be just: And moreover, that you may perceive what we say herein to be true, we have inserted the Copy of Adrian's Letter;'* which is thus. To these words *Justin* hath annexed the Latin Copy of the Letter; which we, as well as we could, have done into Greek, after this manner.

(d) *Ev τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ, &c.* i. e. in the Jewish war which was not long since. For the Greek word [νῦν] is sometimes us'd in such a sense, as to signify [nuper] i. e. lately. In which sense *Justin* uses it, when he speaks of *Antoninus* in this chap. *Valef.*

(e) Or, *Serenius*; he was Proconsul of Asia, and Predecessor to *Minutius Fundanus* in that Government. *Valef.*

(f) It may be deservedly questioned, why *Adrian* answer'd not *Granianus*, from whom he received these Letters, but wrote to *Minutius Fundanus* his Successor: The reason, as I suppose, might be this; either *Granianus* died soon after he wrote to *Adrian*; or else he left that Government; For the Proconsuls were annual. *Valef.*

(g) *Justin*, in his 2d Apology, as 'tis now commonly written, p. 99. *Val.*

C H A P. IX.

The Rescript of Adrian, that we Christians should not be unjustly prosecuted.

TO *Minutius Fundanus*. I received a Letter, written to me, from that eminent Person *Serenius Granianus*, your Predecessor for.

Adrian. for. Indeed, this business, as I judge, is not to be pass'd by undiscuss'd; left both the Christians be molested, and also an occasion of doing mischief given to Sycophants. Wherefore, if the Men of your Province can by a due way of complaint openly charge the Christians with any accusation, and so do it, as that they appear and answer it before the Seat of Judicature; let them make it their business only to take such a course as this *against them*; but let them not use (a) tumultuous outcries and clamours. For 'tis most requisite, if any person prefers a complaint, that you should have the cognizance of the matter. If therefore any one does accuse *them*, and make out that they do any thing contrary to the Laws, do you give sentence according to the nature of the offence. But if it be certain, that any does frame an accusation meerly out of a malicious detraction, do you determine according to the heinousness of the crime, and take care that due punishment be inflicted on him. And thus much concerning the Rescript of *Adrian*.

(a) He means the out-cries, which the People were wont to make in the Theatres, The Christians to the Lyons! as Tertulian attests. Some-

times it so happened that the *Proconsuls* and Governours were forc'd to yield to these tumultuous Clamours, tho' unwilling to it of themselves. Wherefore the Emperor *Adrian* admonisheth *Fundanus* the *Proconsul* not to suffer himself to be induced by such requests to the persecution and slaughter of the Christians. It was an old custom in the *Roman Empire*, for the populace both in the City and in the Provinces, as oft as they met at the publick *Shews*, to ask of the Emperor, or Governour what they had a mind to, with loud outcries all at once. Instances hereof are frequent in the Writers of the *Roman History*. *Vales.*

C H A P. X.

Who in the Reign of Antoninus were Bishops of the Roman and Alexandrian Sees.

Antoninus Pius. BUT, *Adrian* having paid the dues of nature after he had reigned one and twenty years, *Antoninus*, surnamed *Pius*, succeeded in the *Roman Empire*. In whose first year *Telesphorus* departing this life in the eleventh year of his Presidency, *Hyginus* assumed the Episcopal Government of the *Roman Church*. Moreover, *Irenæus* relates that *Telesphorus* ended his life with a glorious Martyrdom; manifesting in the same place, that in the times of the foresaid *Hyginus* Bishop of the *Romans*, flourish'd at *Rome* both *Valentinus* the Introducer of his own Heresie, and also *Cerdo* the Founder of the Error of the *Marcionites*; his words are these.

C H A P. XI.

Concerning those who were Arch-Hereticks in those Times.

FOR *Valentinus* came to *Rome* when *Hyginus* was Bishop there: but he flourish'd in the Times of *Pius*, and continued to those of *Anicetus*. *Cerdo* also, who was Master to *Marcion*, flourish'd in the Times of *Hyginus*, who was the (a) ninth Bishop; he went into the Church, and openly confessing his error, so continued at *Rome*; sometimes teaching privately, other while again acknowledging his error; but being now and then reprehended for his impious Doctrine, he (b) withdrew himself from the Assembly of the Brethren. Thus far *Irenæus*, in his

(a) These Words of *Irenæus* are extant in his 3 B. chap. 4. where the old Translator

seems to have read the eighth: Which reading is most agreeable to *Irenæus*, as appears from the 3 Chapt. of the same Book; where he reckoning up the *Roman Bishops*, counts *Hyginus* the 8th from the Apostles. But in the 1 B. of *Irenæus* chap. 28. it's written [the 9th] so also in *Epiphanius*. in *Hæres. Cerdon*. and in the Epistle of *Cyprian* to *Pompeius*. *Vales.*

(b) *Irenæus* does not say he was excommunicated; but that he separated himself from the Church; whence it appears, that *Cerdo* condemned himself, in his own judgment, and so prevented the sentence of the Church. *Val.*

Third Book against Heresies. Moreover, in his *First Antoninus Pius.* Book he again says this concerning *Cerdo*: 'But one *Cerdo*, deriving the original of his Errors from the Tenets of *Simon*, came to *Rome* in the times of *Hyginus* (who was the ninth that in the Episcopal Succession from the Apostles had that See) and taught, that that God, who was preach'd under the Law, and by the Prophets, is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: for the one is known, the other unknown; the one is just, the other good. *Marcion* of *Pontus*, an impudent Blasphemer, succeeding him, did mightily propagate that Opinion." But the same *Irenæus*, having founded the bottom of that immense depth of matter, full of various errors, which *Valentinus* had put together, does fully discover the secret and occult Deceit and Wickedness, that like a Serpent lurking in its hole, lies hid within him. Moreover, he says, there was at the same time another person (by name *Mark*) who was most expert at Magical Delusions; and further he declares their prophane Rites of Initiation, and their most detestable Mysteries in these very words: 'For some of them prepare a Nuptial-Bed, and perform a secret Ceremony by pronouncing some words over such as are to be initiated; and a Marriage, they say, thus made by them, is spiritual, and conformable to the Celestial Nuptials: But others of them bring [those that are to be initiated] to the Water, and dipping them, use this form of words, In the name of the unknown Father of all, In the Truth the Mother of all, In Him who descended upon Jesus. Another sort of them pronounce Hebrew names, to put those that are to be initiated into the greater Consternation." But *Hyginus* dying, (c) after he had been Bishop four years, *Pius* undertook the Government of the *Roman Church*. Moreover, at *Alexandria* *Mark* was chosen Pastor, *Eumenes* having sat there thirteen years compleat. Which *Mark* dying after he had presided there ten years, *Celadion* assumed the Government of the *Alexandrian Church*: And at *Rome*, *Pius* departing this life in the fifteenth year of his Presidency, *Anicetus* was preferred to that See. In whose time *Hegeſippus* relates that he himself came to *Rome*, and continued there until *Eleutherus* was made Bishop. But at that time flourish'd *Justin*, and was singularly eminent, one that in a Philosophical habit was an Assertor of the Divine Word, and earnestly contended for the Faith in his Writings: Who, in the (d) Book he wrote against *Marcion*, mentions the Man to be alive at that time when he compiled that Work. His words are these: 'And one *Marcion* of *Pontus*, who now at this time teacheth his Followers, and instructs them [to believe] there is another God greater than him that made the World. This Man also, assisted by Devils, hath perswaded many throughout the World to speak Blasphemy, to deny the Maker of the Universe (e) to be the Father of Christ, and to affirm there is another greater

(c) *Rufinus*

seems to

have read

it other-

wise; for

he tran-

slates it

thus;

Quarto au-

tem Epif-

copatius sui

anno cum

deceſſiſſet

Hyginus,

&c. i. e.

Hyginus,

dying in

the fourth

year of his

being Bi-

shop, &c.

Vales.

(d) Our *Eusebius* forgot himself here, in that he says, that these following Words of *Justin's* were taken out of his Book against *Marcion*: They are taken out of *Justin's second Apology*, pag. 70. Edit. *Paris*. *Vales.*

(e) The words [to be the Father of Christ] are wanting in the common Editions of *Justin*; and they seem to be superfluous. *Marcion* asserted, there were two Gods, the one the Creator, by whom this World was made; the other superior to him, who framed the better and more excellent things: This God, he said, we ought to confess, and to deny the other. This is the meaning of *Justin's* Words; to whom agrees *Epiphanius*. in *Hæres. Marcion*. *Marcion* held, that that most High God was the Father of Christ; and that Christ came down from Heaven to reprehend the other God the Maker of this World, whom he called the God of the Jews. *Vales.*

than

Antoninus Pius. than he that made it: And all their Followers, as we said, are called Christians, after the same manner as the name of Philosophers, derived from Philosophy, is in common given to all that profess it, though they differ as to their Sects and Opinions." To this he adds further, saying, "We have compiled a Book against all the Heresies that ever were, which, if you be willing to read it, we will deliver to you." The same *Justin*, having wrote many elaborate Works against the Heathens, dedicated also some other Books, containing an Apology for our Faith, to the Emperor *Antoninus*, surnamed *Pius*, and to the Roman Senate; for he dwelt at Rome: But in his Apology, he makes known himself, who and whence he was, in these words.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning Justin's Apology to Antoninus.

(c) Lucius TO the Emperor *Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Caesar Augustus*, and to *Verrissimus* his Son the Philosopher, and to *Lucius* (by *(a)* Nature Son of *Caesar* the Philosopher, but by Adoption Son to *Pius*) the lover of Learning: To the Sacred Senate also, and People of Rome, I *Justin* the Son of *Priscus*, the Grandchild of *Bacchius*, who were of *(b) Flavia Neapolis* a City of *Syria-Palestine*, make my Request and *(c)* Petition in behalf of those Men (being my self one of them) who are unjustly hated and most injuriously treated by all Mankind." And the same Emperor being address'd to by other Brethren, Inhabitants of *Asia*, who were vexed with all manner of Molestations by the Men of their own Province, vouchsafed to send this Edict to the *(d)* Common-Council of *Asia*.

as Spartianus and *Capitolinus* do declare. But others say, that *Lucius* was adopted by *Marcus*; so *Capitolinus* in the life of *Marcus*. Wherefore in these words of *Justin*, can be no other Person meant by *Caesar* the Philosopher, than *Aelius Verus*, whom *Adrian* adopted. For *Justin* says, that *Lucius* was by nature the Son of *Caesar* the Philosopher, and the adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*. Now, it's evident, *Lucius* was *Aelius Verus*'s own Son: Therefore by *Caesar* the Philosopher must be meant *Aelius Verus*. But there are two things which seem to withstand this Exposition of this Passage. The first is, the surname of Philosopher is no way agreeable to *Aelius Verus*. Indeed, *Aelius Verus* (who was adopted by *Adrian*) was a learned Man, and studious, especially in Poetry, as *Capitolinus* says in his Life: But his Morals were in no wise agreeable to the study and profession of Philosophy. Then further, if *Justin* would here mean *Aelius Verus*, why does he not mention his name? For the Appellation of *Caesar* the Philosopher, seems not sufficient to evidence him to be meant; in as much as that Appellation might be common to *Marcus* also. We could easily clear our selves of these difficulties, by admitting the reading of the four MSS. *Mar.* *Med.* *Fuk.* and *Savil.* where this place is thus written [And to *Lucius* the Philosopher, by nature the Son of *Caesar*] which reading *Casaubon* approves of, in his Notes on *Spartianus*. But we judge it not to be good. For it follows in *Justin* [the lover of Learning] where you see *Marcus* and *Lucius* have each their Epithetes: *Marcus* is termed [the Philosopher] and *Lucius* [the lover of Learning.] *Vales.*

(b) Neapolis, a City of *Palestine*, is called *Flavia*, because there was a Colony brought thither by *Flavius Vespasianus*. Before, it was called *Sichem*. Yet *Pliny* does not say there was a Colony there. Afterwards, the Emperor *Severus* deprived it of its privileges, and reduced it to a Village, because it favoured *Niger*'s side. *Vales.*

(c) In the Original 'tis [ἐν]δξεν] *Rufinus* translates it [postulatum, i. e. a Petition] The Greek Word [ἐν]υργάμεν signifies, to go to the Emperor, and make a request to him; which was most commonly done in Writing: There is extant a form of such a Petition (presented by *Marcellinus* the Presbyter to *Theodosius Augustus*) which *Syrmondus* published lately: It begins thus; *Deprecamur mansuetudinem vestram*; i. e. We earnestly intreat your Graciousness, &c. *Vales.*

(d) See Note B. in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XIII.

The Rescript of Antoninus to the Common Council of Asia, concerning our Religion.

THE Emperor *Caesar (a) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus*, Tribune of the People XV, Consul III. to mistaken the *(b)* Common [Council] of *Asia*, sendeth Gree- in attributing this Rescript to *Antoninus Pius*, when as it was *M. Aurelius*'s. (as appears by the Title) written in the first year of his Reign, when he was Consul III. See *Onuphrii Fast. ad ann. Urb. 914.* The testimony of *Melito* (which *Eusebius* produces to confirm his opinion in this point) destroys it. For *Melito*, in his Apology, reckons up all the Rescripts of *Antoninus Pius* in favour of the Christians; to wit, his Epistle to the *Lariseans*, to the *Thessalonians*, to the *Athenians*, and to all the *Grecians*: Now if this Rescript to the Common Council of *Asia* had been *Antoninus Pius*'s, doubtless *Melito* (being of the Province of *Asia*) would not have omitted it. For he could not be ignorant of it, since it was publish'd at *Ephesus*: And, when he had reckoned up the other Rescripts of *Pius*, why should he not make mention of this, which was written to the people of his own Province? *Vales.*

(b) Συνοδον, i. e. Council, is to be understood. For the *Asians* had a Common Council of the whole Province, to which each City sent its Representatives; as *Aristides* declares, in the 4. of his *Orat. Sacr.* And the same Author says there, that this Council met in the upper *Phrygia*, that is, at *Apamea*, or *Synnada*. Yet as it seems, they met in other Cities. There were, in the other Roman Provinces, such Councils as these. *Vales.*

(c) It should be *ούτετα, i. e. Your*: and are careless both of all other [religious performances,] and also of the worship of the immortal God: And the Christians, who adore him, you are enraged at, and persecute even to death. Concerning these Men many Governors of Provinces heretofore wrote to *(d)* our most Divine Father. To whom he return'd answer, that such Men should not be molested, unless it appeared they attempted any thing prejudicial to the State of the Roman Empire: And many also have given us intimation concerning these Men, whom we answered pursuant to our Father's decree. If therefore any one shall still persevere to give disturbance to any one of these sort of Men, because he is a Christian, the Party accused shall be acquitted, although it evidently appears he is a Christian; but the accuser shall be obnoxious to punishment.

(d) Although this Rescript be not *Antoninus Pius*'s; yet it's here produced in an opportune place. For in it is mention made of that Epistle which *Antoninus Pius* wrote to the Governors of Provinces, when they enquired of him what they should do with the Christians. *Melito* makes mention of this Epistle of *Pius*'s; whose words *Eusebius* quotes in chap. 26. of this 4 Book. *Vales.*

(e) To some Laws in the *Codex Theodosian.* there is put [P. P.] which mark signifies that that Law of the Emperor was made Publick in such a City. For the Emperors, as oft as they would have any Edict be taken notice of and known to all, were wont to write with their own hand this word [Proponatur, i. e. Let it be publish'd.] *Vales.*

Antoninus Pius. (f) publick Assembly of *Asia*. That these things were thus done, *Melito* Bishop of the Church at *Sardis* (who flourish'd in the same times) does evidently attest, by what he has said in his most useful *Apology*, which he made to the Emperor *Verus*, for our Religion.

That is, in the room or place where the Council met. It may also be taken for the Temple which the Province of *Asia* built in honour of *Rome* and *Augustus*. There is extant an old Coin of *Claudius Augustus* whereon there is a Temple to be seen with this Title [R. & A U G.] and this Inscription [COM. ASIÆ.] on both sides of the Temple. This Temple, I suppose, was at *Ephesus*, wherein all the Cities of *Asia* met to solemnize their Religious Rites for the prosperity of the Emperor and the Roman People: And this Temple was for the use of all *Asia* in common, being built at the publick charge. *Valef.*

C H A P. XIV.

Some Memoirs of Polycarp the Disciple of the Apostles.

AT this time, *Anicetus* presiding over the Roman Church, *Irenæus* relates that *Polycarp* (who till now survived) came to *Rome* and discoursed *Anicetus* about a Question that arose concerning *Easter-Day*. And the same Author delivers another Relation concerning *Polycarp*, (in his *Third Book against Heresies*) which I judg'd requisite to adjoyn to what has been mention'd concerning him; it is thus: 'And *Polycarp*, who was not only instructed by the Apostles and conversant with many that saw Christ, but also was by the Apostles ordained Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna* in *Asia* (whom we also saw in our younger days; for he lived to a great age, and being very ancient, ended his life by a glorious and most renowned Martyrdom) *This Polycarp*, I say, continually taught what he had learned of the Apostles, such Points as the Church now teacheth, and such only as are true: All the Churches throughout *Asia* do attest this, and also all those who to this day have been Successors to *Polycarp*; who doubtless is a Witness much more worthy to be credited, and gives a firmer assurance to the Truth, than either *Valentinus* or *Marcion*, or any other Authors of corrupt Opinions. This *Polycarp* coming to *Rome* in the Times of *Anicetus*, converted many of the foresaid Hereticks to the Church of God, declaring that he had received the one and only Truth from the Apostles, which was taught by the Church. And there are some yet surviving, who heard him relate, that *John* the Disciple of the Lord going into the Bath at *Ephesus* to wash himself; and seeing *Cerinthus* in it, leapt out, having not bathed himself, but said, let us make haste away, lest the Bath fall, *Cerinthus* that Enemy of the Truth being within it. This same *Polycarp* also, when *Marcion* on a time came into his presence and said to him, (a) Take acquaintance of us; return'd him answer, I take notice of thee to be the first begotten of the Devil. So exceedingly cautious were the Apostles and their Disciples, not so much as by speech to have any converse with such as were corrupters of the Truth; as *Paul* also said, * *A Man that is an Heretick, after the*

(a) In the Original the term is [ἐπιτιμωσκει] which in this place is the same almost in signification with the word [Salutare, i. e. to Salute.] For therefore would *Marcion* have had himself taken notice of, that he might be saluted. So, anciently in the Church, when the Faithful approach the Holy Table, the Deacon was wont to cry aloud often [ἐπιτιμωσκειτε ἀλλήλους, i. e. acknowledge one another] to wit, lest any prophane Person or Jew should come to the Sacrament. *Valef.* St. *Paul* uses this term (1 Cor. 16. 18.) where our Translation renders it [acknowledge.]

* Tit. 3. 10, 11.

first and second Admonition, reject: knowing that he *Antoninus Pius.* that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself. There is extant also of this *Polycarp's* a most incomparable Epistle, written to the *Philippians*; from which those who are desirous to be careful about their own Salvation, may learn the Character of his Faith, and the Publication of the Truth." Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Polycarp*, in his said Epistle to the *Philippians*, which is still extant, quotes some Authorities out of the First Epistle of *Peter*. Moreover *Antoninus*, surnamed *Pius*, having compleated the two and twentieth year of his Reign, died, and was succeeded by *M. Aurelius Verus* (who also was named *Antoninus*, and was his Son) and his Brother *Lucius*.

C H A P. XV.

How, in the Reign of Verus, Polycarp, together with others, suffered Martyrdom in the City of Smyrna.

AT this time, when most sore Persecutions were stir'd up in *Asia*, *Polycarp* ended his Life by Martyrdom: [The Account of] whose Death (as it is yet extant in writing) we judg'd most requisite to be inserted into this our History. It is an Epistle, written from the Church over which he presided, to the Churches throughout (a) *Pontus*, which sets forth the Sufferings of *Polycarp* in these words: 'The Church of God of [χρ] which is at *Smyrna*, to the Church at *Philomelium*, and to all the Congregations of Holy Catholic Church everywhere, the Mercy, Peace, and Love of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied: We have written unto you, Brethren, both concerning others who suffered Martyrdom, and also about the Blessed *Polycarp*; who by his own Martyrdom sealed up, as it were, and put an end to the Persecution.' (b) After these words, before their Relation concerning *Polycarp*, they give an account of the other Martyrs; describing their Constancy of Mind during their Torments: 'For those, they say, who stood round were astonish'd, when they saw them first lacerated with Scourges even as deep as their inmost Veins and Arteries; (inasmuch that the hidden parts of their Bodies, and their Bowels were visible;) then laid upon the Shells of a sort of Sea-fish, and on some very sharp Heads of Darts and Javelins strew'd on the Ground, and undergoing all sorts of Punishments and Torments; and in fine, thrown to the Wild Beasts to be devour'd.' But most especially they relate, that *Germanicus* was most signally courageous, who being (c) corroborated by Divine Grace, overcame that fear of bodily Death implanted by Nature on the Mind of Man. For when the Proconsul, desirous by perswasion to prevail upon him, proposed to

(a) Instead of [χρ] i. e. Every-where: Which is confirmed by the Inscription of the Epistle, which is thus, [χρ παντα τοπον, &c. i. e. every-where, &c. Neither is there any mention of the Churches of *Pontus* in the title of this Epistle. For *Philomelium* is not a City of *Pontus*, but of *Lycania*, as *Pliny* says, or (as others) of *Pisidia*. For so in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, one *Paul*, a *Philomelian*, is named among the Bishops of *Pisidia*. *Valef.* In *Robert Stephens* Edit. it is [χρ παντα τοπον,] i. e. throughout *Pontus*.

(b) This whole Epistle, concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, is put out by the Learned Bishop *Usher*. Our *Eusebius* does not insert the whole Epistle; the Learned Reader may see it entire in that Edit. of Bishop *Usher*.

(c) In Bishop *Usher's* Edit. of this Epistle is different from what 'tis here. The Words there are these, [ὁ ἡδοναυτὰς ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώνηεν αὐτὸν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἰσχυροσύνης; i. e. For the most courageous *Germanicus* strengthened the imbecillity of others by his great patience in undergoing the Tortures.]

him

should be used to apprehend such an old Man. But he, making no delay, presently order'd the Table to be spread for them; then he invites them to a sumptuous Feast, and requested of them one hours space, which he might without disturbance spend in prayer: When they permitted him that, he arose and pray'd, being so full of the Grace of the Lord, that those who were present and heard him pray were struck with admiration, and many of them alter'd their minds, and were now very sorry that so Venerable and Divine an old Man was forthwith to be put to death. Afterwards, the foresaid Epistle contains word for word this subsequent relation concerning him; 'But after he had ended his Prayer (wherein he made mention of all Persons who at any time had been (e) conversant with him, both small and great, noble and obscure; and also of the whole Catholic Church throughout the World) the hour of his departure being now come, they set him upon an Ass, and brought him to the City on the day of the (f) great Sabbath: Herod the (g) Eirenarch and his Father Nicetes met him; who taking him up into their Chariot, as they sat together, endeavoured to persuade him, and said, For what harm is it to say these words, Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and so to evade punishment? He at first made them no answer; but they continuing to be importunate with him, he said, I will never do what you endeavour to induce me to. They, despairing of persuading him, gave him opprobrious language, and thrust him out of their Chariot so hastily, that in his going down he very much bruised the fore-part of his Leg. But he, no more concern'd than if he had suffer'd no harm, went on cheerfully and made haste, being brought by [a Guard] to the † Stadium: but (there being so great a noise made in the Stadium that few could perfectly hear) this voice came from Heaven to Polycarp as he entered the Stadium, Be courageous, Polycarp, and behave thy self valiantly. No person indeed saw him that spoke, but many of us Christians heard the voice. When therefore he was brought before the Tribunal, a great shout was made, because the Multitude heard hended. After that, when he was come near him, the (k) Proconsul ask'd him whether

(e) In the *Mar.* and *Mied.* MSS. in stead of [*συμβεβηκότων*, i. e. which happened, &c.] the reading is [*συνβεβληκότων*, i. e. which had been conversant] and so *Rufinus* read this place, as appears from his Version: And the old Translator of this Epistle, put forth by Bishop *Usher*, is found to have read it so likewise. *Vales.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [*συμβεβηκότων αὐτῶν*, i. e. which had happened to him].
(f) So it was called whenever the first day of the feast of unleavened Bread fell on the Sabbath-day. See Jo. 19. 31. & 7. 37. For that which among the Jews is *א' אסתר* a feast, *א' אסתר* the day of solemn assembly in any Feast, (and such were the first day, and the last of the feast of Tabernacles; the first and seventh of the feast of unleavened Bread, and the day of Pentecost) is by the Jews, writing in Greek, called *μεγάλη ἡμέρα*, a great day. So the 72 render it, Isa. 1. 13. where we read calling of assemblies. See *Scalig. proleg. de Emend. Temp.* p. 6, & 7. Bishop *Usher* (in his Tract *De anno Macedon.* chap. 3.) says, that the great Sabbath, mentioned here, was that which immediately preceded Easter; the Learned Reader may see the Author and his Reasons.
(g) It was the Office of this Magistrate to apprehend seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace, and, having before sent their Indictments, to bring them to the places of Judicature: So says *August.* in his 140, and 159 Epist. Hence 'tis here said, that Herod, the Eirenarch of Smyrna, took up Polycarp into his Chariot, whom he had commanded to be found out and apprehended by his guards. These Eirenarchs were made of some of the Members of the Court of Judicature, as the 49th Law in the *Codex Theodos.* does shew. At last Theodosius Junior wholly abolished that Office in the East: His Constitution is extant in the *Codex Theodos.* They had under their Command Horse-men, and the *Diognitæ*, [i. e. pursuers] a sort of Soldiers, that were lightly armed, and so more expedite to pursue and take such as were Thieves. *Vales.*
† That was the place where their sacred Games and Shews were exhibited.

(h) This Proconsul's name was Statius Quadratus; for so 'tis truly Printed in the old Latin translation of this Epistle, which the most learned Arch B. Usher published. This Man, as I judge, was the same Person with L. Statius Quadratus, who was Consul in the reign of Antoninus, anno urb. condit. 895. Aristides makes

'cause the Multitude heard *Polycarp* was apprehended. After that, when he was come near him, the ^(h) *Proconsul's* ^(k) *Stadius* *Proconsul* ask'd him whether *Quadratus*; for so 'tis truly Printed in the old Latin translation of this Epistle, which the most learned Arch B. *Usher* published. This Man, as I judge, was the same Person with *L. Stadius Quadratus*, who was Consul in the reign of *Antoninus*, anno urb. condit. 895. *Aristides* makes

makes mention of this *Proconsul* of *Asia*, in the first and fourth of his *Sacred Orations*: Where he also calls him a *Rhetorician*. I doubt not therefore but he was the same Man with *Quadratus* the *Consul*, who, as *Philostrophus* says, was the master of *Varus Sophista*, who was wont to declaim *extempore* upon any subject given; and was a great Emulator of *Favorinus Sophista*. In what year he bore the Office of *Proconsul* of *Asia*, *Aristides* indeed says not. But that, as it seems to me, may be made out from his Relation. For, in the 4 of his *Orat. Sacr.* *Aristides* says, that a little after that Plague which raged in *Asia*, *Severus* was *Proconsul*. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places that Plague on the 8 year of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. Therefore *Severus* was *Proconsul* of *Asia* in the 9 of *M. Aurelius*. When he was *Proconsul*, *Aristides* writes, that he received Letters out of *Italy* from the Emperors; to wit, from the senior *Augustus* and his Son; where by the name of *Augustus* he understands *Marcus*; and the Son of the Emperor is *Commodus*, who was then called *Cæsar*. Next before *Severus*, *Pollio* was *Proconsul*, as *Aristides* attests in the same place; and immediately before *Pollio*, our *Quadratus* was the *Proconsul* of *Asia*: For so says *Aristides* in the same Oration. So that *Quadratus* was *Proconsul* of *Asia* in the 7 of *Marcus's* Empire. On which year also *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*. They are in an Error therefore, who say the Martyrdom of *Polycarp* happened on the ninth of *Marcus*. For, whereas 'tis manifest from the attestation of *Aristides*, that *Quadratus* (under whom *Polycarp* suffered) bore the *Proconsulate* of *Asia* in the seventh year of *Marcus*, the death of *Polycarp* is necessarily to be placed on the same year. *Valef.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. he were *Polycarp*; and when he had confessed he was, the *Proconsul* endeavour'd to perswade him to renounce [Christ] saying, *Have a reverent regard to thine Age* (and some other words agreeable hereto, which 'tis usual for them to speak) *swear by the Fortune of Cæsar, change thy mind, say, destroy the Impious*: But *Polycarp*, beholding with a grave and severe countenance the Multitude that was in the *Stadium*, stretch'd forth his Hand towards them, and sigh'd, and looking up towards Heaven, said, *destroy the Impious*. When the Governour was urgent with him, and said, *Swear and I will release thee, speak reproachfully of Christ*; *Polycarp* made answer, *I have served him these eighty and six years; during all which time he never did me injury; how then can I blaspheme my King, who is my Saviour?* But when the *Proconsul* was again instant with him, and said, *Swear by the Fortune of Cæsar*: *Polycarp* said, *Because you are so vain-glorious as to be urgent with me to swear by the Fortune of Cæsar, (as you call it) pretending your self ignorant who I am; bear me plainly and freely making this Profession; I am a Christian: now if you are desirous to learn the Doctrine of Christianity, assign me a Day, and you shall hear it.* The *Proconsul* said, perswade the People: I have thought good (answer'd *Polycarp*) to give you an account; for we are taught to attribute due honour (such as is not prejudicial to our Profession) to Magistrates and Powers which are ordain'd of God; but I judge them unworthy of having an account given them of our Faith. The *Proconsul* said, I have Wild Beasts, to whom I will cast thee, unless you alter your mind. Command them to be brought forth (said *Polycarp*) for our minds are not to be alter'd from better to worse; but we account that change good, which is from Vice to Virtuous Actions. He said again to him, since you condemn the Wild Beasts, I will give order that you be consumed by Fire, unless you change your mind. You threaten me (replied *Polycarp*) with Fire that burns for an hour, and soon after becomes extinct; but you are ignorant of that Fire of the future Judgment and eternal Punishment, which is reserv'd for the Impious; but why do you make delays? order (i) which you will to be made use of upon me. When he had spoken these and many other words, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his

(i) To wit, either the Fire, or the wild Beasts.

For the reading in the *Alaz. Med. Euk. and Savil MSS.* is [ὅπερ ἂν βέλαι] in the plural number; and so we translate it. *Valef.*

Countenance was replenished with a comely gracefulness: insomuch that he was not only not overwhelmed with terror at what was said to him, but, on the contrary, the *Proconsul* stood astonished; and sent the Cryer to make Proclamation thrice in the midst of the *Stadium*, *Polycarp* professeth himself to be a Christian: At which words utter'd by the Cryer, the whole Multitude both of *Heathens* and *Jews* who were Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, in a most furious rage and with a great noise cried out, This is the Teacher of *Asia*, The Father of the Christians, The Destroyer of our Gods, who gives command to many Men not to sacrifice, nor adore the Gods. Having said these words they cried out and requested *Philip* the (k) *Asiarch* to let forth a Lion upon *Polycarp*. But he made answer, that that was not lawful for him to do, because the *Amphitheatrical Shows*, or the hunting of the Wild Beasts were concluded. Then they all cried out with a joynt consent, that *Polycarp* should be burnt alive. For it was necessary that the Vision which appeared to him upon his Pillow should be fulfilled; when, being at Prayer, he saw that burning, he turn'd to the Brethren that were with him, and said prophetically, I must be burnt alive. These things therefore were with no less celerity done than they had been spoken; the Multitude immediately brought together Wood and dried Branches of Trees out of their Shops, and from the Baths; but the *Jews* especially most readily (as it was their usage) assisted in this business. Now when the Pile of Wood for the Fire was made ready, *Polycarp*, having unclothed himself, and unloosed his Girdle, endeavour'd also to put off his own Shoes; a thing which before he never did, because every one of the Faithful continually strove who should soonest touch his Skin: For he was always revered for his godly course of life, even before he came to be gray-headed, presently therefore all the (l) Instru-

ments

is, the common Priesthood of *Asia*; and those who executed this sacerdotal Office (which consisted in the managing their publick Sports or Spectacles) were termed *Asiarchs*. These *Asiarchs* were elected after this manner: Each City of *Asia*, at the beginning of every year (that is, about the *Autumnal Equinox*) had a publick meeting, wherein they appointed one of their own Citizens to be an *Asiarch*; then they sent Deputies to the Common-Council of the Province, who declared to them his name whom they had made choice of at home: After which the Common-Council chose about ten to be *Asiarchs*, out of the number of all those, whom each City had elected to that Office. See *Aristides*, in *Orat. Sacr.* 4ta. Now the difficulty is, whether all these, who were elected by the Common-Council, executed this Office all together, or whether only one of them was *Asiarch*; *Valesius* thinks there was but one *Asiarch*; his reasons are these: Though more than one were elected by the Senate of *Asia*, yet that perhaps was done that out of them the *Roman Proconsul* might choose one, as he usually did in the Election of the *Irenarchs*: Again, the Senate might elect more than one, because if the first that was chosen *Asiarch* should die, before he had ended his year, there might be another to supply his place: Lastly, that there was but one *Asiarch* every year, is apparent from the Words at the latter end of this Epistle (which *Eusebius* leaves out in his quotation, but the Learned Reader may see them in Arch-Bishop *Usher's* Edit. of it) where 'tis said, *Polycarp* suffer'd under *Philip* the *Asiarch*, and *Statius Quadratus* *Proconsul* of *Asia*. This is the opinion of *Valesius*, and these are his Reasons for it. On the other side, the incomparably learned *Usher* affirms, that there were more *Asiarchs* than one at the same time; which he collects from *Acts* 19. 31. with whom agrees the learned *Dr. Hammond* in his Paraphrase and Notes on that Text, and also *Mr. Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, pag. 49. of his Works, Edit. *Lond.* 1665. This Office (says *Valesius*) was very chargeable, therefore the richest Persons were elected to it. Hence 'tis that *Strabo* affirms, that the *Asiarchs* were commonly chosen out of *Trallis*, the Citizens whereof were the wealthiest of all *Asia*.

(l) That is, the stake, (to which such as were to be burnt were bound) the Nails, the Ropes, and the *Tunica molesta* (mentioned by *Furzenal*) which was a Coat, daubed all over with Pitch and Brimstone, and put upon the Person who was to be burnt. *Valef.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(p) Or, *Alce*, for so it is in Bishop *Usher's* Edit. *Valef.*

(g. In the learned *Usher's* Edit. 'tis [*κοινωνέες*] that is, *Companions*; from the verb [*κοινωνέω*] us'd here in the same sense, as we said (*note o.*) it is sometimes taken to signify.

(r) *Ἡμέραν ᾠέθλιον* is the original phrase: So the primitive Christians called the days whereon the Martyrs suffered, because at their deaths they were born Sons (as it were) and Heirs of the Kingdom of Glory.

[who together with those of Philadelphia was the twelfth that suffered Martyrdom in Smyrna.] So that those Martyrs of Philadelphia were not twelve in number, but eleven only; and Polycarp was the twelfth. Vales.

(1.) *Eusebius* purposely omitted the conclusion of this Letter, as being unserviceable to his present design; and because he had inserted the entire Epistle into another Work of his, *to wit*, into his Book *concerning the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs*: The Learned Reader may see this whole Letter (as before we intimated) put forth by Arch B. *Usher*, from the conclusion whereof he may observe, (1.) that this Epistle was not written immediately after *Polycarp's* Martyrdom, but that there was some distance of time between that and the Writing thereof: For the
Philomelians,

dit. thus
[who together with those of Philadelphia was the twelfth that suffered Martyrdom in Smyrna.] So that those Martyrs of Philadelphia were not twelve in number, but eleven only; and Polycarp was the twelfth. *Valef.*
(t) *Eusebius* purposely omitted the conclusion of this Letter, as being unserviceable to his present design; and because he had inserted the entire Epistle into another Work of his, *to wit*, into his Book concerning the *Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs*: The Learned Reader may see this whole Letter (as before we intimated) put forth by Arch B. *Usher*, from the conclusion whereof he may observe, (1.) that this Epistle was not written immediately after *Polycarp's* Martyrdom, but that there was some distance of time between that and the Writing thereof: For the *Philomelians*,

Philomelians, hearing a report of the suffering of *Polycarp*, sent Letters to the Church of *Smyrna*, desiring an account of all Particulars that happened at the suffering of this B. Martyr: Which those of *Smyrna* willingly undertook, and wrote them this Letter, most part whereof *Eusebius* quotes in this Chapter. (2.) That *Polycarp's* Martyrdom is there called Evangelical; and the reason is given, *to wit*, because *Polycarp* fled from those who pursued him, (agreeable to the example of our Saviour.) Lastly, 'tis observable therefrom, that *Polycarp* was Martyr'd the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, that is, the 7th of the *Calend.* of *March*. Valef. But Arch B. *Usher* dissents (in this particular, that is, concerning the day of *Polycarp's* Martyrdom) from *Valesius*, as the Learned Reader may see in his Notes on that Epist. and in his Tract *De Anno Solar. Maced. & Asian.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. the Admirable and Apostolick *Polycarp*, whose Story the Brethren of the Church in *Smyrna* have in the fore-cited Epistle recorded: And to the same Writing concerning him are annex'd other Martyrdoms undergone at the same City of *Smyrna*, and at the (u) same Period of Time wherein *Polycarp* suffer'd. Amongst which number *Metrodorus*, supposed to be a Presbyter of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, was burnt to death. But the most famous and eminent Martyr of those Times was one *Pionius*: whose particular Professions, boldness and freedom in speaking, Apologies and most learned Orations in defence of the Faith, made both before the People and in the presence of the Governours; and moreover his affectionate Invitations and Encouragements to those who in time of Persecution fell into temptation, and the consolatory Speeches he used to such Brethren as made him Visits during his Imprisonment; and further than all this, the Torments, and besides them the exquisite Tortures he endur'd, his being nailed to the Stake, and his Fortitude amidst the fiery Pile, and lastly his Death which was subsequent to all these miraculous Sufferings; whosoever are desirous to know all these Particulars, we remit them to the Epistle (which contains a most ample account concerning him) which we have inserted into that Collection we made of the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs. Moreover, there are extant the Acts and Monuments of others who suffered Martyrdom at *Pergamus*, a City of *Asia*, to wit, of *Carpus* and *Papulus*, and of a Woman named *Agathonica*, who after many and most eminent Confessions of our Faith, were made perfect by a glorious Death.

C H A P. XVI.

How Justin the Philosopher, asserting the Christian Religion at the City of Rome, suffered Martyrdom.

AT the same time also *Justin*, of whom we made mention a little before, having presented (a) a second *Apology* to the aforesaid Emperors in defence of our Faith, was crowned with Divine Martyrdom. *Crescens* the Philosopher (whose Life and Manners were answerable to the appellation of a *Cynick*; of which Philosophical Sect he was a Follower) form'd and contriv'd the treacherous Plot against him; because *Justin* confuted him often in several Disputes had in the presence of many Auditors, at length by his own Martyrdom he obtain'd the reward of that Truth he was an Assertor of. Thus much this most studious Follower of the Truth (perceiving beforehand what was about to befall him) does, in his fore-said *Apology*, expressly predict in these same words; (b) And I also my self do expect to be treacherously betray'd by some one of those cal-posepostorously placed: For that which in the Printed Copies is put in the second place, should be placed first; and that which in those Editions is set first, and dedicated to the *Roman Senate*, should be placed last; which we shall more fully manifest hereafter. Valef. (b) This passage of *Justin's* is now extant in his first Apolog. p. 46. Edit. Paris. Græco-Latin. Valef.

led [Philosophers] and (c) put in the Stocks; M. Aurelius and perhaps by *Crescens* that illiterate Fellow, and one who is a lover of vain-glorious boasting: For the Man is unworthy the name of a Philosopher, because he declares in publick such things as he is altogether ignorant of, and affirms the Christians to be impious and irreligious Persons, merely to please and delight the Multitude; (d) committing herein a great error: For, in that he inveighs against us, having never read the Doctrine of Christ, he is abominably wicked, and much worse than the vulgar sort of Men, who most frequently are cautious in their discourses concerning those things they are ignorant in, and avoid speaking falsely thereof. But if he has read our Doctrine, and understands not the majestick Sublimity thereof; or if he understands it, and behaves himself thus because he would not be suspected [to be a Christian:] then he is far more base and wicked, in that he makes himself the Slave of popular Applause and irrational Fear: For I would have you to know that when I propos'd to, and ask'd him some such questions as these, I perceived and was convinced he indeed understood nothing at all: And that you may know I speak what is true, I am ready (if those our Disputations have not come to your knowledge) to propose the *Queries* again even in your presence. And this Exercise will by no means be misbecoming your Imperial Majesty. But if both my Questions, and also his Answers have been made known to you, then it will be apparently manifest to you that he is altogether ignorant of our Religion: But if he understands it, but dares not freely declare himself because of his Auditors; he is no Philosopher, (as I said before,) but is manifestly evidenced to be an affecter of popular applause, and has no esteem for that most excellent (e) saying

of *Socrates* [to wit, That no man is to be preferred before the truth.] Thus far therefore *Justin*. And, that he was put to death (according to his own Prediction) by a treacherous Plot, of which *Crescens* was the framer, *Tatianus* (a man who in the former part of his life had been a (f) Teacher of *Rhetorick*, was well-read in the *Grecian* Learning, and obtain'd no small repute by his being conversant therein; who also has left in his Works many Monuments of his Ingenuity) does relate in the (g) Book he wrote which tho' it be

sometimes taken in that signification *Eusebius* here uses it in; yet by other Writers (and particularly by *Tatianus* in his Book here quoted by *Eusebius*, about the end of it) it is used in such a sense, as to comprehend all the Learning of the *Grecians*, and the liberal Sciences. Valef. (g) This Work of *Tatianus's* is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyr's* Works, Edit. Par. 1636. It is there call'd *Tatiani Assyrii contra Græcos oratio*. This passage here quoted by *Euseb.* occurs p. 157. 158. where the Translator renders these words [*μεγάλη πόλις*] in *Megalopolis*: But we, following *Valesius*, have translated it thus [in the great City, i. e. Rome.]

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. against the *Grecians* in these words: 'And the most admirable *Justin* said truly, that the fore-said Persons were like Thieves.' Then, interposing some words concerning these Philosophers, he adjoyns thus much; 'Indeed *Crescens*, who had made his Nest in the great City [*Rome*,] was most notorious for the Sin of Buggering Boys, and above all Men most addicted to Covetousness; and he who exhorted all Men to despise Death, did so mightily dread it himself, that he made it his business to procure *Justin* to be put to death, (as judging that to be the worst of Evils) because he preach'd the Truth, and manifestly proved, that the Philosophers were Gluttons and Deceivers. And this indeed was the true cause of *Justin's* Martyrdom.'

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning those Martyrs, whom Justin makes mention of in his Apology.

(a) It should be in his second Apology, &c. as the learned *Petavius* has conjectured (in his Notes on *Heref.* 46. *Epiph.*) For *Eusebius* does not recount the Apologies of *Justin* in the same order where they are now Printed. For that which in the ordinary Editions is termed the second, and is dedicated to *Antoninus Pius*, *Eusebius* calls the first, as appears from Chap. 12. Book 2. and from Chap. 12. and 18. Book 4. And that, which in the vulgar Editions is said to be his first Apology, and is dedicated to the Senate, *Eusebius* calls the second, (see Chap. 16. of this Book,) and says (Chap. 16 and 18 of this 4. Book,) it was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, after the death of *Pius*. As to the order of *Justin's* Apologies I agree with *Eusebius*, and do grant that to be the latter which in the vulgar Editions, is inscribed to the Senate. But whereas *Eusebius* says, *Justin's* former Apology was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; I cannot assent to him. For, in the beginning of that Apology *Justin* says, That the Woman (which was a Christian) being accused by her Husband, presented a Petition to the Emperor [and she presented a Libel to thee, O Emperor:] (See these Words in this Chapter.) Now if that Apology had been presented to the Successors of *Antoninus Pius*, as *Eusebius* thinks it was, doubtless *Justin* would have used the plural number, and said [To you, O Emperors:] For *Marcus* and *Verus* were both Emperors together. Again, *Justin* says, that one *Lucius*, seeing *Ptolemæus* a Christian led away to be put to death, used these Words to the Judge, [These judiciary Proceedings are misbecoming both *Pius* the Emperor, and the Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, &c.] (in Chap. 82. of this 4th Book, the reading is better, thus, [and the Philosopher] which is confirmed by our MSS.) Who therefore sees not, that *Antoninus Pius* is meant in these Words? For his surname [*Pius*] evidently shews so much; and [the Philosopher the Son of the Emperor] manifestly confirms this our Opinion. Lastly, *Urbicus* the Præfect (See Note d. in this Chap.) whom *Justin* there mentions, lived in the times of *Antoninus Pius*. For he was that *Lollius Urbicus*, who, being the Emperor's Deputy, appeased the Rebellion of the *Britains*, as *Capitolinus* relates in the Life of *Antoninus*. *Apuleius* (in the beginning of his Apology) affirms that this *Lollius Urbicus* was Præfect of the City in the Reign of *Pius*. These are the reasons by which I am induced to affirm, that the latter Apology of *Justin* was not presented to *M. Aurelius*, but to *Antoninus Pius*: Under which Emperor he suffer'd Martyrdom, and not under *Marcus Aurelius*, as *Eusebius* here places his Martyrdom: But, in his *Chronicon* (whom *Georg. Syncellus* also follows) he seems to place it in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and so does *Mich. Glycas*, in *Annal.* *Vales.* *Mr. Tho. Lydiat*, in his *Emend. Temp.* says *Justin* suffered under this Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

For the Woman at last judg'd it a wicked thing for her to co-habit with a Husband who wholly practis'd all manner of lustful courses, contrary to the Law of Nature, and disagreeable to Justice and Honesty; and therefore she resolved to be divorc'd from him. But the Woman was obedient to the Instructions of her Friends, who advis'd her to continue married a while longer, in expectation that her Husband would in future alter his mind, and ere long lead a more regular course of life; so she constrain'd her self and continued with him. But after this her Husband, having made a journey to *Alexandria*, was discover'd to have committed more notorious acts of lewdness: The Woman therefore (fearing, that by her continuing married to him, and by her being his Consort at bed and board, she should be partaker of his Wickednesses and Impieties) sent him that which we call a Bill of Divorce, and departed from him. But this excellent Fellow her Husband (who ought to have rejoiced, because his Wife (who formerly had committed lewdness with Servants and mercenary Fellows, and took delight in Drunkenness and all manner of Vice) did now both desist from those wicked doings, and also desired him to leave them off; which because he would not do she was divorc'd from him) drew up an Accusation against her, and said she was a Christian. And she presented a (b) Libel to thee, O Emperor; wherein she requested liberty might be allow'd her first to set in order her Domestic affairs; after which settlement she promised to put in an answer to her accusation. And you granted the Woman's petitions: but her (heretofore) Husband, being within that space (c) unable to say any thing against her, set upon one *Ptolemæus* (whom (d) *Urbicus* put to death) who had been the Woman's Instructor in the Christian Religion, after this manner: He perswaded a Centurion, who was his Friend, to apprehend *Ptolemæus*, and having put him in Bonds, to ask him this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And *Ptolemæus*, (being a lover of Truth, and no deceitful Person, nor Falsifier of his own Judgment) confessing that he was a Christian, the Centurion caus'd him to be bound in Fetters, and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. At length, when the Man was brought before *Urbicus*, he was again ask'd this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And he, assuredly knowing that he should obtain Glory and Happiness by the Doctrine of Christ, again made profession of that Divine and Virtuous Institution. For he that denies himself to be a Christian, declines the Confession of that Religion, either because he is a disavowal as a denier of it, or in regard he knows himself to be unworthy of, and estranged from its Rules and Precepts; neither of which can happen to him that is a true Christian. When therefore *Urbicus* had given command that *Ptolemæus* should be led away to be put to death, one *Lucius*, (who also was a Christian,) considering the injustice of the Sen-

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(b) That is, a Petition where in the Woman requested

of the Emperor, that the proceedings against her might be deferred, which delay was usually granted as well to the accused, as to the Accuser. See *Cod. Theod. Tit. 36. ut intra annum, &c. Vales.*

(c) To wit, which was prefix'd by the Emperor; who had granted the Woman's Petition, in regard it was reasonable and just. *Vales.*

(d) This *Urbicus* was Præfect of the City; whose sentence, pronounced against the two Christians *Ptolemæus* and *Lucius*, was the occasion of *Justin's* writing this Apology. He was called *Q. Lollius Urbicus*, as an old Inscription at *Rome* attests. See *Apuleius*, in *defens. sua*: Yet, 'tis strange that in all our Copies he is written *Urbicus*. In *Justin* he is now and then rightly called *Urbicus*, to wit, in the beginning of his Apology, and a little after that. *Vales.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. tence that was pronounced, spake thus to *Urbicius*; what reason is there that thou shouldst have condemn'd this Man, who is neither Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Murderer, nor Thief, nor Robber, and who is not in any wise convicted of any other wicked fact, but only owns and acknowledges the appellation of a Christian? Such Judiciary Proceedings as these, *O Urbicius*! are misbecoming both *Pius* the Emperor, and the Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, and also the Sacred Senate. But *Urbicius* made *Lucius* no other answer, only said thus to him: You also seem to me to be such an one, and when *Lucius* had said that he was, *Urbicius* again gave command that he also should be led away to be put to death. *Lucius* acknowledg'd himself much obliged to him; for I shall be deliver'd, said he, from such wicked Masters, and go to a gracious God, who is my Father and King. And a third, stepping forth, was also condemn'd to undergo the same Punishment." After this, *Justin* does pertinently and agreeably introduce those words (which we quoted before) saying, 'And I also my self do expect to be treacherously betray'd by some one of those called [Philosophers,] and so forth.

C H A P. XVIII.

What Books of Justin's are come to our hands.

(a) Or, mind; as it is in the King's MS. *Vales.* In Robert Stephens Edit. 'tis [Πιστοί-ας, i. e. understanding.] **T**HIS person has left us many Monuments of his learn'd and most accomplish'd *(a)* understanding, and also of his sedulous diligence about Divine matters, full of variety of profit; to which we will remit such as are lovers of learning, after we have usefully remark'd such of them as are come to our knowledge. The first therefore of his Books is his Supplication to *Antoninus* surnamed *Pius*, and his Sons, and to the Roman Senate, in behalf of our Religion; the second contains another Apology for our Faith, which he presented to *Verus* (who was Successor to, and bore the same name with, the foresaid Emperor *Antoninus*) whose times we are now giving an account of. There is also another Book of his against the Gentiles; wherein he treats at large, both of many Questions that are usually disputed both amongst us and the Gentile-Philosophers; and also declares his Opinion concerning the Nature of Spirits; which 'tis of no importance for us here to insert. And further there is another Work of his against the Gentiles come to our hands, which he entituled, *A Confutation*: and besides these another, concerning the Monarchy of God; which he confirms not only by the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, but also from the Testimonies of the Writers amongst the Gentiles. Moreover, he wrote another Book, the Title whereof is *Psaltes*: and another, containing *(b)* some short Notes concerning the Soul; wherein he proposes divers Questions pertinent to the Explication of that Subject, and produces the Opinions of the Philosophers among the Gentiles, which he promiseth to con-

(b) The term in the original is [σχολίων] in *Nicephorus*, 'tis The ancient *Græcians* called [Scholia] some short Notes; and distinguish'd them from *Exegeticks*: For *Exegeticks* were long and large Expositions, and explained the whole Work of a Writer: But *Scholia* were put to explain particular Words, or to expound one Sentence. Sometimes *Scholia* are called short Expositions of more obscure Words and Sentences. Such were *Cyrill's Scholia* concerning the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, which are now extant, and are nothing else but some short Explications of the more obscure Questions concerning the Incarnation. And of this sort was *Justin's Book of the Soul*; to wit, some Questions and Opinions, concerning the nature and origine of Souls; to which were added *Justin's* Exposition and Demonstration thereof. *Jerom* calls them *Excerpta*, which *Origen* termed σχολια. *Vales.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. fute, and to set forth his own Opinion thereof in another Work of his. He also composed a *Dialogue against the Jews*, being a Conference which he had at the City of *Ephesus* with one *Trypho* the most famous person amongst the Jews at that time. In which Book he manifests, after what manner Divine Grace incited him to embrace the Doctrine of the true Faith; and with what sedulous earnestness he before that set himself about the study of Philosophy, also with how great arduency of mind he was laborious in finding out the truth. Moreover, in the same Book he relates concerning the Jews, how that they formed treacherous Plots and Contrivances against the Doctrine of Christ; and useth these expresse words to *Trypho*: 'So far were you from a Repentance of your impious Doings, that you chose out some Men fit for such a design, and at that time sent them forth from *Jerusalem* over the whole World, to publish this, that there was an impious Sect called Christians sprung up; and to divulge the same reproaches, which all those that are ignorant of our Religion do now fasten upon us; so that, you are not only the Authors of your own Wickedness and Error, but also give the sole occasion thereof to all other Men.' He says also, in the same Work, that the Gifts of Prophecy even in his time shone forth upon the Church. Moreover he has mentioned the Revelation of *John*, and says expressly it was written by that Apostle. Also he recites several Testimonies of the Prophets, which in his Dispute with *Trypho* he evinces were cut out of the Bible by the Jews. Several other Works also of his are extant among many of our Christian Brethren. Further, the Books of this person were so highly esteemed by the Ancients, that *Irenæus* quotes some Expressions of his; partly in his fourth Book against Heresies, where he produces these words of his: And *Justin* says well, in his Book against *Marcion*, I would not have credited the Lord himself, if he had preached any other God than him, who was the Maker of the World; and partly, in his fifth Book of the same Work, where he quotes these words of his: It was well spoken of *Justin*, to wit, that before the coming of our Lord, Satan never durst blaspheme God, because till then he did not certainly *(c)* know his own Condemnation. And let thus much be here necessarily said by us, to incite such as are lovers of Learning, to have an high esteem for, and accurately to read over, his Books. Thus far concerning *Justin*.

(c) *Epiphanius* seems to have been of the same opinion. In his *Panarium* (lib. 1. Heres. 39. pag. 289. Edit. *Petav.*) he proposeth to us, as a certain Truth, that the Devil, before the coming of Christ, — ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ τῆς ἐλπίδος, was in hopes of grace and pardon; and that out of this persuasion of his, he never all that while shew'd himself refractory towards God; but that having understood by the manifestation of our Saviour, that there was left him no hopes of Salvation, he from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much mischief as possibly he could against Christ, and his Church. But this opinion (as the learned *Petavius* has observed in his Note on that passage) *Vulgò non probatur*, i. e. is not generally approved of, as true.

C H A P. XIX.

Who, in the Reign of Verus, presided over the Churches of Rome and Alexandria.

NOW the foresaid Emperor being in the eighth year of his Reign, *Anicetus*, having compleated the eleventh year of his Episcopal Dignity over the Roman Church, was succeeded by *Soter*. And moreover, *Celadion*, having presided fourteen years over the Church at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* was his Successor in that See.

C H A P.

M. Aure-
lius and
L. Verus.

C H A P. XX.

Who then govern'd the Church of Antioch.

AT that time also *Theophilus*, the sixth from the Apostles, flourish'd in his Presidency over the Church at *Antioch*: For *Cornelius*, Successor to *Heros*, was the fourth that presided there; after whom *Eros*, in the fifth remove from the Apostles, succeeded in that Episcopal See.

C H A P. XXI.

Concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers who flourish'd in that Age.

IN those times *Hegesippus* flourish'd in the Church, of whom we have made frequent mention in the foregoing Book; and *Dionysius* Bishop of the *Corinthians*; also one *Pinytus* Bishop of the *Cretians*. Moreover, *Philippus*, *Apollinaris*, and *Melito*; *Musanus* also, and *Modestus*, and lastly *Irenæus*. All which Persons wrote Books that are come to our hands, containing the sound Doctrine and true Faith, delivered by the Apostles.

C H A P. XXII.

Concerning *Hegesippus*, and those he makes mention of.

MOREOVER, *Hegesippus*, in his five Books of Historical Memorials, which are come to our hands, has left a most full and compleat account of his own Faith and Opinion. Wherein he declareth, that travelling as far as *Rome*, he discoursed with many Bishops, and from them all heard one and the same Doctrine. You may please

(a) Instead of [μεγίστην] as it is in the King's MS. and in Rob. Stephens Edit. it should be [μεγίστην] i. e. after some words; as we translate it. (b) Sir H. Savil, at the Margin of his MS. made it [διατελέων] that is, I staid there. In Rob. Stephens Edit. 'tis [διατελέων]. Whether the Learned Knight corrected this passage from his own conjecture, or by the authority of some MS. Copy, is to me uncertain: However this Emendation is very necessary. Further, *Eusebius* quotes this passage of *Hegesippus*'s in chap. 11. of this Book; between which place and this here there seems to be some disagreement. For *Eusebius* writes there, that *Hegesippus* came to *Rome* in the times of *Anicetus*, and staid there till *Eleutherius* was promoted to that See. But *Hegesippus* himself does not say so here, only, that he staid at *Rome* until *Anicetus* was Bishop there. Therefore *Hegesippus* came thither about the latter end of *Pius*'s Reign. Valef.

(c) See Note (a) on Chap. 11. Book 3.

which account that Church was stiled a Virgin; for it was not hitherto corrupted with vain Opinions. (d) *Thebuthis* (because he was not made a Bishop) was the first that began to vitiate it. This Man was (e) one of those that took his Rise from the Seven Sects, which were amongst the [Jewish] People: of which *Simon* was another, from whom the *Symonians*; and *Cleobius*, from whom the *Cleobians*; (f) and *Dositheus*, from whom the *Dositheans*; and *Gortheus*, from whom the (g) *Gortheans*; and *Masbotheus*, from whom the *Masbotheans*, had their Denomination: From these also came the *Menandrians*, and the *Marcionists*, and the *Carpocratians*, and the *Valentinians*, and the *Basilidians*, and the *Saturnilians*; each of which Men in particular was an Introducer of his own Opinion. From these came the False Christs, the False Prophets, and the False Apostles; who rent

asunder the Unity of the Church by their corrupt Opinions brought in against God, and his Christ. Moreover, the same Writer gives an account of the Heresies which were heretofore amongst the Jews, in these words: 'There were divers Sects and Opinions in the Circumcision amongst the Children of *Israel*, which were opposite both to the (b) Tribe of *Judah*, and also to Christ; to wit, the (i) *Essæans*, the (k) *Galileans*, the *Hemerobaptists*, the (l) *Masbotheans*, the *Samarites*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Pharisees*. And he writes many other things, of which we have partly made mention before, and inferred his Relations in their proper and opportune places and times. Also, he produces several Passages out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, out of the Syriac [Gospel], and particularly out of the Hebrew Tongue; whereby he plainly intimates himself to have been converted from being a Jew to the Faith of Christ. He makes mention also of other things as contain'd in the un-

and *Pharisees*, &c. But this is very improbable. *Hegesippus* said it only in favour of that Tribe, from whence Christ sprang. Valef.

(i) These were the seven Sects amongst the Jews; of which *Hegesippus* makes frequent mention, as may be seen from some quotations out of him, which occur in the foregoing Books. *Iustin* (in *disputat. advers. Triphton.*) mentions them, but calls them by other names, to wit, *Sadducees*, *Genists*, *Merists*, *Galileans*, *Hellenians*, *Pharisees*, and *Baptists*. *Epiphanius* terms them, *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essæans*, *Nazareans*, *Hemerobaptists*, and *Herodians*. Valef.

(b) *Judas Galilæus* was the original Author of this Sect, (says *Josephus*, *Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.*) who having joyned *Saddock*, a Pharisee, to him, solicited the People to defection, telling them, that God was to be their only Prince and Master, and no Mortal to be acknowledged as such; that the requiring a Tax from them, if it were by them paid, was a manifest profession of servitude, and that 'twas their duty to vindicate their Liberty; by which means he raised a great Sedition amongst the Jews, and was the cause (under pretence of defending the publick liberty) of innumerable mischiefs to the Nations. See *Joseph. Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.*

(l) They are called also *Marboneans* and *Morboncans*; they must be distinguished from those whom *Hegesippus* mentions a little before; for these here were one of the seven Sects amongst the Jews; but those were propagated from the seven Sects; as were also the *Simonians*, *Dositheans*, &c. Valef.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. (d) In the King's, the Mar. and Fuk. MSS. his name is Θεβούθης, i. e. *Thebuthis*. In Rob. Stephens Edit. he is called Θεβούθης, i. e. *Thebutis*. *Rufinus*, in his Version, calls him *Theobutes*, and *Theobutes*. Valef.

(e) That is, he was one that gathered up his Errors from the false Opinions of those seven Sects amongst the Jews; as did also *Simon*, *Cleobius*, *Dositheus*, &c. Valef.

(f) Some think that this *Dositheus* was much ancients than these times he is here mentioned to have lived in: *Drusus* (in *Respons. ad Minervæ Seraii*, cap. 10.) asserts he lived in the times of *Sennacherib* King of *Affyria*; and *Jerom* is of that opinion, as appears by what he says in *Dialog. Advers. Luciferian.* But *Scaliger*, (in *Elencho triberes.*) and *Origen* (Book 1. against *Celsus*) affirm he lived since our Saviour's incarnation, and was co-temporary with *Simon Magus*. See *Photii Bibliotheca*, cap. 230. Valef.

(g) Or, *Gortheans*: For so these Hereticks are named in the King's, Mar. Med. Fuk. and Sir Hen. Savil's MSS. Valef.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. written Traditions of the Jews. Now, not only he, but also *Irenæus*, and all the Ancients, do call the *Proverbs of Solomon*, the *Book of Wisdom* that (m) contains the Precepts of all Virtue: and, treating of those Books which are termed *The Apocrypha*, he relates that some of them were forg'd by certain Hereticks in his times. But we must now proceed to another Writer.

(m) Indeed *Jerom* gives this Epistle to that B. called *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, (in his Preface to the Books of Solomon) his Words are these: *Fertur & panaretos Jesu filii Sirach liber, & alius pseudepigraphus, qui sapientia Solomonis inscribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi; non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed parabolas prænatum, &c.*

C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning *Dionysius*, Bishop of the *Corinthians*, and the Epistles he wrote.

AND first we are to speak of *Dionysius*, who had the Episcopal Chair of the *Corinthian* Church; and liberally and copiously communicated his Divine Labours, not only to those committed to his charge, but also to such as inhabited Countreys remote and at a great distance; rendring himself most serviceable and useful to all persons, by those general Epistles he wrote to divers Churches. Of which number one is that to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing the first Rudiments of, and Institutions in, the true Faith; and moreover an Exhortation to Peace and Unity. Another of them is that to the *Athenians*, which is excitatory to Faith, and to lead a life answerable to the Precepts of the Gospel: In which Point he reproves the negligence of [the *Athenians*] who had in a manner apostatized from the Faith, since the time that *Publius* their Bishop suffer'd Martyrdom, during the Persecutions which then

(a) This *Quadratus*, I judge, is not the same Person with that *Quadratus*, the Disciple of the Apostles, mentioned by *Eusebius* (Book 3. chap. 37.) For the *Quadratus* last-named was not a Bishop, as it plainly appears from the fore-said place of *Eusebius*. But, that *Quadratus* (spoken of by our Author at the beginning of this fourth Book) who presented an Apology to *Adrian* for our Religion, was the Disciple of the Apostles, as *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* expressly affirms. Now this *Quadratus* here spoken of (who was Bishop of the *Athenians*) must, as I said, be distinguished from *Quadratus* the Disciple of the Apostles: For this latter lived not beyond the times of *Adrian*; but he that was Bishop of the *Athenians*, governed that Church in the times of *M. Antoninus*, as 'tis evident from *Dionysius's* Epistle to the *Athenians*; for he speaks of him, as being his co-temporary: Now *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* flourish'd in the Reign of *M. Antoninus*. Valef.

Gortyna, and to the rest of the Churches in *Creet*; and commends *Philip* their Bishop, because the Church under his charge was renown'd for many signal Acts of Fortitude; and admonishes them to use caution against the Deceit and Perverseness of Hereticks: And in the Epistle he wrote to the Church of *Amastria*, together with the other Churches throughout *Pontus*, he mentions *Bacchylides* and *Elpistus*, as being the Persons that incited him to write: He annexes likewise several Expositions of Holy Scripture, and by name mentions *Palma* their Bishop. He recommends to them many things concerning Marriage and

Chastity, and commands those that recover from any Lapse whatsoever, (whether *Viciousness*, or *Heretical Error*) to be affectionately receiv'd. In the same Volume is contain'd another Epistle to the *Gnostians*, wherein he admonishes *Pinytus* the Bishop of that Church, not to impose the heavy Yoke of *Continency* upon the Brethren, as if 'twere necessary; but to have a regard to the Infirmary of most Men. To which *Pinytus* returning an answer, does greatly admire and extol *Dionysius*; but withal exhorts him, that in future he would impart stronger Food, and nourish up the People under his charge by sending again to them some Letters that contain more perfect and solid Doctrine; lest being continually accusom'd to such milky expressions, they should grow old in a childish Discipline. In which Epistle, both the Orthodox Faith of *Pinytus*, and his solicitude for the Proficiency of those under his care; his Eloquence also, and Understanding in Divine matters, is most accurately and to the life represented. Moreover, there is extant an Epistle of *Dionysius's* to the *Romans*, superscrib'd to *Soter*, at that time the Bishop there; out of which 'tis not amiss here to insert some words, wherein he much commends the usage and custom of the *Romans*, observ'd by them even until the times of the Persecution rais'd in our own

(b) Age. He writes thus; "For this hath been (b) He means the your custom even from the beginning [of your persecuti- Conversion to Christianity] to be divers ways be- on in Dio- neficial to all the Brethren, and to send relief to cletian's most Churches throughout every City; some- Reign. times supplying the Wants of such as are in ne- Valef- cessity; at others, furnishing those Brethren with Necessaries that are condemn'd to work in the Mines. By such charitable Gifts, which from the beginning you have been accusom'd to trans- mit to others, being *Romans*, you retain the custom receiv'd from your *Roman* Fore-fathers. Which usage your blessed Bishop *Soter* has not only diligently observ'd, but greatly improv'd; being both instrumental, and ready in the conveyance of your Bounty design'd for the Saints; and also comforting with blessed words (as a tender and affectionate Father does his Children) those Brethren that come as (c) Strangers to you." In the same Epistle also he makes mention of the Epistle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, and manifests that

(c) *Dionysius* means those Brethren, who usually came from remote Countreys to *Rome*, to procure some relief for such as in their own Country were in distress, and necessity. Valef.

'twas very anciently customary to recite it publicly in the presence of the Church: for he says, (d) This day therefore, being the Holy-day of (d) To this the Lord, we have now pass'd over, wherein we fragment read over your Epistle; which (as also the for- of Diony- mer Epistle of *Clemens's* written to us) we conti- sius's Epi- nue to read henceforward, shall abound with Roman most excellent Precepts and Instructions." Fur- Clergy, is ther, the same Writer speaking of his own Epistle to be join- which by some Forgers were corrupted, says ed that o- thus: "For I wrote some Epistles, being thereto ther pas- requested by the Brethren; but the emissaries of sage of the the Devil have fill'd them with Darnel; expun- pish. quo- ging some Passages out of them, and adding o- ted by our ther some; for whom a Woe is reserv'd. 'Tis no Eusebius wonder therefore, that some attempt to adulte- (chap. 25. rate the Holy Writings of the Lord, since they B. 2.) have basely falsified such as are of an inferior Au- Valef. thority." Besides these, there is extant another Epistle of *Dionysius's*, written to *Chrysophora* a most faithful Sister, to whom he writes what is agreeable, and imparts to her such Spiritual Food as is convenient for her. Thus much concerning the Writings of *Dionysius*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Theophilus, Bishop of the Antiochians.

(a) Concerning this Hermogenes, and his Heresie, see Baronius, ad annum Christi 170. But, I cannot give my assent to him, as to what he affirms, viz. that Hermogenes taught in Asia. Valef. The Heresie of this Hermogenes is related by Theodoret. (Heret. fab. L. 1. cap. 19.) οὗτος (ὁ Ἑρμογῆνης) τὴν κρείττον τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔπειν ἀποδείξναι, ἃ ὁ Διδάσκων τὴν δαίμονας εἰς τὴν ὑλὴν ἀναχέουσιν. i. e. This Hermogenes asserted, that the Body of the Lord was deposited in the Sun: And that the Devil and the Evil Spirits should be turned into Matter. The Seleuciani and Hermiani taught the same; to wit, That the Body of Christ ascended no farther than the Sun; the occasion of which assertion they took from those Words of the Psalmist, Psal. 19. 5. which in St. Jerom's Translation is thus rendred, In sole posuit tabernaculum suum: But in the Psalms used in our Liturgy 'tis thus worded, In them hath he set a Tabernacle for the Sun. See Dr. Hammond on that Text. The same opinion Gregory Nazianzen attributeth to the Manicheans, Epist. 1. ad Cledonium, and S. August. Tract 34. in Job. This opinion is more largely and clearly set down, but without a name, in the Catena patrum on Psal. 18. where 'tis said, that these [Hereticks] assert, that after his Resurrection, our Saviour deposited his Body in the Sphere of the Sun, to be preserved there till his second coming.

There are extant of this Theophilus's (whom we declared to have been Bishop of the Antiochian Church) three Books written to Autolycus, containing the first Rudiments of the Faith. He has another Tract also extant, entitled, Against the Heresie of (a) Hermogenes, wherein he quotes Authorities out of the Revelation of St. John: There are besides some other Books of his, wherein are deliver'd the first Principles of our Faith. Moreover, whenas in that Age the Hereticks (like Darnel) did nevertheless corrupt the pure Seed of the Apostolick Doctrine, the Pastors of Churches were every-where very earnest and industrious to chase them away (being as it were Savage and Wild Beasts) from the Sheep of Christ; partly by admonishing and exhorting the Brethren; and partly by encountering valiantly with the Hereticks themselves; whom they either confuted by dint of Arguments and unwritten Questions propounded face to face, or else disproved their Opinions by written Treatises most accurately compiled. That Theophilus therefore did, together with others, engage these Hereticks, 'tis manifestly apparent from that elaborate piece, (not unworthy of himself) which he wrote against Marcion; which Book, together with those others we have recounted, is at this present time extant. Further, Maximinus, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded this person in the Bishoprick of the Antiochian Church.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Philippus and Modestus.

Moreover, Philippus (who, as we are inform'd by the words of Dionysius [even now quoted] was Bishop of the Church at Gortyna) compiled also a most elaborate piece against Marcion: So likewise did Irenæus, and Modestus. But this person last-named did most excellently (even better than the other Writers) detect the Errors and Frauds of the Man, and exposed them to the view of the World. Several others also wrote, whose Labours are to this day with exquisite care preserv'd by many of the Brethren.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Melito, and what he has made mention of.

Also, at that time Melito, Bishop of the Church at Sardis, and Apollinaris Prelate of the Church at Hierapolis, flourish'd and were eminently famous. Each of which Persons did severally dedicate an Apology written in de-

fence of our Faith to the foresaid Roman Emperor, who reign'd at that time. The Books of each of them, which are come to our knowledge, are these that follow. Two Books of Melito's con-

cerning Easter; one of his, (a) concerning the true way of Converse, and of the Prophets: another concerning the Church; and a third, concerning the Lord's-Day: Moreover, one, concerning the Nature of Man, and another, about the Frame and Composure of Man; and one, concerning the (b) Obedience of the Senses and their Subjection to Faith; and moreover, one Book, concerning the Soul, the Body and the Mind: a Book, concerning Baptism; one, of Truth; one, concerning the (c) Origination and Generation of Christ: his Book of Prophecy; another, concerning Hospitality; and that entitled, The Key: besides one, concerning the Devil, and, of the Revelation of John; and another, about the Incarnation of God; and lastly, his Apology to Antoninus. Now, in his Books concerning Easter, to wit, in the beginning of that Work, he declares the time when he wrote, in these words, Servilius Paulus being Proconsul of Asia, at that time when Sagaris suffer'd Martyrdom, there arose a great Controversie at Laodicea concerning Easter, which hapned to fall on those days in its due season; at which time I wrote these Books." Clemens Alexandrinus makes mention of this Book, in his Piece concerning Easter; which Book of Melito's was, as he says, the occasion of his composing that Work. Now, in that Book dedicated to the Emperor, he relates what was acted against us Christians in his Reign. For now, says he, that sort of Men who are pious and holy are persecuted, (a thing which was never before done) and molested with new Decrees throughout all Asia. For most impudent Informers, who are desirous to possess themselves of other Men's Goods, taking an occasion from the Imperial Edicts, do openly commit Robberies, and day and night take away the Goods of innocent Persons." And, after some words, he continues thus; Now, if all this be done by your command, let it pass for an orderly and due way of proceeding. For a just Emperor can never decree or authorize any thing that is unjust: and we willingly undergo the Reward of such a death. This request only we humbly make to you, that you yourself would first take

(a) In all our MSS. Copies this title [concerning the true way of converse and of the Prophets] evidently appears to be the title but of one Book. Jerom (in his Book de Eccl. Scriptor. which is almost wholly taken out of Eusebius) entitles this piece of Melito's thus [De vita Prophetarum, i. e. concerning the life of the Prophets. Valef.

(b) Melito wrote a Book upon this Subject, because there were some Hereticks who asserted, that such Men as were carnal, believed by the help of their senses; but those were spiritual believed by reason. So Heraclio expounded that Text in St. John's Gospel, (chap. 4. 48.) Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe. Which words Heraclio said, were properly directed to those, who by works and their senses had the nature of obeying, but not of believing thro' reason. Origen (Tome 13. Enarrat. on St. John's Gospel) mentions, and confutes this Opinion: Where he declares, that neither spiritual nor carnal Men can believe, unless it be by sense. Valef.

(c) In the Maz. Med. and Fula MSS. and in Nicephorus, this Book of Melito's is intitled [ὡς κτίσεως, &c.] i. e. concerning the Origination, &c. which reading, we doubt not but is true. Rufinus, as appears by his Version, and Robert Stephens, as may be seen in his Edit. read [ὡς πίστεως,] i. e. concerning Faith, &c. The ancient Fathers, who lived before the Nicene Council, meant (by the word [κτίσεως]) not only such a creation as is made out of nothing, but also all sort of production whatsoever, and therefore the divine Origination of the Word. Those Words of the Apostle (Colos. 1. 15.) The first-born of every Creature, they asserted, were to be understood of the eternal Generation of the Son. Valef. But as Dr. Hammond observes in his Notes on that Text; πρῶτον &c. i. e. first-born, is used sometimes for a Lord, or Person in power, who hath the privilege of the first-born, dominion over all his brethren: And according to this notion (continues he) 'tis used commonly in Scripture for a Prince, or principal Person. See Psal. 68. 27. Job 18. 13. Or it may peculiarly refer to his Resurrection, in which he was the first-born from the dead. See Hammond on Colos. 1. 15.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. take cognizance of (d) them that are Sufferers of this vexatious Molestation; and then determine impartially, whether they are worthy of Punishment and Death; or deserve to live in peace and quietness. But if this Decree, and this new Edict (which ought not to have been

of the Christians; which appears from what follows. For Melito desires of the Emperor, that he would first look into and examine the cause of the Christians; and then determine, whether they deserved to be punished, or rather preserved in safety. Valef.

(e) So he terms the Jews, amongst whom the Christian Religion first sprang up. Upon this account Porphyrius (whose Words Eusebius quotes Book 6. chap. 19. of this work) termed the Christian Religion [*ἡ ἀνδραγαθία*] i. e. an audacious Self that had its beginning amongst Barbarians. Valef.

it began to be eminent and conspicuous in Your Provinces; it brought with it most fortunate and prosperous success to Your Empire. For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented. Of which Empire You by succession are the most acceptable inheritor that could be wish'd for, and shall so continue, together with your (f) Son,

(f) From this place it is evident, that Melito the Bishop presented his Apology to M. Antoninus after the death of Aurelius Verus. For, if Verus had been then living, when Melito wrote this Apology, he would doubtless have mentioned him here; and in stead of these words [*together with your Son*] would certainly have said [*together with your brother.*] For L. Verus was the adopted Brother of M. Aurelius. Seeing therefore, Melito does here mention only the Son of M. Antoninus (to wit, Commodus) 'tis manifest, as I said, that this Apology was presented to Marcus after the death of L. Verus. And therefore Eusebius (in his *Chronicon*) places it on the tenth year of M. Aurelius, to wit, the year after Verus's death. Valef.

(g) The same is asserted by Tertulian (*Apologet.* cap. 5.) whose words our Eusebius quotes, partly at chap. 25. B. 2. and partly at chap. 20. B. 3.

(h) The Rescript of Antoninus Pius (who is here meant) in favour of the Christians, is not now extant. 'Tis mentioned in the Rescript of M. Aurelius Antoninus to the Cities of Asia, which Eusebius has set down in chap. 13. of this Book. Valef.

against us; namely to the *Larisseans*, to the *Thes-* M. Aurelius and L. Verus. *salonians*, the *Athenians* and to all the *Grecians*. But we most confidently perswade our selves that You (who retain the same Opinion concerning us that your Ancestors had; yea, who are inclined to be much more gracious and mild towards us, and to entertain wiser and discreeter thoughts concerning us,) will do whatsoever we request of you." This Passage is extant in the fore-mentioned Apology of Melito. The same Author (in that Book of *Extracts and Collections* written by him) does, at the beginning of that Work, make a Catalogue of those Books of the *Old Testament* that by general consent are acknowledg'd as Canonical: Which Catalogue I judg'd necessary to be here inserted: It is word for word thus: "Melito to Onesimus the Brother sendeth greeting. Whereas, because of your love to, and diligence bestow'd about, the Word of God, you have often requested me to make you some short *Collections* and *Excerptions*, both out of the Law and the Prophets, about those things that belong to our Saviour, and all the Articles of our Faith; and moreover, you being very desirous to have an accurate account of the Books of the *Old Testament*, how many they are in number, and in what order they were written; I have made it my business to do all this, and to satisfy your desire herein. For I well know with what an ardour of Faith you are inflamed, and how earnest your desires are after Knowledge; and that, by reason of your love of God, you greatly prefer these before all other things, striving earnestly to obtain eternal salvation. When therefore I travelled into the East, and came into that Country where these things were heretofore preach'd and done, I made an accurate enquiry about the Books of the *Old Testament*, a Catalogue whereof I have herewith sent you. Their names are these; *The five Books of Moses*, to wit, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*; *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*: the four Books of the *Kings*; the two Books of the *Chronicles*: the *Psalms of David*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*, which is also called the *Book of Wisdom*; *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Solomon*, *Job*, the *Prophecies of Esaiab*, and *Jeremiah*: one Book of the Twelve [*minor*] *Prophets*, *Daniel*, *Ezekiel*, *Esdra*s. Out of these I have made some short *Collections*, which I have divided into six Books." But thus much concerning the Writings of Melito.

C H A P. XXVII.

Concerning Apollinaris, Bishop of the Hierapolitan Church.

(a) Altho' several Books written by Apollinaris are extant among many Men, yet these only of his are come to our knowledge; to wit, His Apology to the foresaid Emperor; his five Books against the Gentiles; his two Books concerning the beginning of a new chapter, but this 27 chap. which treats concerning Apollinaris, and the following chap. concerning Musanus, are both annex'd to chap. 26. the title whereof in our said MSS. is this [*Concerning Melito, and what he has made mention of, Apollinaris, and Musanus;*] which division Robert Stephens followed in the body of this fourth Book. For in the Contents prefix'd before this 4th Book, he follows the King's MS. and makes three chap. here, to wit, one of Melito, another concerning Apollinaris, and a third concerning Musanus: But in the body of that Book he follows the Med. MS. (as he always does in this particular) and has put no distinction of a new chap. here; but hath made all the three chapters into one. We following the authority of the King's MS. have divided them into three chap. and the same was done before, in the Geneva-Impression of Eusebius's History. Valef.

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus*. Truth; and his (b) two Books against the Jews. Also, those Books he wrote afterwards against the Heresie of the (c) Cataphrygians, which not long after occasion'd great Disturbances; but at that time it began to make its first appearance, *Montanus* with his False Prophets then laying the foundation of his Error. And this is what he had to say concerning *Appollinaris*.
(b) These Words [His two Books against the Jews] are not in the *Mar. Med.* nor *Fuk. MSS.* nor in that Copy *Rufinus* made use of, as appears from his Version; nor yet in *Jerom's B. de Eccles. Scriptor.* where he reckons up all *Apollinaris's* Books. But *Nicephorus* mentions them in his History. *Vales.* (c) *Mr. Tho. Lydiat* (in his *Emend. Tempor.*) says, this Heresie began in the times of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*; the Author whereof was *Montanus*.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning *Mufanus*, and his Writings.

There is extant of *Mufanus's* (whom we mention'd a little before) a most sharp piece written by him to some Brethren, who turn'd to the Heresie of the *Encratitæ*; which then first sprang up, and introduced a new and most pernicious false Opinion into the World. *Tatianus*, as report says, was the Author of this Heresie.

C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning *Tatianus* and his Heresie.

(a) The *Mar. Med. Fuk. and Savil MSS.* and also *Nicephorus*, call him *Saturninus*. *Epiphanius* and *Theodore* name him *Saturnilus*; and *Hege-sippus* terms those Hereticks, which had their name from him, *Saturniliani*. See chap. 22. of this B. 4. *Vales.*
WE mean that *Tatianus*, whose words we quoted a little before, treating concerning the admirable *Justin*; who, we told you, was a Disciple of that Martyr's. *Irenæus* evidences this in his first Book against Heresies, where he writes thus concerning this *Tatianus* and his Heresie. From (a) *Saturninus* and *Marcion* sprang those Hereticks called *Encratitæ*, who taught that Marriage was unlawful; rejecting that primitive Institution of God, and tacitly accused him, because he created Male and Female for the Propagation of Mankind. They were assertors also of an Abstinence from the eating those things, that (as they termed them) had life; shewing hereby their Ingratitude towards God who created all things. They deny likewise that the first Man was saved. And this is a Tenet lately invented amongst them, of which impious assertion one *Tatianus* was the first broacher. Who having been an Auditor of *Justin*, as long as he convers'd with him, disclosed no such false Opinions: But after his Martyrdom, he revolted from the Church, and being arrogant and puffed up with the conceit of his being an (b) *Ecclesiastical Doctor* (as if he were better than any body else) he was the Composer of a new Form of Doctrine of his own making, inventing Stories about invisible Angels, in the same manner as *Valentinus* did; and asserting with *Marcion* and *Saturninus*, that Matrimony was nothing less than Corruption and Whoredom; and framing some new Arguments to disprove the Salvation of Adam. Thus far *Irenæus* [concerning the Heresie of the *Encratitæ* which then was broacht.] But not long after, one whose name was (c) *Severus* did consolidate and

(b) *Jerom* (in his Book *de Scriptor. Eccles.*) takes the word [*διδάσκαλον*] in such a sense as to signify a master of Eloquence. Such an one *Tatianus* was before his conversion to the Christian Religion, as may be seen from chap. 16. of this 4th Book. But I rather think, that by [*διδάσκαλον*] (which is the term in the original) should be meant [an Ecclesiastical Doctor] which sense of that term the following Words of *Irenæus* do confirm; for he says, He was the composer of a new form of Doctrine of his own making. *Vales.*

(c) *Epiphanius* makes this *Severus* to be ancients than *Tatianus*; which is a mistake, as 'tis evident from these Words of *Eusebius*. *Irenæus* makes no mention of this *Severus*. *Theodoret* (in his first Book *Heret. fabul.*) has rightly placed *Severus* after *Tatianus*. *Vales.*

strengthen the foresaid Heresie, and so was the occasion that the Followers of that Sect were called, by reason of his name, *Severiani*. They approve indeed of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels, expounding the sentences of Holy Scripture according to a peculiar sense and meaning of their own; but they speak reproachfully of the Apostle *Paul*, and reject his Epistles; neither do they admit of the Acts of the Apostles. But *Tatianus*, their first Founder, put together a confused heap of Collections extracted out of the four Gospels, which he entitled a (d) *Diateffaron*, i. e. (d) *Epiphanius* (in his *Heret.* 46.) says, a Gospel made up of the four Gospels: Which Book is at this time extant in the hands of some Men. They say also, that he was so audacious as to alter some sayings of the Apostle *Paul's*, and to express them in more elegant terms, undertaking to correct the Composition and Order of his Phrases. He left a very great number of Books, among which, his (e) Book against the Grecians is look'd upon to be an excellent piece, and is commended by most Men: In which Work, giving an account of the Series of Times in the former Ages of the World, he has made it evident that *Moses* and the Prophets amongst the Hebrews, were much more ancient, than all the famous Men amongst the Grecians. Indeed that Book of his seems to be the best and most useful piece of all his Writings. But thus far concerning these things.

before *Tatianus*, makes mention of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as *Eusebius* tells us, chap. 12. of this Book: *Papias* also quotes a passage out of that Gospel, as our Author asserts about the close of the 3d Book. *Vales.*
(e) That is, his Oration against the Grecians, which is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyr's* Works, Edit. Par. 1636. At pag. 171: he begins the proof of this point, viz. the Antiquity of *Moses* and the Prophets.

C H A P. XXX.

Concerning *Bardefanes* the Syrian, and those Books of his that are extant.

Further, in the Reign of the same Emperor, when Heresies were numerous in (a) *Mesopotamia*, one *Bardefanes* a most eloquent Man in the Syrian tongue, and an excellent Disputant, wrote some Dialogues against *Marcion* and several others, who were Authors and Assertors of different Opinions, which he publish'd in his own Country-language; as also many other Works in which his Scholars (for he had very many Auditors, and was a powerful Maintainer of our Faith) translated out of the Syriack into the Grecian language. Amongst which is his Dialogue concerning Fate, written to (b) *Antoninus*, an incomparable piece. 'Tis said he wrote several other Tracts, upon occasion of the Persecution at that time raised against us. This Man was at first a Follower of *Valentinus's*; but having mislik'd that Heresie, and confuted many of the fabulous Tenets of the Founder thereof, he was satisfied in himself that he had turn'd to a truer Opinion; but notwithstanding he did not wholly clear himself of the filth of his ancient Heresie. Moreover, at the same time *Soter* Bishop of the Roman Church departed this Life.

Valentinus in the Churches of *Osdroeno*. *Vales.* (b) It's doubtful whether *Antoninus* the Emperor, or one of that name, who was a follower of *Tatianus's*, be here meant. It is not likely that *Bardefanes* should dedicate his Books to the Roman Emperor, which he wrote in the Syriack language. Besides, *Eusebius* (in his 6 B. *de preparat.*) does declare that *Bardefanes* dedicated his Dialogues to his Followers and Friends. *Vales.*

T H E
F I F T H B O O K
Of the Ecclesiastical History
O F
E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S.

The P R E F A C E.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. **M**oreover, Soter Bishop of the Roman Church having presided there eight years, ended his Life. *M. Aurelius and L. Verus.* In whose place succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the Apostles. It was then the (a) seven-teenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus; at which time a more sharp Persecution being in some Parts of the World raised against us by a Popular Incurſion throughout every City; how vast the Number was of such Persons as were dignified with Martyrdom over the whole World, may be conjectured from what happen'd in one Province. Which things were by accident put in writing and transmitted to Posterity, as being truly worthy of an indelible remembrance. Now the Acts, which contain a most perfect and compleat Account of these things, are set down entire in that Collection we made of the Martyrs; which comprehends not only an Historical Relation of what was done, but also Rules and Precepts of Piety and Holiness: But notwithstanding, we will from thence at present make a Selection of such Passages as are agreeable to the Subject we now have in hand, and here insert them. Other Historians indeed have wholly made it their business to record in their Works warlike Victories, and Trophies erected against their conquer'd Enemies; the Valour of Generals, and brave Exploits of Souldiers, besmear'd with Blood, and polluted with innumerable Slaughters, in defence of their Children, Country, and Estates: But we, who set forth the History of a Divine Society of Men, will record upon immortal Monuments, inscribed with indelible Characters, the most pacate Wars, waged for the obtaining of Spiritual Peace; and the valiant Acts of those Persons who in such Encounters contended more for the Truth than their Country, and for Religion rather than their dearest Relations: publishing for the perpetual remembrance of Posterity, the continued earnestness of those Champions who fought for Piety, their Fortitude in undergoing manifold Torments, the Trophies erected against the Devils, the victorious Conquests obtain'd over invisible Adversaries, and last of all, their Crowns.

Antoninus; and that not by the Edict of the Emperor, but by a tumultuous Insurrection of the Populace against them: Where it lasted to the end of that Emperor's Reign, as 'tis evident from these Words in *Melito's* Apology [For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented: Of which Empire you by succession are the most acceptable Inheritor that could be wish'd for, and shall so continue together with your Son, &c. See chap. 26. B. 4. note (f).] Now, *Commodus* was by his Father received as his Partner in the Empire, when *Melito* presented this Apology to the Emperor. His being made Colleague in the Empire, 'tis evident, happened about the latter end of *M. Antoninus's* Reign: Wherefore the Persecution of the Christians in *Asia* must necessarily have lasted till that time. But this Persecution was more sharp and violent in *Asia*, in the *Gallias*, and in other Provinces, in the seventeenth year of the said *Antoninus*, as *Eusebius* does here say expressly. See *Baronius*, ad annum Christi 179. Valeſ.

C H A P. I.

How many, in the Reign of Verus, underwent most sore Persecutions in France for Religion; and after what manner they suffered.

NOW France was the Country, wherein the place for performance of the forementioned Combats was appointed. The chief Mother-Cities whereof, (and which be more eminently famous than the other Cities there) are *Lyons* and *Vienna*; through both which the River *Rhone* passes, encompassing with a great and rapid Stream that whole Region. The Churches therefore that were most eminent in those Parts sent an account in writing concerning their Martyrs to the Churches throughout *Asia* and *Phrygia*; relating, after this manner, what was done amongst them: for I will insert their very words: (a) The

(a) There arises here a double question; (1.) Why this Epistle was written jointly by the two Churches, that of *Vienna*, and that of *Lyons*? (2.) Why the French wrote in Greek to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*? As to the first, I suppose it was for this reason done, because the Churches of

Vienna and *Lyons* were joyned together, not only by vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual Love. And seeing they had together been engaged in the same Persecution, they jointly wrote an Epistle concerning their own Martyrs. Besides, both Provinces seem at that time to have been under the jurisdiction of one President; which may be conjectured from hence, because as well they of *Vienna*, as those of *Lyons*, are in this Epistle said to have been by the President apprehended, and condemned for the Faith of Christ. These therefore are the reasons why they wrote jointly. For that which some have supposed, (to wit, that then there was but one Bishop of *Vienna* and *Lyons*) is easily confuted out of this Epistle, which says that *Pothinus* was Bishop of *Lyons*, but not of *Vienna*. Moreover, those of *Lyons* do, out of respect, set the name of those of *Vienna* first, whenas notwithstanding they of *Lyons* wrote the Epistle concerning the things which were done at their own City. Which respect also may seem to be attributed to the antiquity, and nobility, of the Colony at *Vienna*. As to the second query, we may understand from this Epistle, that there were many *Grecians* in the Church of *Lyons*, as was *Attalus*, and *Alexander* the *Phrygian*, and *Alcibiades*; who was by original extract a *Phrygian* also, as I think: Also *Irenaeus* was born in *Asia*, and, when he was very young, had, together with *Florinus*, been an Auditor of *Polycarp's* at *Smyrna*; as he himself evidences. The very name also of *Pothinus* the Bishop shews him to be originally a *Grecian*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that those who came out of *Asia* into the *Gallias*, should write to their Brethren that were in *Asia* concerning their Affairs; from whom, as 'tis probable, they had before received that Epistle concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, and others. I suppose *Irenaeus* to have been the Author of this Epistle, who at that time was a Presbyter of the Church at *Lyons*. Valeſ.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. Servants of Christ which inhabit Vienna and Lyons in France, to the Brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, which have the same Faith and Hope of Redemption with us; Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord." Then, having after this by way of Preface premised some words, they begin their Relation with these: "Now the sore Affliction amongst us, the great Rage of the Heathens against the Saints, and what the Blessed Martyrs endured, we are neither able accurately to express, nor indeed can it be compriz'd in writing: For the Adversary invaded us with his utmost vigour, shewing forth even then his arrival amongst us, and some beginnings of his future cruelty. For he left nothing unattempted, whilst by way of practice he prepared, and before-hand exercised his Ministers against the Servants of God. So that we are

(b) The term in the original is [*δουλεύω*] which signifies only private Houses, from which the Christians were then driven, that is, from the Houses of their Friends, Relations, &c. For I agree not with Rufinus, who thought that the Christians were prohibited to inhabit their own Houses." *Valef.*

(c) *Ἀγορῆς* is the term in the original; which signifies any promiscuous or popular assembly; these (setting aside the sacred assemblies, which are otherwise expressed) are principally of two sorts, either (1.) to buy and sell, or (2.) to resort for justice; and the word here us'd commonly signifies both, or either of these, (1.) a fair or market, (2.) a place of judicature, an hall, or court of judgment. The Romans termed this place *Forum*; which word they used in the same Latitude that the Grecians did *Ἀγορῆς*. At this place, and hereafter, we have made use of the Latin term in our Translation; and we therefore put this Note in here, that the English Reader might understand the meaning of it.

* Rom. 8. 18. "haftned unto Christ; truly demonstrating, *that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be reveal'd in us. First therefore, they courageously underwent whatsoever [abuses] were cumulated on them by the whole Multitude, to wit, the Shouts against them, the Stripes, the Draggings up and down, the taking away of their Goods, the casting of Stones at them, their being (d) shut up within their own Houses; and all things which an exasperated Multitude do usually undertake against their Enemies and Adversaries: Then, being brought into the Forum by the Tribune of the Soldiers, and the (e) Magistrates of the City, they were examin'd in the presence of the whole Multitude; and, having made their Confession were shut up in prison until the arrival of the (f) President. Afterwards, when they

(d) Here in the first place is recounted the injurious usage, which the Christians suffered from the whole multitude; wherein Imprisonment can have no place. For the Judges, and not the People, had power to imprison those that were guilty. Rufinus therefore translates [*συγκλείσεις*] *concludi*, i. e. to be shut up. For the Heathens shut up the Christians within their own Houses, and would not suffer them to come abroad. *Valef.*

(e) He means the municipal Magistrates, who were also called the *duumviri*. Although the term *ἑταῖροι* (here used) is usually meant of those Judges which have the power of the Sword; (See *Ulpian. in tit. de Jurisdic.*) yet it denotes the municipal Magistrates also, who, as the Civilians phrase it, have *modicam coercitionem*. *Valef.*

(f) *Ἡγεμὼν* (the term that occurs here) has a general signification. For all Governors of Provinces are so called, be they *Procurators*, *Proconsuls*, or *Deputies of Caesar*. It may therefore be deservedly questioned

of which of these three sorts the Governour of the Province of Lyons was. Indeed, I think he was the Deputy of Caesar. Which I am induced to suppose, (1.) because there is mention here made of the Tribune of the Soldiers. For that agrees very well with the Deputy of Caesar, who look'd after the Military Affairs. (2.) In the old Inscription, which Gruter speaks of, pag. 427. he is termed Deputy of the Lugdunensian Province. See Gruter, *Inscript.* pag. 427. Lastly, *Spartianus* (in *Severo*) attests, that the Province of Lyons was in the Reign of *M. Antoninus* governed by *Deputies of Caesar*. And perhaps in this Epistle of those of Lyons, *Severus* is meant: For he was Deputy of the Lugdunensian Province under *Marcus*. *Junius Blefus* also (whom *Tacitus* in the B. 1. of his History calls Governour of *Gallia Lugdunensis*) was Deputy of this Province; and so was *Vitrasius Pollio* in the times of *Adrian*. *Valef.*

were brought before the Governour, (who exercised all manner of cruelty against us) (g) *Vettius Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, who had arriv'd to an immense degree of love to God and his Neighbour; whose course of life had been so exact and accurate, that although he was a young Man, yet he deserved the Elogy of *Zachariah Senior*; for he had walked in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord, blameless; and was most ready to perform all good Offices towards his Neighbour, being full of the Zeal of God, and fervent in Spirit: This Person, I say, being such an one, was not able to bear those so unjust proceedings against us, but was greatly mov'd with indignation, and requested that he also might be heard to make a Defence in behalf of the Brethren, [and to manifest] that there was nothing of Impiety or Irreligion amongst us. But when those about the Tribunal cried out against him, (for he was an eminent Personage,) and when the Governour refused the request so justly proposed by him, and only ask'd him whether he also were a Christian; he confess'd it with a most loud voice, and was receiv'd into the number of the Martyrs, being term'd by the Governour the Advocate of the Christians: But he had within himself an Advocate, to wit, the Holy Spirit, in a greater degree than (h) *Zacharias* had; which he evidently manifested by his abundant love, in that he was well-contented to deposite his own Life for the defence of the Brethren. For he was, and

is, a genuine Disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. Then

others (i) were diligently prov'd and examin'd; and they were illustrious and ready Proto-Martyrs, who with all alacrity of mind accomplish'd the solemn Confession of Martyrdom. Moreover, those who were unprepared, unexercised, as yet weak, and unable to undergo the severity of so great a Combat, were then apparent; of whom about ten in number fell away, which was the occasion of great Grief and immeasurable Sorrow to us, and disturb'd that alacrity of Mind in others who were not yet apprehended; who although they suffer'd all sorts of misery, yet were present with the Martyrs, and departed not from them. At that time we were all in a great Consternation of Mind, because we were dubious about the [perseverance of such as were to] confess [themselves to be Christians;] not that we fear'd the Torments that were to be inflicted; but, revolving in our Minds the issue of Affairs, we were fearful lest any one should fall off

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(g) This name should be written with a double t, as it is in the *Max. and Fulk. MSS.* For *Vettius* is a Roman name, and occurs in *Cicero*, and *Juvenal.* *Valef.*

(h) They mean *Zachariah the Priest*, the father

of *John the Baptist*, whom they call *Senior*, comparing *Epagathus*, a young Man, with him. *Valef.*

(i) *ἀεικελυστοί* is the term here used. It seems to be a Metaphor taken from Champions, who before they engaged in the Combat, were wont to be examined and proved, whether they were Free-Men, and of the age that Champions should be. And those that were admitted to the Combat, were said *εισνεμειναι*, such as were repudiated *ἐκνεμειναι*. the examination itself was call'd *διδνεσις*, as I collect from this place. Indeed this Epistle is very full of Athletic terms, as 'tis manifest from this place, and as we will shew more plainly hereafter. *Valef.*

from

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus* from the Faith. Now there were daily taken such as were worthy to fill up their number; so that those who were most eminent in (k) both the Churches, and by whom especially Matters here had been settled, were all pick'd out and apprehended. Some Heathens also, our Servants, were seiz'd upon; (for the President did in publick give command that we should all be diligently search'd out;) which Persons, by reason of the treachery of Satan, being afraid of the Torments which they saw the Saints undergo, the Soldiers inciting them thereto, raised lyes against us, and reported that we used the Suppers of (l) *Thyestes*, and the incestuous carnal Co-lation of (m) *Oedipus*, and such other things as 'tis neither lawful for us to utter, nor to think of, nor to believe, that any such fact was ever committed among men. These Stories being spread abroad, all

(l) The Story goes, That this *Thyestes* eat part of his own Son; whom *Atræus* his Brother (to be revenged of him for committing Adultery with his Wife) made ready and set before him.

(m) He (not knowing her to be so) married his own Mother *Jocasta*, (having before out of ignorance slain his own Father *Laius*;) of whom he begat four Sons.

persons were enrag'd against us; insomuch, that if there were any who before had been moderate towards us by reason of Affinity or Friendship; even these were then greatly displeased with, and mightily incensed against us. Thus was fulfilled that which our Lord had said, that the time should come wherein *whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God good service. From thenceforth therefore the Holy Martyrs underwent such Torments as are inexpressible and above all declaration: Satan endeavouring with much earnestness that some slanderous and re-

(n) The Servants of the Christians (before-mentioned) being afraid of the Tortures they were threatned with, had confess'd that the Christians killed Infants, and committed Incest: And here the Devil endeavoured, that the Christians themselves, which were apprehended, should after the same manner calumniate the Christian Religion. Therefore the Judges tortured them all manner of ways, that they should confess, that they eat Children, and committed Incest. Upon this account *Blandina* (as hereafter it follows) cried out amidst her Tortures—*I am a Christian, and there is nothing of wickedness acted amongst us.* Valef.

(o) This *Sanctus* was born at Vienna, but was a Deacon of the Church at Lyons. Valef.

proachful words might be utter'd by (n) them also. But the whole rage both of the Multitude, of the President, and of the Soldiers did in a more violent manner fall upon (o) *Sanctus* of Vienna, a Deacon, and upon *Maturus*, a person indeed who had been lately baptiz'd, but yet prov'd a courageous Champion of Christ; upon *Attalus* also, by Country a Pergamenian, who always was a Pillar and Prop of the Churches here, and lastly upon *Blandina*; by whom Christ demonstrat-

ed, that those things which

overcome, having nothing further to do to her: They admired also that she yet continued to breathe, her whole Body having been mangled and pierced through; and they attested, that one sort of torture was sufficient to have bereaved her of life, much more so many and so great torments. But this blessed Woman, like a courageous Champion, recover'd fresh supplies of strength during her Confession: And it was a refreshment, and an ease to her, and abated the pain of those Torments that were inflicted on her, to pronounce these words, to wit, *I am a Christian, and there is nothing of wickedness acted amongst us.* But *Sanctus*, having in an extraordinary, and more than humane, manner, courageously endured all the torments Men could invent, (the impious Wretches hoping by reason of the continuedness and exquisiteness of his torments to have heard some undecent expressions from him,) withstood them with so great a degree of courage, that he declared neither his own name, nor that of his own Country, nor of the City where he was born, nor yet whether he were a Servant or a Freeman; but to all the Interrogatories, he made answer in the Roman tongue, *I am a Christian*: This he declared time after time successively, instead of [acknowledg-] ing his Name, his City, his Kindred, or any thing else: neither could the Heathens get any other words out of him. Upon which account the rage both of the President and of the Tormentors against him was exceeding great, and their endeavours to master him were obstinate and earnest. Insomuch that when they had nothing further to torture him with, at last they clapt plates of Brasse that were red hot upon the most tender Members of his Body; which Parts of his Body were burnt indeed; but he stood upright without bending of himself at all, was invincible, and continued stedfast and constant in his Confessions; being bedew'd and strengthen'd with that Celestial Fountain of living Water which flow'd out of the *Belly of Christ. His Body was a sufficient evidence of what had hapned, being all over full of Wounds, and Prints of Stripes, (p) bowed and drawn together, and having lost the external form and shape of a Man; in which Christ suffering accomplished therein great glory, vanquishing the Adversary, and demonstrating for the information of others, that there is nothing formidable where the Love of the Father is, nor any pain where the Glory of Christ is present. For when those impious Wretches some few days after began again to torture the Martyr, and suppos'd that if they should make use of the same torments whilst his Body was swell'd, and the (q) Wounds thereof inflamed, either they might master him, when he could not endure to be touch'd by hands, or that he would die under his torments, and so strike a terror into others; not only no such thing hapned concerning him, but also, contrary to the opinion of all Men, his Body became erect and was repair'd in these latter tortures; and he recover'd his former shape, and the use of his limbs. So that his being tormented the second time was not a punishment to him, but by the Grace of Christ prov'd to be his remedy. Moreover, the Devil caus'd one *Biblias* to be brought forth to punishment, (being one of those who had renounced Christ) whom he supposed to be by him already devoured, but was further

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus.*

* See Joh. 7. 38.

(p) That is, by reason of the greatness of his Tortures. For they who were tortured in the *Eculeus* (the description of which Engine see in *Turnebus* his *Advers.* L. 4. c. 39.) were forced to bow their Heads very much. Valef.

(q) Σωμάτων is the term in the original. *Rufinus* (as by his Version appears) read *regeneravit*, i.e. Wounds; which reading seems to be right. Valef.

desirous

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. be by him already devour'd, but was further desirous to have her condemn'd of Blasphemy, constraining her, being now weak and not courageous, to utter some impious expressions concerning us. But she came to herself again at the time of her being tortured, and (as we may so speak,) was awaked out of her profound sleep, being by the present punishment reminded of the eternal torments in Hell; and she re-

(r) *Tois βλασφημοῖς* • that's the reading of the *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil MSS.* And 'tis better than *τοῖς βασανισταῖς*, i.e. the *Torturers*, as 'tis in *Robert Stephens Edit.* They are meant here, who calumniated the Christian Religion; or at least those, who by reason of the sharpness of the tortures, renounced it, and confess'd that the Christians kill'd Infants, and committed Incest. *Valef.*

But when the punishment of those tyrannous persons were render'd ineffectual by Christ, through the patient sufferance of the Blessed Martyrs, the Devil invented other subtil devices, to wit, the Imprisonments of them in darkness, and in the most noisome parts of the Prison, the stretching of their feet in the (f) Stocks, which were strain'd to the fifth hole, and such other sorts of punishment as enraged Ministers, (and therefore full of the Devil) do usually provide for those that are shut up in prison. So that many were suffocated in prison, whom the Lord, manifesting his own Glory, was pleased should after that manner depart out of this life. For some who had been so cruelly tortured, that in all likelihood they they could not possibly live any longer, (altho' they should have had all methods of cure administred to them) continued in prison; destitute indeed of human assistance, but corroborated by the Lord, and strengthened in body and mind, who also encourag'd and comforted the rest:

But others who were young, and newly apprehended, whose Bodies had not before been accustomed to endure tortures, were not able to bear the burthen of confinement, but died in prison. Now the blessed *Pothinus*, who was entrusted with the administration of the Episcopal Office in *Lyons*, being above the age of ninety years, and very infirm of body, scarce able indeed to draw his breath by reason of his present bodily imbecillity, but corroborated with alacrity of mind through an earnest desire of an approaching Martyrdom; He, *I say*, was also haled to the Tribunal: His body indeed was both by age and also by his distemper decay'd and spent, but his life was preserv'd in him, that Christ might triumph thereby. He, being carried to the Tribunal by the Soldiers, the Magistrates of the City accompanying him, and the whole multitude raising shouts of all sorts against him, (as if he had been Christ,) exhibited a good testimony; but being ask'd by the President who was the God of the Christians, he replied, if you be worthy, you shall know. After this answer, he was dragg'd up and down after a most inhuman manner, and suffered various

sorts of blows and stripes: Both those who were near, exercised all manner of injurious usage towards him with Hands and Feet, shewing no reverential respect to his age; and such as were at a distance cast at him whatever each person had ready at hand; yea, they all accounted it to be a great Offence and an Impiety, should any one have been deficient in his insolent usage of him: For by this means they thought they should revenge their Gods. And when there was scarce any breath left in him, he was cast into Prison, where after two days he expired. But here there came to pass a singular Dispensation of God's Providence, and the immense Mercy of Jesus was demonstrated; [an instance whereof] has indeed rarely happened among the Brotherhood, but which was not at all disagreeable to the Skill and Dexterity of Christ. For those who, upon their being first apprehended, renounced the Faith, were themselves also confined to prison, and partook of the same Miseries which the Martyrs underwent: For their denial of the Faith was not in any wise beneficial to them at that juncture of time. But those who confess'd themselves to be what they really were, were imprisoned as Christians, no other Crimination being laid to their charge; but these were kept in custody, as being, besides that, Murderers and wicked Persons, and underwent double the punishment that others did. For the joy of Martyrdom, the hope of the Promises, the love to Christ, and the Spirit of the Father comforted those: But their Conscience did heavily torture these; in so much that * in their passage * *κατὰ τὴν πύλιν* is the place, i.e. in their passage from their confinement to the place of judgement. *Valef.* † *Psalm 45: 10.*

from the Prison to the Tribunal, their Countenances might be manifestly known and distinguished from all the rest. For those came forth cheerfully, their Countenances being intermix'd with very much of Majesty and Pleasance; infomuch that their Fetters encompass'd them with a beautiful comeliness, like a Bridle bedeck'd with Fringes of God † wrought about with divers colours: And moreover they yielded a scent of the sweet savour of Christ; so that some thought they were anointed with terrestrial Oyntment. But these had a dejected Countenance, look'd unpleasantly and ill-favour'd, and were fill'd with all manner of deformity: Moreover they were reviled by the very Heathens, as being cowardous and unmanly; having indeed procured themselves the Crimination of Murderers, but lost that most honourable, glorious and vivifick appellation [of Christians.] Which things when the rest beheld, they were made stedfast; and such as were apprehended did without anything of dubiousness confess themselves to be Christians, entertaining not the least thought of diabolical consideration. To these having interposed some words, they again add, saying,— 'Afterwards therefore their Martyrdoms were divided into all sorts of death: for, having platted one Crown of different colours, and of all sorts of Flowers, they offer'd it to the Father. It was indeed fit that those courageous Champions, who had undergone a various combat, and been egregious Conquerors, should receive the invaluable Crown of Incorruption. *Maturus* therefore, and *Sanctus*, and *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought before the Wild Beasts into the (t) *Amphitheatre*, and into

Amphitheatre seems to be understood. For it can't be refer'd to [ἀμφιθεατρον] because the preposition is repeated, thus, εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθεατρον, καὶ εἰς τὸ χοῖρον &c. This is the reading of the *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil MSS.* *Valef.*

the

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus*. the publick place, where the inhumanity of the Heathens was exhibited; (u) a day for fighting with the Wild Beasts being granted purposely upon the account of those of our Religion. And

meaning of this place is, that the *Presidents*, or *Deputy*, of the Province of *Lyons*, granted the People an extraordinary shew of fighting with the wild Beasts; a Day being appointed for that purpose, because of the Christians, who were condemned to the Beasts. For the *Romans* had set days for these Spectacles, which fell on the month of *December*, as may be seen in the *Calendar of Hieronymus*. Except on these Days, it was unlawful for the *Dumizii* (on whom the charge of these Shews was imposed) to exhibit these Spectacles of fighting with Wild-Beasts to the People. But those Judges, who had the power of the Sword, and of condemning Persons to the Beasts, exhibited these Shews as often as they pleased, that they might delight the People by destroying of Offenders. *Valef.*

(x) We noted before, that many Athletical terms were made use of in this Epistle. Amongst which is to be accounted the term [*κλήροισι*], which occurs here. For the Champions, who were to contend in the Games, were wont to be drawn forth by lot, which, after what manner it was done, *Lucian* (in *Hermotimo*) tells us. There was a little Silver Box, dedicated to the God that presided over the Games, into which the Lots were cast. Upon two the Letter *A* was written; upon other two the Letter *B*. and so on. Then the Champions drew these Lots out of the Box. Those two, who drew forth the Letter *A*, engaged one with the other, and fought in the first place: And this was the [*πρωτὸς κλήρος*]. In like manner, they that drew the Letter *B*, engaged one another in the second place. So the Lot and the Urn assigned every one his Antagonist. He that vanquished his Adversary, was not immediately Crowned, but engaged in another encounter with those others who had conquered their Adversaries, until there remained only one Victor over all. Upon which account they drew Lots several times. Hence 'tis, that in the *Farnesian* Inscription (which *Gruter* speaks of, pag. 314.) one *Aselepiades* is said to have gotten the victory in many Encounters, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον καὶ πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον κλήρον κέρωντας τὰς ἀντιπαρισταίας. i. e. after the first or second casting of Lots, having vanquished the Antagonists the second, or third time. For this was usual for that reason I mentioned, as often as there were many couples of Champions. For the Conquerors engaged one another, and there was a second and third drawing of Lots amongst them, until the Victory remained to one. And this is that which, in this Epistle, is called διὰ πλείονων κλήρων. *Valef.*

them, that he might persuade those which believe in him, that whosoever suffers for the Glory of Christ hath eternal Communion with the living God. Now when none of the Wild

Maurus, and *Sanctus*, did again undergo all sorts of torments in the *Amphitheatre*, as if they had before suffer'd nothing at all: But the rather, because having already subdued the Adversary in many * Encounters, and being now to engage in a Combat for the Crown itself, they again underwent such Stripes in their Passage thither as are customarily inflicted; the being torn and drag'd up and down by the Wild Beasts; and whatever else the enraged People, some from one place, some from another, called aloud for, and commanded; and in fine, the Iron-Chair, upon which their Bodies being broiled, fill'd their Noses with the offensive smell of burnt flesh. Neither did they make an end of their Cruelty thus, but were yet more fiercely enraged, being desirous to overcome the patient Sufferance of the Martyrs: But they heard no other expression from *Sanctus*, save that which he had usually utter'd all along from the beginning of his Confession. These two Persons therefore, after they had continued alive a long while under the Sufferings of a mighty Combat, at last were slain; having been made a Spectacle to the World throughout that day, in stead of all that variety which is exhibited in the Combats of the Gladiators. But *Blandina*, being hung upon a piece of Wood fix'd in the Ground, was proposed as Food for the Wild Beasts to prey upon; who also, (in that she seem'd to hang in the form of a Cross,) by her strong and earnest Prayer implanted much alacrity upon the minds of those that were Combatants; when they saw (whilst they were undergoing their Sufferings) even with their outward eyes, under the person of their Sister, Him who was therefore crucified for

Beasts would then touch her, she was taken from the Stake, and cast again into prison, being reserv'd for another Combat; that so, having been (y) Conqueror in many Encounters, she might render the Condemnation of the crooked Serpent inexcusable; also she encouraged the Brethren: And tho' she was a person of small estimation, infirm, and despicable, yet having cloath'd herself with the strength of Christ that great and invincible Champion, she vanquish'd the Adversary in many Encounters; and after a glorious Combat, was encircled with a Crown of Incorruption. *Attalus* also was by the Multitude most earnestly required to be deliver'd up to Punishment, for he was an eminent Person, and by reason of the clearness of his Conscience proceeded forth like a Champion prepared for the Combat, in that he had been perfectly and thoroughly exercised in the Christian Discipline, and always a Witness of the Truth amongst us: And after he had been (a) led round the *Amphitheatre*, (Tables being carried before him, whereon was written in the Roman Tongue, *This is Attalus the Christian*;) and the People had vehemently swell'd with rage and anger against him; the President having understood that he was a Roman, commanded he should again

be committed to custody amongst the rest that were in prison. Concerning whom he wrote to *Cæsar*, and expected an Edict from him. Now this interval of time was spent neither idly nor unfruitfully by them, but by their patient Sufferance, the immeasurable Mercy of Christ was made apparent: for those Members of the Church that were dead, were by the Living revived; and the Martyrs conferr'd * Kindnesses upon * Those who were no Martyrs; and there was a great Joy begotten in the Virgin Mother [the Church;] she having again received those alive whom by Abortion she had cast forth as dead. For through the means of the Holy Martyrs many of those who had renounc'd the Faith, were newly formed in the Womb, born again, had their vital Heat rekindled in them, and learn'd to confess themselves to be Christians. And having now recover'd life and strength, they came before the Tribunal, (God, who desireth not the death of a Sinner, but is indulgent and kindly invites him to repentance, (a) infusing a sweetness into them) that they might again be

interrogated by the President. For *Cæsar* had signified by his Rescript, that those [who confess'd themselves to be Christians,] should be (b) tortured; but if any renounced the Faith, they should

which is used as well in an active as passive sense. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from the wild Olive-tree, which being grafted, grows sweet; of which *St. Paul* speaks. *Valef.*

(b) Ἀποστυμνωσθῆναι. Lexicographers differ very much in their giving the signification of this term (which here occurs.) *Stephens* (in his *Theaurus*;) renders it, *fustibus concidi*, i. e. to be beaten with Clubs: *Varinus*, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι, i. e. to be beheaded: The *Etymologicum* (publish'd by *Sylbergius*) says it signifies, ἐν ἀπλῶς τὸ θανατεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ὁ δειξιλον ὅπερ σκυλάην καλῶσι, not barely to be put to death, but to be kill'd with the Tympanum, which is a piece of Wood call'd a Cudgel: The Reader will find a large and learned account of this term, and of this Engine of Torture, in *Dr. Hammond's* Note on *Hebr.* 11. 35. Where he makes it appear, that this sort of punishment was very painful, contumelious, and capital.

be

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus*. be dismiss'd from their Imprisonment. Now, the Publick (c) Assembly here (which is frequented by a numerous concourse of People of all Nations that meet together at it) being newly begun, [the President] order'd the blessed Martyrs to be brought before the Tribunal, making them a Gazing-stock, and by way of Ostentation, producing them as a pompous Shew to the Multitude. When therefore he had again interrogated them, as many as were found to have the Privilege of being Free of the City of Rome, he order'd should be Beheaded; the rest were cast to the Wild-

Beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified thro' those who formerly had renounced the Faith, but then (contrary to the expectation of the Heathens) became to be Confessors: For these Persons were interrogated apart, as being, in all probability, forthwith to be set at liberty; but, having confess'd themselves to be Christians, they were added to the (d) number of the Martyrs. Now, they continued without, who never had the least impression of Faith, nor a sense of the Wedding-garment, nor a thought about the fear of God; but by their Conversation defam'd the way of Truth, that is, were the Sons of Perdition: But all the rest were added to the Church; during whose Examination, one *Alexander*, by Country a Phrygian, by Profession a Physician, a person who had dwelt many years in the Gallia's, and was known almost to all Men by reason of his love to God, and his boldness and fearlessness in preaching his Word, (for he wanted not Apostolick Grace;) standing near to the Tribunal, and by Nods encouraging them to a Confession of the Faith, appear'd to those who stood round the Tribunal, as if he endur'd the * pangs of Child-birth: Now the Multitude being in a great fume, because those, who had before renounc'd the Faith, did now again make Confession of it, cry'd out against *Alexander*, as if he were the occasion thereof: And the President (having commanded him to be (e) set before him, and ask'd him who he was, and he having said that he was a Christian) being in a rage, condemn'd him to be cast to the Wild-Beasts. And the day following he entred the Amphitheatre together with *Attalus*; (for the President, to gratify the Multitude, did again deliver *Attalus* to the Wild-Beasts :) which two persons, having undergone all the Instruments of torment in the Amphitheatre that were invented to torture them with, and endured a great combat, were at last (f) run through with a Sword. *Alexander* indeed did neither sigh, nor utter any expression at all; but in his heart spoke to God, and continued praising of, and praying to him: But *Attalus*, when he was set in the Iron-Chair, and scorched all over, (when the favour of his burnt flesh ascended from his Body) said to the Multitude in the Roman tongue, behold, this that you do, is to devour Men; but we neither devour

men, nor practise any other thing that is evil. Being ask'd also what name God had, he answer'd, God has not a name, as Man has. In fine, after all these persons, on the (g) last day of the Gladiators Combats, *Blandina* was again brought forth, together with *Ponticus*, a Youth about fifteen years old; (who also were every day led in, to see the Tortures of the rest) and they constrain'd them to swear by their Idols: But because they continued firm and constant, and contemned their Gods, the Multitude was so enrag'd against them, that they neither had compassion on the age of the young Man, nor shew'd any reverential respect towards the Sex of the Woman, but exposed them to all manner of cruel Tortures, and made them pass thro' the whole Circuit of Torments, now and then compelling them to swear, but were unable to effect that. For *Ponticus*, being encouraged by his Sister, (inasmuch that the Heathens perceived it was she that encouraged and strengthened him) having courageously undergone all sorts of tortures, gave up the ghost. But the blessed *Blandina*, the last of all, having like a noble and valiant Mother encouraged her Children, and sent them before as Conquerors to the King; after she had measured over the same course of Combats that her Sons had passed through, hastned to them, being glad, and rejoicing at her Exit, as if she had been invited to a Nuptial Supper, and were not to be cast to the Wild-Beasts. And after she had been scourged, exposed to the Fury of the Wild-Beasts, and set in the (b) Iron-Chair, at last she was inclosed in a Net, and thrown before a (i) Bull: By which Beast, after she had been very much toss'd (having been all along wholly insensible of the Tortures she underwent, because of her hope and her retaining a firm assent to those things she believed, and also by reason of her familiar converse in prayer with Christ,) she also was run through with a sword; and the very Heathens themselves confessed, that there never was any Woman among 'em, which suffer'd so many and so great tortures. But their rage and cruelty towards the Saints was not thus satiated: For the savage and barbarous Nations, having been stir'd up by that (k) fierce Wild-Beast, could not without great difficulty be appeased; but their cruelty was begun afresh, in a new and peculiar manner, against the Bodies of the Saints. For they were so far from being ashamed that they had been vanquish'd by the Martyrs (because they were destitute of human reason and consideration,) that their rage was more enkindled; both the President and also the People (like a fierce Beast) most unjustly demonstrating the same degree of hatred against us: That the Scripture might be fulfilled, (l) He that is unjust, let him be unjust still, the reading in the original is here; we now read [ὁ ἀδίκων, ἀδικήστω ἄχρι τῆς τέτης], i. e. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; See the original of the Text.

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus*. Hence it's manifest that the Sports of the Gladiators were wont to be exhibited for the space of some days, at Lyons, at that famous Assembly of all Gallia, before the Altar of Augustus. Besides these Sports of the Gladiators, there was a day granted by the President for fighting with Wild-beasts, on account of the Christians, as 'tis expressly said in this Epistle. For I suppose, that these two Terms, *μονομαχία*, and *θελονομαχία*, are not to be confounded, tho' the Latines comprehend them both in one Word, *io vit, Munus*. Valef.

(b) *Τήραρον* is the Greek term; which *Rufinus* translates *craticulam*, i. e. a Grid-iron: It is the same, which before is called the Iron-Chair, on which the Martyrs being set, were broyled, as it were on a Gridiron. Thus the Christians were used before they were cast to the Wild-beasts. Valef.

(i) Amongst the Sports of an Amphitheatrical Shew this was one; a Bull was brought in, to whom (being first enraged) they cast Offenders inclosed in a Net; whom, like Balls, he tossed on high. *Martial's* Verse on this Subject is well known, *Taurus ut impositus jactat ad astrapilas*. Valef.

(k) That is the Devil; the Greek Word [δῆλος] signifies, a wild-beast; but [δῆλος] is often taken for the Devil. Valef.

(l) Rev. 22. 11. where instead of [ὁ ἀδίκων, ἀδικήστω ἄχρι τῆς τέτης], as the reading in the original is here; we now read [ὁ ἀδίκων, ἀδικήστω ἄχρι τῆς τέτης], i. e. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; See the original of the Text.

M. Aure-
lius and
L. Verus.

and he that is righteous let him be righteous still. For those who had been suffocated in Prison, they cast to the Dogs; watching continually night and day, lest any of us should interr them; then having exposed the pieces of the Bodies, as well what were left undevour'd by the Wild Beasts, as what remain'd unconsumed by the Fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, also the Heads of the rest together with their Trunks, they kept 'em likewise unburied with a guard of Soldiers for the space of many days. And some were full of Indignation, and gnash'd their Teeth at the Dead, being desirous to take some further revenge of them. Others insulted over and derided them, extolling their Idols, and attributing the Punishment of the Martyrs to them. But those that were more mild, and who seem'd in some measure to sympathize with us, upbraided us very much, saying, Where is their God? and what Emolument hath this Religion brought them, which they preferr'd before their own Lives? And such variety was there in the Heathen's behaviour towards us: But we were affected with a great Grief, because we could not hide the Bodies in the earth; for neither was the night assistant to us therein, (m) neither would Money persuade them, nor could our Prayers induce them to grant our request; but they watch'd the Bodies with all imaginable care and diligence, as if they were to gain some great matter, if they should not be buried." After these words, having interposed some other expressions, they proceed, saying; "The Bodies therefore of Martyrs, having undergone all manner of ignominious usage, and being exposed in the open air for six days space, were afterwards burnt; and being reduced to Ashes, were by those impious Wretches (n) swept into the River Rhone, which runs hard by; that so no Remains of them might be any longer visible upon earth. And this they did, as if they were able to have vanquish'd God, and deprive them of a Resurrection; that so (as they said) they might have no hope of rising again; of which being fully persuaded, they introduce a strange and new Religion amongst us, and, contemning the most exquisite Torments, do readily, and with alacrity of mind, willingly undergo death. Let us now see whether they shall rise again, and whether their God is able to assist them, and deliver them out of our hands.

(m) These
Words

[ἐπεὶ ἀγγέ-
λου ἤπει-
σε, i. e.

neither
would mo-

ney per-
swade

them] are
not in our

three
MSS.

Mar. Med.
and Fuk.

the King's
MS. and

Rob. Ste-
phens Edit.

do retain
them.

Valef.

(n) The

Mar. Med.
Fuk. and

Savil

MSS. read
it thus,

[κατεπα-
ράθη εἰς
τὸν ῥοδαν,

i. e.

were swept into the River Rhone:] But the Reading of the King's MS. of Stephens's Edit. is [κατεπαράθη, &c. i. e. were strewn, &c. Valef.

C H A P. II.

How the Martyrs beloved of God, kindly receiving such as fell away in the Persecution, wrought a Cure upon them.

SUCH were the Calamities which befel the Churches of Christ, in the times of the foresaid Emperor; from which may be conjectured what also was done in the other Provinces. It is worth our adjoyning hereto some other words out of the same Epistle, whereby the Meekness and Humanity of the foremention'd Martyrs is describ'd in these very words; "Who also were so far fol- lowers and imitators of Christ, (* Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,) that altho' they were in such an height of Glory, and had suffer'd as Martyrs not once, nor twice, but often, and had been taken from the Wild Beasts and (a) committed again to

* Phil.
2. 6.

(a) Sir H.

Savil, at

the Margin of his MS. Copy, has mended this place thus, καὶ τοῖς

συνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ οὕτως αὐτῶν αὐτῶν ἀναληφθέντες, i. e. and had

been cast to the Wild-Beasts, and taken from them again: Which Emendation is put in the Margin of the Geneva-Edit. Indeed Christopher read this place thus, as appears from his Translation; but 'tis uncertain whether he did it by conjecture, or from the authority of some old Copies. Our MSS. alter not the reading here. Moreover, ἀναληφθέντες (which is the term in the Original) signifies in this place, to be cast into Prison; in which sense 'tis twice used in the foregoing Chapter. Valef.

Prison; altho' they had the Marks of Fire, the Scars of Stripes, and Wounds all over their Bodies; yet they neither declared themselves to be Martyrs, nor would they suffer us to call them by that name: But if at any time any one of us, either by Letter or in Discourse, term'd them Martyrs, they reprov'd us sharply: For they readily allow'd the appellation of Martyr to Christ, (who is the faithful and true Witness, and the First-begotten of the Dead, and the Prince of the Life of God;) they commemorated also those Martyrs who were already departed this life, and said, those are now Martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to assume whilst they were making their Confession, he having seal'd their Martyrdom by their Death: But we are mean and humble Confessors: And with Tears they beseeched the Brethren, entreating them, that earnest Prayers might be made that they might be perfected: They also in reality demonstrated the Power and Efficacy of Martyrdom, using much freedom of speech in their Answers before all the Heathens, and manifested their excellency by their patient Sufferance, Fearlessness, and undaunted Courage: But they refused the appellation of Martyrs given them by the Brethren, having been filled with the Fear of God." Again, after some few words they say; They humbled themselves under the mighty Hand, by which they are now highly exalted:

Then also (b) they excused themselves to all Men, but accused none; they loosed all Men, and bound none; yea they pray'd for those who tortured them, as did Stephen that perfect Martyr, [saying, * [Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. Now if he pray'd for those

(b) Πᾶσι μὲν ἀπολογούμενοι. Muscu-
lus translates it truest, thus, *Omnibus rationem fidei sue reddebant*, i. e. they gave all Men an account of their Faith: It may be rendred thus, They excused themselves to all: For that's the proper signification of ἀπολογείσθαι. Valef.

* Acts 7.

who stoned him, how much more [is it credible that he pray'd] for the Brethren?" Again also, after some other words, they say; "For this was the greatest encounter they had with the Devil, to wit, upon account of their genuine and sincere Charity; because the Serpent, being strangled, vomited up those alive, whom he supposed he had digested. They did not proudly triumph over those that fell; but bestow'd, on such as were indigent, those good things with which they abounded, having Motherly Bowels of Compassion, pouring forth many Tears for them before [God] the Father. They asked life, and he gave it them; which also they imparted to their Friends; being Victors (c) over all, they (c) The went to God: Having always loved Peace, and continually exhorted [us] to it, they departed in peace to God; leaving no Grief to their Mother, no Faction nor Dissention amongst the Brethren, but Joy, Peace, Concord, and Love." Let thus much be here profitably placed, concerning the Brethren that fell; upon account of the inhuman and merciless Disposition of (d) those, (d) He who afterwards behaved themselves most cruelly towards the Members of Christ.

wards excluded such as fell in time of Persecution from all hope of Absolution. Valef.

M. Aure-
lius and
L. Verus.

C H A P. III.

What a Vision appear'd to the Martyr Attalus in his sleep.

Moreover, the same Epistle of the foremen-
tion'd Martyrs, contains also another re-
lation worthy to be remembred; which, for the
information of the Readers, we will very willing-
ly insert: Thus it is: 'For when *Alcibiades*, one
' of the Martyrs, (who led an austere course of life,
' and in the foregoing part of his life hitherto had
' fed on nothing at all, but only made use of Bread
' and Water) attempted to lead the same course
' of life during his Imprisonment; it was revea-
' led to *Attalus* (after the first Combat which he
' finish'd in the Amphitheatre) that *Alcibiades* did
' not well, in his not making use of God's Crea-
' tures, and leaving an Example of Scandal to o-
' thers. But *Alcibiades* submitted, fed on all Meats
' afterwards promiscuously, and gave God thanks:
' For they were not destitute of the Grace of
' God, but the Holy Spirit was their Director."
These things were after this manner. Now, when

(a) This *Alcibiades* must be di-
stinguished from *Alcibiades* men-
tioned a little before in this Chap-
ter. He, that is first named in this
place, was a Companion of the B.
Martyrs of *Lyons*. This Person
here was (together with *Montanus*
and *Theodotus*,) a ringleader of the
Sect of the *Cataphrygians*. Con-
cerning whom see Chap. 16, and
17 of this Book. *Valef.*

Montanus, (a) *Alcibiades*, and
Theodotus began, then first
of all, to be look'd upon in
the opinion of most Men as
Prophets; (for very many
Miracles of Divine Grace, at
that time wrought in many
Churches, made most Men
believe that they also were
Prophets;) and when there

arose a Dissention concerning these foresaid per-
sons, the Brethren that were in *Gallia* did again
subjoyn their private Opinion also concerning
these Men, (which was Religious and most Or-
thodox,) and annex'd several Epistles of those Mar-
tyrs that had ended their lives amongst them;
which, being yet in Bonds, they wrote to the Bre-
thren in *Asia* and *Phrygia*, and also to (b) *Eleuthe-*
rius then the Bishop of *Rome*, being (c) Embassa-
dors for the Peace of the Church.

(b) *Eleuthe-*
rius Bi-
shop of
Rome, was
first deceived by the *Montanists*, who craftily hid their Error under the
pretence of a feigned Piety. Moreover, being moved thereto by the
Letters and Exhortations of the Martyrs of *Lyons*, he wrote an Epistle
to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, concerning the receiving of the
Montanists into the Church. But being soon after admonished by one
Praxeas of *Asia*, he revoked his pacifick Letters which he had sent;
and following the authority of his Predecessor *Anicetus*, refused to
admit of a new Prophecy. So *Tertullian*, in his Book, against *Praxeas*.
Valef.

(c) That is, the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, as well as *Eleutherus*,
were Embassadors for the Peace of the Church. See Book 3. Chap. 24.
Note (a.)

C H A P. IV.

How the Martyrs, by their Epistle, recommended *Irenæus*.

(a) *Blon-*
dell (in his
Apology,
Chap. 8. p. 26.) denies that the Martyrs of *Lyons* wrote to *Eleutherus*.
For he affirms, that the Martyrdom of *Pothinus*, and the *Lugdunensians*,
happened on the seventh year of *Marcus* the Emperor, on the year of
Christ 167; at which time *Soter* was Bishop of *Rome*. The Martyrs of
Lyons therefore could not write to *Eleutherus* who then had not succeed-
ed *Soter*. But our *Eusebius* does refute *Blondell*, saying plainly, 'That
the same Martyrs recommended, &c. *Valef.*

(b) *Valefius*, in his Note here, will not allow that *Irenæus* did actually
go this journey to *Rome*; the Martyrs indeed, says he, had desired him,
and he had promised to undertake it; but the heat of the Persecution
coming on, and he being fix'd in the Presidency over the Church, could
not be spared personally to undergo it. But since *Eusebius* clearly in-
timates, and *St. Jerom* (in *Catalogo*) and *Baronius* (at the year of Christ
179) do expressly affirm, that the Martyrs sent him upon this Errand,
'tis safest to grant his journey thither, tho' it must be while he was yet
Presbyter, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop
of *Rome*, part of which our *Eusebius* has here inserted. See the Learned
Dr. Cave's Apostolici; in the Life of *St. Irenæus*; p. 165. Edit. Lond. 1677.

of the Church at *Lyons*) to the foremention'd
Bishop of *Rome*, giving the Man a very good Te-
stimony, as their own words do manifest, which
are these: 'We pray that you may in all things
' and always rejoyce in God, Father (c) *Eleutherus*; (c) The
' we have entreated *Irenæus* our Brother and Com- King's,
' panion to bring you these Letters, and we be- Max. and
' seech you that you would have him recommen- Euk. MSS.
' ded, being a Follower of the Testament or Co- read E-
' venant of Christ. For if we knew that place leutherus;
' would procure any Man righteousness, we wou'd as do also
' chiefly have recommended him as being Presby- Niciphorus
' ter of the Church, which degree he is of." What and *Rufi-*
need we recount the Catalogue of the Martyrs in nus. But
the foresaid Epistle; some whereof were perfected some who
by being beheaded, others were cast for food to call him
the Wild Beasts, and others again died in Pri- *Eleutheri-*
son? Or what need we reckon up the number of the us. *Valef.*
Confessors which till that time survived? For he
that is desirous, may easily and fully know all
these things, by taking into his hands that Epi-
stle, which, as I said, is inserted entire into our
Collection of the Martyrs. And such were the
things that happen'd in *Antoninus's* Time.

C H A P. V.

How God, having from Heaven heard the Prayers of some
of our Religion, sent Rain to *Marcus Aurelius Caesar*.

R Eport says, that when (a) *M. Aurelius Caesar*, (a) *Euse-*
Brother to this Emperor, had drawn up his bius is
Men in Battalia, in order to here much
a Fight against the *Germans*
and *Sarmatians*, his Army
was brought into so great a
strait by reason of Thirst,
that he knew not what
course to take; and that the
Soldiers of the Legion of
(b) *Melitina* (so it was call'd,
which Legion upon account
of their Faith, has continu'd
from that time hitherto,)
kneeling down upon the
Ground, (whilst the Army
was setting in array against
the Enemy) according to our
usual custom in Prayer, be-
took themselves to the ma-
king Supplications to God.
Which sight seeming very
strange to their Adversaries,
report says, that there soon
after follow'd another thing
much more wonderful; to
wit, both a terrible Light-
ning, which put the Enemy
to flight and destroy'd them;
and also a great Shower of
Rain, which fell upon that Army who had pray'd
to God, and refresh'd it, when all the Men in it
were just ready to perish with thirst. Which Sto-
ry is related both by those Writers, (who are whol-
ly estranged from our Religion,) whose care it
was to commit to writing matters done in those
times; and 'tis also set forth by our own Writers.
But the (c) *Heathen Historians*, because they are (c) Some
Heathen Writers, who have mentioned this thing, say the Rain was
procured by the Incantments of Magicians: Others assert it to have
been done by the Prayers of *Marcus* the Emperor. So *Capitolinus* in the
Life of *Marcus*, and *Claudius* in the sixth Consulate of *Honorius*. More-
over, they have set down the very Words of the Prayer, that *Marcus*
us'd; which are these, *Hanc dextram ad te, Jupiter, tendo, quæ nullius*
unquam sanguinem fudit; i.e. I stretch forth this right hand to thee, O
Jupiter, which never shed the Blood of any Man. Valef.
* That is, the name of that Le-
gion; he means not the very Per-
sons, which then were in it.

Al. Aurelius and L. Verus.

alienated from the Faith, have mention'd the wonder indeed, but confess not that it was done by the Prayers of those of our Religion. But our Men, in that they are lovers of truth, have delivered what was done in a plain and ingenuous manner. Amongst which number is *Apollinaris*; who says, from that time that Legion, which by prayer had wrought that Miracle, had a name given it by the Emperor, accommodate to what was done, being call'd in the Roman tongue (d) *Fulminea*. *Tertullian* also is a Witness of this matter worthy to be credited, who dedicated to the Roman Senate an Apology for our Faith (which we have before made mention of;) wherein he confirms this Story by a greater and more manifest Demonstration. Thus therefore he writes, saying, (e) that the Letters of the most Intelligent Emperor *Marcus* were extant in his time; wherein he attests, that his Army in Germany, being ready to perish for want of Water, was preserv'd by the Christians Prayers. He says moreover, that this Emperor threatned those with death, who attempted to accuse them of our Religion. To which the foremention'd Writer adds these words also: (f) What manner of Lawstherefore are these, which the impious, unjust, and cruel persons bring against us? Such Laws as *Vespasian* did not observe, altho' he had conquer'd the *Jews*; which *Trajan* in part dissannull'd, forbidding that the Christians should be fought for; which neither *Adrian*, (altho' an inquisitive searcher into all things that were curious,) nor he who was surnamed *Pius*, did make authentick." But let every one determine concerning these things according to his own pleasure; we will proceed upon the Series of the subsequent Parts of our History. *Pothinus* therefore having finish'd his life, (together with those that suffer'd Martyrdom in Gallia,) when he was ninety years old compleat, (g) *Irenæus* succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Lyons*, which See *Pothinus* presided over. This *Irenæus* was, we understand, an Auditor of *Polycarp's* in his younger years. This person setting down (in his third Book against *Heresies*) the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, closes his Catalogue with *Eleutherus*, (whose Times and Actions we now make our Researches into) because in his time he compiled that elaborate Work: He writes thus.

Soldiers, we do readily give credit to the attestation of *Apollinaris* and *Tertullian*; but *Apollinaris* has not yet perswaded me to believe, that the Legion *Melitina* was named the *Lightning-Legion* upon that account. Some may object, that there was indeed a Legion called the *Lightning-Legion*, before *Antoninus's* time, but that he gave the Legion *Melitina* that name also, because of the benefit he received by their means. But, if it were so, it ought to be called the second *Lightning-Legion*: And yet *Dio* makes no mention of any such Legion, altho' he reckons up exactly all the Legions enrolled by the former Emperors. Moreover, *Dio* says, that the *Lightning-Legion* had its station in *Cappadocia*, which agrees very well with the Legion *Melitina*. In the Book called *Notitia Imperii Romani*, the prefecture of the 12 Legion, termed *Fulminea*, at *Melitina*, is reckoned under the disposition of the Duke of *Armenia*. Whence 'tis collected that *Melitina* was not the name of the Legion, but of the Town, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, abode. But 'twas not usual to give the Legions their denomination from the places where they were in Garrison, but from the Countreys wherein they were inrolled. Therefore, what *Eusebius* says concerning the Legion *Melitina*, seems to me scarce probable. Besides, *Rufinus* purposely omitted this name of the Legion, as I suppose, because he knew that *Melitina* was the name of a Town in *Armenia the Less*, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, kept guard in his time. But (that I may freely say what I think) it seems not very probable to me, that a whole Legion of Roman Soldiers should at that time be Christians; which yet *Eusebius* seems to affirm: Who errs in this also, because he has not produced the place of *Apollinaris*, nor shown the Book wherein he wrote these things. But the Words, with which *Eusebius* closes this whole Story, do sufficiently shew, that he himself doubted of the truth of this matter: For thus he says, in this Chap. Let every one determine concerning these things according to his own pleasure. Valef.

(e) *Tertullian's* Words are these: *At nos è contrario edimus protectorem; si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam*

Germanicam sitim, Christianorum forte militum precationibus, impetrato imbridisussam contestatur. Tertul. Apol. pag. 6. Edit. Regal. Paris 1634.

(f) *Quales ergo leges ista, quas adversus nos soli exequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos: Quas nullus Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator; nullus Vespasianus, quanquam Judæorum debellator; nullus Pius; nullus Verus impressit. Tertul. Apol. pag. 6 and 7. Edit. as before. We have added these Words of Tertullian here, that the learned Reader may see how different the Translation, Eusebius here quotes, is from the original Copies of Tertullian, which we now have.*

(g) *Baronius* has placed the Election of *Irenæus* to the See of *Lyons* on the year of Christ 180. For after the death of *Pothinus*, which happened in the year 179, he says that See was vacant till the heat of the Persecution was over. Valef. Dr. Cave, in his Chronological Table, says, *Pothinus* died in the year of Christ 177. to whom succeeded *Irenæus* the Year following.

CHAP. VI.

A Catalogue of those who were Bishops of Rome.

THE blessed Apostles therefore, having founded and built the Church, delivered the Episcopal Office to *Linus*; of whom *Paul* has made mention in his Epistles to **Timotheus*. A. * 2 Tim. *nencletus* succeeded him; after whom, in the third place from the Apostles, *Clemens* had the Bishoprick allotted to him; who had seen the blessed Apostles, and was conversant with them; and as yet he had the Preaching of the Apostles sounding in his ears, and their Tradition before his eyes: And not he alone; for at that time there were many yet remaining alive, who had been taught by the Apostles." In the times of this *Clemens*, when no small Diffention rose among the Brethren at *Corinth*, the Church of *Rome* sent a most compleat and agreeable Epistle to the *Corinthians*, joyning them together in peace, and renewing their Faith, and the Tradition they had lately received from the Apostles. And after some few words he says, *Evaristus* succeeded this *Clemens*, and *Alexander Evaristus*; then *Xystus* was constituted the sixth from the Apostles: After him *Telephorus*, who suffer'd a glorious Martyrdom, after him *Hyginus*; then *Pius*; after *Pius* *Anicetus*: *Soter* having succeeded *Anicetus*, *Eleutherus* is now in possession of the Episcopal Office, in the twelfth place from the Apostles. In this same Order and (a) Succession, both the Tradition of the Apostles in the Church, and also the Promulgation of the Truth, is descended unto us.

(a) Our MSS. Copies read [διαδοχή] Doctrine; I would rather read [διαδοχή] Succession; as *Christopherson*, Sir *Henry Savil*, and the old Translator of *Irenæus* read it. Valef.

CHAP. VII.

That, even to those Times, Miracles were wrought by the Faithful.

ALL this, being agreeable to what we have deliver'd in the foregoing Books of our History, *Irenæus* has given his assent to, in those five Books of his, which he entitled, *The Confutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falsely so called*; in the second Book of which Subject he does in these words manifest, that even in his days there remain'd in some Churches examples of the Divine and Wonderful Power of God in working Miracles, saying; "So far are they from raising the Dead, as the Lord and the Apostles did by Prayer. And frequently amongst the Brotherhood, (the whole Church of one place having with much fasting and (a) prayer requested) the (a) The Fulk. and Savil MSS. read *λιτανείας*, Prayer; the King's MS. and Robert Stephens, *εργείας*, Purity. Valef.

Soul

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. Soul of the Defunct has return'd into his Body, and the Man has had the benefit of life confer'd upon him by the Prayers of the Saints." And again, after the interposition of some words, he says; "But if they say, that the Lord wrought such Miracles as these in appearance only, not really, we will bring them to the Oracles of the Prophets, and from thence demonstrate that all things were thus predicted concerning him, and most undoubtedly done by him; and that he only is the Son of God. Therefore they which are his true Disciples, receiving grace from him, do in his name perform all things for the benefit of the rest of Mankind; according as every one of them hath receiv'd the Gift from him. For some of them do certainly and truly cast out Devils; in so much that those very persons, who were cleansed from Evil Spirits, frequently become Believers, and continue in the Church. Others have the fore-knowledge of things future, and Visions, and utter prophetick Predictions. Others by the imposition of their Hands heal the Sick, and restore them to their former soundness: and moreover, as we said, the Dead also have been rais'd; who continued with us many years after. What shall we say more? We cannot declare the number of the Gifts, which the Church throughout the whole world having receiv'd from God, in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, does daily perform for the benefit of the Nations: She uses no deceit towards any person, neither does she sell her Gifts; for as she has freely receiv'd them from God, so she freely ministers them to others." And in another place the same Author writes thus: "In like manner as we have heard many Brethren in the Church who had Prophetick Gifts, and by the Spirit spake all sorts of languages; who also revealed the Secrets of Men, in such cases as 'twas profitable and necessary, and explain'd the Mysteries of God. And thus much [concerning this matter, to wit] that Diversities of Gifts continued with such as were worthy, until those times before-manifested.

C H A P. VIII.

After what manner Irenæus makes mention of the Divine Scriptures.

BUT because in the beginning of this Work of ours, we promised, that we would produce in due place the words of the ancient Ecclesiastick Presbyters and Writers, wherein they have deliver'd in writing the Traditions concerning the Books of the Old and New Testament which came

(a) These words [τέτων δὲ καὶ ἐγενναίθη ἡν, i. e. of which number Irenæus was one] seem to be superfluous, and written in the Margin only, by some Scholiast. But they are in the *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil MSS.* Valef.

(b) Irenæus, in that

he affirms here, that *The Gospel according to Mark* was written after the death of *Peter* and *Peter*, does contradict what *Eusebius* related before at the 15th Chap. of the second Book: Where he says *Mark's Gospel* was publish'd at *Rome*, whilst *Peter* was alive, and approved of by that Apostle. But 'tis no wonder that the ancient Fathers disagree amongst themselves in this matter; seeing we have almost nothing of certainty about the writing of the Sacred Gospels, save that they are four, and written by four several Authors. But when, or for what reason they were written, and whether the Gospel of *St. Matthew* were first penned in Hebrew, 'tis not very evident. Valef.

and Interpreter of *Peter*, deliver'd to us in writing what *Peter* had preach'd. *Luke* also, the Follower of *Paul*, compiled in a Book the Gospel preach'd by him. Afterwards *John* the Disciple of the Lord, he that lean'd on his Breast, publish'd a Gospel, when he lived at *Ephesus* [a City] of *Asia*." Thus much the forementioned Author has said in the third Book of the foresaid Work: And in his fifth Book he discourses thus concerning the Revelation of *John*, and the number of Antichrist's name: "These things being thus, and this number being extant in all accurate and ancient Copies; and those very persons who saw *John* face to face, attesting the truth of these things, even reason doth teach us, that the number of the Beast's name, according to the computation of the *Grecians*, is made apparent by the Letters contain'd in it." And after some other Passages, he speaks thus concerning the same *John*; "We therefore will not run the hazard of affirming any thing too positively concerning the name of Antichrist: For if his name were to have been openly declared in this Age, it would have been express'd by him who saw the Revelation. For it was not seen long since, but almost in our Age, about the end of *Domitian's Reign*." Thus much is related by the foresaid Author concerning the Revelation. He mentions also the first Epistle of *John*, and produces many Authorities out of it; as also out of the second Epistle of *Peter*. He not only knew, but also approved of the Book call'd *Pastor*, saying, "Truly therefore hath that Book said which contains this, Before all things believe that there is one God, who created and set in order all things, and so forth." He quotes some words out of the

(c) *Wisdom of Solomon*, saying in a manner thus; "The Vision of God procures Incorruption, and Incorruption makes us near unto God." He makes mention also of the (d) sayings of an Apostolick Presbyter (whose name he has concealed) and annexes his Expositions of the

(c) All the Ancient Ecclesiastick Writers (as before was noted) call that Book *the Wisdom of Solomon*, which we now call *the Proverbs*. But that Book entitled now *the Wisdom of Solomon*, is Apocryphal. Valef.

(d) Ἀπομνημονεύματα (the term here in the original) does properly signify, the sayings of Wise Men, which are repeated by heart. Valef.

Divine Scriptures. Moreover, he makes mention of *Justin Martyr* and *Ignatius*, quoting also Authorities out of their Writings. The same person has promised to confute *Marcion*, in a separate Volume, by Arguments pick'd out of his own Writings. And concerning the Translation of the divinely-inspired Scriptures, hear what he writes word for word: "God therefore was made Man, and the Lord himself saved us, having given the Sign of the Virgin: But not, as some say, who are so audacious as to traduce the Scripture thus; Behold, a young Woman shall conceive, and bring forth a Son; as (e) *Theodotion* the *Ephesian* has translated it, and *Aquila* of *Pontus*, both Jewish Profelytes: Whom the *Ebionites* having follow'd, say, that Christ was begotten by *Joseph*." Hereunto, after a few words, he adds, saying; "For before the Romans had firmly compleated their Empire, (the mention of *Theodotion*.

Wherefore we will see, if from hence we can make out the time when *Theodotion* lived. *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De ponderib.*) says, *Theodotion* flourish'd under *Commodus*, and then put forth his Translation. The *Chronicon* of *Alexandria* follows *Epiphanius's* Opinion, and says he publish'd that Work in the sixth year of the Emperor *Commodus*. I judge *Theodotion* to be somewhat ancients. For, seeing *Irenæus* has mention'd him in his Books against Heresies, (which Books, 'tis manifest, he wrote when *Eleutherius* was Bishop of *Rome*; for he says so in the third Book of that Work,) we must necessarily grant that *Theodotion* flourish'd before *Eleutherius* was made Bishop of *Rome*. Valef.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. *Macedonians* as yet possessing the Government of *Asia*, (f) *Ptolomæus* the Son of *Lagus*, endeavouring with much care and industry to adorn the Library he had prepared at *Alexandria*, with the Writings of all Men, which were accurately compiled, requested those of *Jerusalem*, that he might have (g) their Scriptures translated into the *Greek* Language. They (for till that time they were subject to the *Macedonians*) sent to *Ptolomæus* the Seventy Seniors, which were the most skilful persons among them in the Scriptures, and most expert in both the Languages; (h) satisfying the King's desire herein. [*Ptolomy*] desirous to make trial of every one of them, and being fearful lest by compact they should agree to conceal the Truth of the Scriptures by their Translation, (i) separated them one from another, and commanded every one of them to write a Translation: And this he did throughout all the Books. When they were come all together into the same place in the presence of *Ptolomy*, and had compared together the Version of every particular person amongst them, God was both glorified, and the Scriptures acknowledg'd to be truly Divine: For they all from the beginning to the end, set down the same things in the same words, and in the same expressions; insomuch, that the *Gentiles* who were present, acknowledg'd (the Scriptures were translated by the Inspiration of God. Neither need it seem marvellous that God should do this, seeing that in the Captivity of the People under *Nebuchadonofor*, the Scriptures being then corrupted,) when after seventy years the *Jews* return'd to their own Country; afterwards, in the times of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Persians*, he inspir'd *Esdra*s the Priest of the Tribe of *Levi* to recompose all the Books of the former Prophets, and restore to the People the Law deliver'd by *Moses*. Thus far *Irenæus*.

in that of his Successor *Philadelphus*: Which to me seems very probable. For, seeing *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, and *Tertullian* do say in express Words, that *Demetrius Phalereus* put *Ptolomy* upon this business; and it being manifest that the said *Demetrius* was in great favour with, and authority under, *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and died soon after him, we must necessarily say that this Translation (if it were done by the procurement of *Demetrius*) was begun in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*. And, seeing that *Philadelphus* reigned about two Years together with his Father, being made his Colleague in the Kingdom, therefore perhaps 'tis related that this Translation was made under both the Princes. *Valesius*. The Learned *Petavius* is of the same opinion with *Valesius*, in this matter; as may be seen from his Annotations on *Epiphanius's* Book *De ponderib.* pag. 379. Edit. Paris. 1622.

(g) *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, the 72 Seniors translated all the Books (as well those of the Law, as those of the Prophets) of the Scripture into *Greek*. To whom agrees *Theodoret*, in his Preface to his Comment on the *Psalms*, *Olympiodorus*, and almost all other Writers. But *Aristobulus* and *Josephus*, both Jewish Writers, do intimate that the Law only was by them turned into *Greek*. *Aristobulus's* Words may be seen B. 13. of *Eusebius de preparat.* and *Josephus's* in his Preface to his *Antiquities*. But to this it may be answered, That the *Jews*, under the name of the Law, do sometimes comprehend the Prophets also. See *Masius's* Preface to the *Greek* Edition of *Joshua*. *Valesius*.

(h) *Valesius* reads this passage thus [*ποιήσαντες τὰς ὁπότες ἐβέβηλο*, i. e. satisfying the King's desire herein.] He says *Christophorus* read this place so, and Sir *Henry Savil* in his MS. But the King's, the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. (as he says) and *Robert Stephens*, in his Edit. read it thus [*ποιήσαντες τὰς ὁπότες ἐβέβηλο*, i. e. God having done according to his own Will. We follow *Valesius*; but leave the Reader to his liberty.

(i) *Justin the Martyr* (in his *παράδοσις* to the *Gentiles*) says the 72 Seniors were by *Ptolomy* put into so many Cells; the ruins of which he saw at *Alexandria*: *Epiphanius* (in his Book *de ponderib.*) says the King placed them two and two in a Cell. These Words of *Irenæus* agree best with *Justin's* account of this matter. Others there are, who deride this whole Story about the Cells; because neither *Josephus*, nor *Aristeus*, nor *Philo* make any mention of them. See *Petavius's* *Annotat.* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 378. Edit. Paris; and Mr. *Gregory's* Discourse (of *Oxford*) concerning the 70 Interpreters.

C H A P. IX.

Who were Bishops in the Reign of Commodus.

Moreover, *Antoninus* having held the Empire nineteen years, *Commodus* assumed the Government: In whose first year *Julianus* undertook the Prefecture of the Churches at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* having compleated the twelfth year of his Presidency.

C H A P. X.

Concerning Pantænus the Philosopher.

At that time there was a Man, Governour of the School of the Faithful * there, who * At A. upon account of his Learning was most eminent; his name was *Pantænus*: For from a very ancient custom there had been an Ecclesiastical School among them, which also continued to our days; and we have been informed that 'tis furnish'd with Men who are very able Scholars, and industrious about Divine Matters. But *Fame* says, that the foremention'd *Pantænus* was at that time the most eminent person among them, because he was bred up in the Precepts and Institutions of that Philosophical Sect call'd *Stoicks*. Moreover, 'tis said, he shew'd so great a willingness of mind and ardency of affection towards the [Publication of the] Divine Word, that he was declared the Preacher of Christ's Gospel to the Nations of the East, and journeyed as far as *India*. For there were many Evangelical Preachers of the Word even at that time, who inflamed with a Divine Zeal, in imitation of the Apostles, contributed their assistance to the enlargement of the Divine Word, and the building Men up in the Faith. Of which number *Pantænus* was one, and is reported to have gone to the *Indians*. Where, as 'tis famed, he found the Gospel according to *Matthew*, amongst some that had the knowledge of Christ there, before his arrival. To whom *Bartholomew* one of the Apostles had preach'd, and (a) left them the Gospel of St. *Matthew* written in *Hebrew*; which was preserved to the fore-said times. Moreover, this *Pantænus*, after many excellent Performances, was at last made Governour of the School at *Alexandria*; where by his Discourses and Writings he set forth to publick view the Treasures of the Divine Points.

from *India* to *Alexandria*, brought with him that Gospel of St. *Matthew* in *Hebrew*. But *Eusebius* does not say so. For by that which he adds, [*ἢ ἡ σὰν ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν ἀναμνηστικὸν χρόνον*] he means only thus much, viz. That that Copy of *Bartholomew's* was preserved until *Pantænus* came into *India*. So *Nicephorus* expounds *Eusebius's* Words, B. 4. Chap. 32. but I assent not to *Nicephorus*, in that which he says further, to wit, That that Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which *Pantænus* found in *India*, was dictated there by *Bartholomew*. I rather believe that Copy was brought thither by *Bartholomew* out of *Judea*. Further, *Jerom* (in *Catalog.*) says, the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, written in *Hebrew*, was preserved in the Library of *Casaria* (collected by *Pamphilus* the Martyr) even in his time. But I doubt 'twas the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which the *Nazareans* used. For some thought, that this Gospel of the *Hebrews* was the original Copy of St. *Matthew's* Gospel; but that's a mistake. *Valesius*.

C H A P. XI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

At the same time flourish'd *Clemens* at *Alexandria*, (being laborious together with *Pantænus* in the Studies of the Divine Scriptures,) who had the same name with that ancient Prelate of the *Roman* Church, that was a Disciple of the Apostles

Commodus. Apostles. He (in his Book (a) of *Institutions*) makes express mention of *Pantænus*, as having been his Master. To me he seems to mean the same person also, in the first Book of his *Stromatōn*, where recording, *the most eminent Successors of the Apostolick Doctrine by whom he had been instructed, he says thus: 'Now this Work of mine I have not composed for Ostentation, but these *Memoirs* I have treasur'd up, as a Remedy against the Forgetfulness of mine old age, that they may be a true representation and adumbration of those lively and powerful Discourses, which I have had the happiness to hear from blessed and truly worthy and memorable persons. Of which one was *Ionicus*, [whom I heard] in Greece; another in † *Magna Græcia*; the first of them was a *Cælo-Syrian*, the other an *Egyptian*. Others of them lived in the East: of which one was an (b) *Assyrian*, the other in *Palestine*, by original extract an (c) *Hebrew*." The last [Master] I met with, (who yet was the first and chiefest in power and virtue, whom I inquisitively sought out and found lying hid in *Egypt*) I did fully acquiesce in, and searched no further. These therefore preserving the sincere Tradition of the Blessed Doctrine, which they had immediately received from the Holy Apostles *Peter*, *James*, *John*, and *Paul*, (like Children from the hands of their Parents, although few Children be like their Parents) are by God's Blessing come down to our time, sowing those Primitive and Apostolick Seeds [of Truth.]

Yet the *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus*, which are extant after his *Stromateon*, seem to be taken out of his *Institutions*; which I wonder no Body has taken notice of before. This I conclude to be true, both because in those *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus* there are the same things said of Christ, which *Photius* attests he read in *Clemens's* Books of *Institutions*; and also because the Author of those *Excerpta* does, about the end of them, call *Pantænus* Master. Now *Pantænus* was *Clemens's* Master, as *Eusebius* says in this Chapter; whom *Clemens* in his *Institutions*, does often quote, as *Photius* relates. *Valef.*

* Or, the most eminent Persons of the Apostolick Succession.

† It was that part of Italy, which since is called *Calabria*.

(b) *Valesius* thinks this Person was *Tatianus*, *Justin* the Martyr's Scholar; *Baronius* says 'twas *Bardeſanes*, of whom see B. 4. chap. the last; but he was no *Assyrian*; for he was of *Edeſſa*, the chief City of *Osdroëna*.

(c) *Baronius* says, this was *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; but I rather think him to have been *Theodotus*; which I conjecture from hence, because the Epitome of *Clemens's* *Institutions* is entitled, [ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοτῶν ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας, i. e. [the Epitome of *Theodotus* his Oriental Doctrine.] For *Clemens* calls that the *Oriental Doctrine*, which he learned from his Masters in the East. I have two Arguments to persuade me, that *Clemens* does not here mean *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea*; (1) *Theophilus* was contemporary with *Clemens*, for he flourish'd in the times of *Vilior* Bishop of *Rome*, as we are inform'd by our *Eusebius*. (2.) None of the Ancients ever said that *Theophilus* was a *Hebrew*, or, which is all one, a *Jew*. *Valef.*

C H A P. XII.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

AT that time *Narcissus*, Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*, flourish'd, a Man very famous amongst many even at this time: He was the fifteenth in succession from the Siege of the *Jews* under *Adrian*. From which time we have before manifested, that the Church of the *Gentiles* was first constituted there, after those of the *Circumcision*; and also that *Mark* was the first Bishop of the *Gentiles* that presided over them. After whom

(a) The most famous Churches, especially those which were founded by the Apostles, did with great care keep the Successions of their Bishops laid up amongst their *Archives*, recording their names, and the day of their deaths, in a pair of Writing-tables. These our *Eusebius* had diligently examin'd, as appears from this place; and he has digested the Bishops of the principal Sees from the authority of these Tables only. Wherefore, the Successions of Bishops, which are recounted in the *History* and *Chronicles* of *Eusebius*, are highly to be prized, as being the ancientest and most certain. *Valef.*

then *Caius*; to whom succeeded *Symmachus*; then *Commodus*; another *Caius*, and again *Julianus* the Second: Moreover *Capito*, (b) *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; last (b) Before of all this *Narcissus*, who in a continued Series of this *Valens*, Succession was the thirtieth from the Apostles. the names of two Bishops are wanting, to wit, *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*, which were omitted by the negligence of the Transcribers. For, seeing *Eusebius* affirm'd *Narcissus* to have been the fifteenth Bishop of *Jerusalem* from *Mark*, and the thirtieth from the Apostles; that can't be unless you add two Bishops here. *Eusebius* indeed, in his *Chronicon*, after *Capito* the twenty-sixth from the Apostles, reckons *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*; after these *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; and then *Narcissus*. *Georg. Syncellus* and *Nicephorus* do agree with *Eusebius*; only between *Julianus* and *Capito* they insert one *Helias*, whom *Eusebius* does not admit of. *Valef.*

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Rhodon, and the Diffension of the Marcionites, which he has made mention of.

ABout the same time also *Rhodon*, born in *Asia*, (who, as himself relates, had been instructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*, whom we mention'd before,) wrote many Books, and together with others engaged against the Heresie of *Marcion*. Which, he relates, was in his time divided into several Opinions. He has recorded the Authors of this Diffension, and with exquisite diligence confuted the Lyes invented by every one of 'em. Hear therefore what he has written in these words. 'Wherefore also they disagree amongst themselves, because they are assertors of an Opinion which is ill put together. For *Apelles*, one of their Gang, (a) who boasts of his age, and (a) *Rufinus* does well pretend to lead a more abstemious and strict course of life,) confesses there is but one Principle; but says, the Oracles of the Prophets proceed from an opposite Spirit, being induced to believe this by the responses of a Virgin, possessed with a Devil, by name *Philumena*. But others of them, (in like manner as does *Marcion* himself, the (b) *Mariner*) assert, there are two Principles; of which number are (c) *Potitus*, and *Basilicus*; and these Followers of that * Wolf of *Pontus*, being unable to find out the distinction of things, (which neither could he do,) have given themselves over to rashness, and have simply and without any thing of demonstration affirmed there are two Principles. Others again [differing] from these, and running themselves into worse [Assertions,] suppose there are not only two, but also three Natures. Of which sort *Syneros* was the Ringleader and first Founder, as the Defenders of his Doctrine do say. The same Author writes that he discours'd with *Apelles*; he says thus; 'For the old Man *Apelles*, having had a conference with us, was convinc'd that

boast of his Continency; who was rejected by *Marcion*, because he was a Fornicator, and afterwards retreated to *Alexandria*, as *Tertullian* affirms in his Book de *prescription*. Wherefore let us see whether the word [πολιεία] does not signifie something else here; it sometimes denotes the Office of a *Decurio*, or Captain over ten horsemen; for these Commanders are by the *Græcians* called *πολιτῆς*, or *πολιτάρχης*, as I have observed in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*. Also, a Man may conjecture, that this place should be written thus, ἡ πολιὰ σεννὴ καὶ τὸ γῆρας, i. e. his venerable hoary hairs and old age. For *Apelles* was commonly called old Man; and so *Rhodon* terms him in this Chapter. *Eusebius* favours our conjecture, B. 6. Chap. 39. where speaking of *Alexander* the Bishop, he uses this very phrase. *Valef.*

(b) The King's MS. and *Stephens* Edition do here insert these two Words [ὁ ναύτης, the Mariner] but they are wanting in the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk. MSS.* Indeed *Tertullian*, in his Book de *prescription* does testify that *Marcion* was at first a Mariner. *Ubi tunc*, says he, *Marcion Ponticus nauclerus, Stoica studiosus*? *Valef.*

(c) The King's MS. and *Robert Stephens's* Edition call this Man's name *Potimus*; the *Mar. Med. Fuk. and Savil MSS.* term him *Potitus*; so does *Rufinus*, in his Version; and *Theodoret* B. 1. *Hæret. Fab.* *Valef.*

* He means *Marcion*; see B. 4. Chap. 11.

Commodus. he maintain'd many things that were false; upon which account he said Faith should in no wise be too severely inquired into, but, that every one should persist in what he had believ'd. For he asserted, that those who hoped in [Christ] crucified should be saved, provided they be found doing of good works. He concluded the [Question] concerning God, to be to him (as we said before) the most obscure thing of all. For he affirm'd there was but one Principle, as our Religion [asserts.] Then, having set forth his whole Opinion, he subjoyns these words; 'But when I said to him, whence have you this Demonstration, or for what Reason can you affirm there is but one Principle, tell us? He answer'd, That the Prophecies confuted themselves, because they utter'd nothing that was true: for they disagree, and are false, and opposite to themselves; but, how there was but one Principle, he profess'd he knew not, but was induc'd only to think so. After this, when I conjured him to speak the truth, he swore he spoke what was true, to wit, that he knew not how there could be one unbegotten God, but he believed it. I laugh'd, and reprehended him, because he stiled himself a Doctor, and knew not how to make good what he taught." But, in the same Book which he dedicated to *Callistion*, the said *Rhodon* doth confess that he himself was instructed at Rome by *Tatianus*. Moreover he says, *Tatianus* compiled a Book of *Questions*; wherein *Tatianus* having promised to explain the dark and obscure Passages of the Sacred Scriptures, this *Rhodon* professes he would set forth the Solutions to his Questions. There is also extant of this Person's a Comment upon the six Days Work of the Creation. Indeed, this *Apelles* utter'd many impious expressions against the Law of *Moses*, in many Books speaking irreverently of the Divine Scriptures, and using his utmost diligence to confute, and (as he thought) to overthrow them. But thus much concerning these things.

C H A P. XIV.

Concerning the False Prophets of the Cataphrygians.

Moreover, that Adversary of God's Church, (who hates Goodness, and makes Mischief his chiefest delight,) omitting in no wise any ways or methods of Treachery towards Men, caused new Heresies to grow up against the Church: The Followers whereof crawled, like venomous Serpents, all over *Asia* and *Phrygia*; and boasted that *Montanus* was the **Paraclete*, and that the two Women, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, his Companions, were his Prophetesses.

* That is, the Holy Ghost; whom

St. John, in his Gospel, does several times call *Παράκλητος*, Comforter. See Jo. 14. 6.

C H A P. XV.

Concerning the Schism of Blastus raised at Rome.

Others also sprang up at Rome, whom *Florinus*, degraded from being a Presbyter of the Church, headed. *Blastus* was in like manner intangled in the same (a) Error. Which two Persons drew away many from the Church, and inticed them to embrace their Opinion; each of them severally endeavouring to introduce Innovations against the Truth.

(a) *Rufinus* and *Chrysostom* supposed the term them severally endeavouring to introduce Innovations against the Truth. *Nicephorus* takes it in such a sense as to signify, a discharging; and thought that *Blastus*, as well as *Florinus*, was degraded from being a Presbyter. *Vales.*

C H A P. XVI.

What has been committed to memory concerning Montanus, and his False Prophets.

Moreover, that Power, which is the Defender of the Truth, raised up *Apollinaris* (Bishop of *Hierapolis*, whom we made mention of before,) and together with him many others, who at that time were eloquent and learned Men, as it were a strong and inexpugnable Defence against the said Heresie of the *Cataphrygians*. By which persons we have a copious Subject left us for this our History. (a) One of the said persons therefore, in the Preface to his Work against the *Cataphrygians*, does in the first place shew that he assaulted them with unwritten Arguments: For he begins after this manner; 'Having a sufficient while since been enjoyn'd by thee, beloved (b) *Aviricius Marcellus*, to write a Book against the Heresie (c) of *Miltiades*, till now I have in a manner continued doubtful and unresolved; not that I wanted ability both to confute Falseness, and also to give evidence to the Truth; but I was fearful and cautious, lest to some I should seem by writing to add to, or make a further determination about the Doctrine of the New Covenant of the Gospel: To which nothing must be added, nor any thing taken away from it, by him that resolves to lead a life agreeable to the Gospel itself. But, being lately at *Ancyra* [a City] of *Galatia*, and finding the Church (d) then (e) filled with the noise of this New (not, as they call it, Prophecy, but as it shall be demonstrated,) False Prophecy; as well as I was able, (God assisting me,) I discoursed (f) frequently in the Church many days, both concerning these very things, and also about other [Points] proposed by them: inasmuch that the Church did greatly rejoyce, and was confirm'd in the Truth; but the Adversaries were at that time confuted, and (g) the Enemies of God made sorrowful. When

and afterwards thinks 'twas *Rhodon*. *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis* was not the Author of this Book, 'tis from hence manifest, because he wrote against the *Cataphrygian* Heresie when it newly arose, as *Eusebius* attests at the end of Book 4. But this unknown Author compiled his Books after the death of *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*, as appears by the fragments of them quoted in this Chapter. See *Hallouxius* in his Notes on the Life of *Apollinaris*, chap. 3. *Vales.*

(b) In the Greek Menology at the 22d of October, mention is made of the Holy *Avercius*, (so *Nicephorus* calls him Book 4.) Bishop of *Hierapolis*, a worker of Miracles. *Hallouxius* put forth this Person's Life in Greek, Tome 2. concerning the famous Writers of the Eastern Church. *Vales.*

(c) Why this Author without a name, calls the Heresie of the *Cataphrygians*, the Sect of *Miltiades*, rather than of *Montanus*, 'tis hard to be determined. For he means not here that *Miltiades*, of whom *Eusebius* speaks in the following Chapter. For he wrote for the Catholic Truth against the *Cataphrygians*. The Learned *Langus*, who translated *Nicephorus*, at this place put in *Alcibiades* in stead of *Miltiades*. Indeed *Alcibiades* is by *Eusebius* (B. 5. Chap. 3.) named amongst the principal Abettors of the *Cataphrygian* Heresie. Therefore we must either read *Alcibiades* here, or *Miltiades* there. *Vales.*

(d) The King's MS. and *Nicephorus* (Book 4. Chap. 23.) in stead of [ἐν παντί, i. e. throughout Pontus] reads it [ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, i. e. the Church of the place,] to wit, *Ancyra*. *Vales.*

(e) Διατεθειμένην. That is, filled with the noise of, &c. For the whole Church of that place sounded with the rumour of this New Prophecy, inasmuch as, by reason of the strangeness of this great matter, all Men talk'd of it. Hence it appears, that the gift of Prophecy was in those times rare and unusual in the Church; seeing that the Prophecy of *Montanus* which then arose, stir'd up at that time such Comotions in the Church. Which certainly had not happened, had the gift of Prophecy been then common in the Church. *Vales.*

(f) Sir Hen. Savil (in the Margin of his Copy) made it ἐλάττει, i. e. continually, daily: So *Chrysostom* read it. *Vales.*

(g) The reading of the *Euk.* and *Savil* MSS. is [ἐναντίας, i. e. the Enemies of God.] So he calls the *Montanists*, because they were the introducers of a new *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost. *Vales.*

therefore

Commodus. sorrowful. When therefore the Presbyters of that place requested me to leave some written Record of what had been spoken against those Adversaries to the Word of Truth; *(b)* *(Zoticus Otrenus)* our Fellow-Presbyter, being then present also; I did not indeed do that; but promised, that (by the assistance of the Lord,) I would write here, and send it quickly and carefully unto them. Having said these words and some others after these in the Preface of his Book, he proceeds, and sets forth the Author of the fore-said Heresie after this manner. 'This their stubborn Contention therefore against the Church, and this new Heretical Separation [from it] had this original. There is said to be a certain Village in that *(i)* *Myisia* [which borders upon] *Phrygia*, called by the name of *Ardaba*. There, they say, one of those who had newly embrac'd the Faith, by name *Montanus*, (when *Gratus* was

(b) This *Zoticus Otrenus* must be distinguished from *Zoticus* of *Comanes* the Bishop, whom this Author mentions hereafter in this Chapter. For he of *Comanes* was the ancestor of the two. *Valef.*

(i) There were heretofore two *Myisia's*, (as also two *Phrygia's*.) says *Strabo*, B. 22. The one called the Greater, which *Strabo* calls *Olympene*; the other the Less, which *Ptolomy* calls *Hellepontia*. Both of them bordered on *Phrygia*. Whence arose the Greek Proverb [*χρὸς τὸ μυσιῶν*] concerning which see *Erasm. Adag.* p. 171. *Edit. Weckelian.* There was also another *Myisia* in Europe, which the Latines call *Masia*, but the Greeks always *Myisia*. To difference this *Myisia* therefore from the other, 'tis stiled here [*ἡ ἑστὶ ἐν τῇ μυσιᾷ*] i.e. *That Myisia which borders on Phrygia*; or *Myisia in Asia*. In the *Maz. MS.* this Town is called *Ardabab*. *Valef.*

* Or, *distinction*, for the term in the original is *διαστολή*.

† See *Matt. 24.*

(k) *Ἀποκοιμηθεῖν*. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Women, who leaving their Husbands Bed, go by stealth to that of the Adulterer. For [*κοιμᾶσαι*] to sleep, is often used for these adulteries, as it occurs frequently in Sacred Writ. *Valef.*

tion of the Church received from ancient Tradition, and [propagated] by a continued Succession. Now, of those who at that time were at the hearing of his counterfeited Expressions, some with indignation rebuked him, as being moved by, and possess'd with, a Devil and a Spirit of Error, and as being a disturber of the Multitude: They prohibited him also to speak; [for] they were mindful of the Lord's * Premonition and his Menaces, [whereby we are commanded] with vigilancy to beware of the coming of false Prophets. But others, as if they had been inspir'd by the Holy Ghost and with the gift of Prophecy, conceiv'd also very high thoughts of themselves, and being unmindful of the † Lord's Premonition, provok'd that insatiable, flattering and seducing Spirit [to speak;] and being enticed and deceived by it, forbade it should any more be silenc'd. By this Art, or rather by this Method of Subtilty and Mischiefe, the Devil plotted Destruction against those that were disobedient to [the Lord's Premonition;] and, being undeservedly honour'd by them, he excited and

enkindled their Minds, which had *(k)* forsaken the true Faith: For he stirr'd up two other Women, and fill'd them with a counterfeit Spirit: So that they (like the fore-mention'd Person) utter'd extravagant,

foolish and strange expressions; and those who delighted in and boasted of that Matter, that Spirit pronounced blessed, and puff'd them up with the greatness of the Promises. Sometimes also, making use of conjectural and credible Arguments, he condemn'd them publickly, that so

he might also seem a *(l)* reproving [Spirit.] Those few, who were deceiv'd, were *Phrygiants*. But this insolent Spirit taught them to revile the whole Church under Heaven, because this Spirit of false Prophecy receiv'd neither honour from, nor found any way of entrance into it. For when the Faithful throughout *Asia* had met often and in many places of *Asia* upon this account, and had enquired into this new Doctrine, and determined it to be prophane, and rejected this Heresie, they were expell'd out of the Church, and interdicted Communion [with the Faithful.] Having related thus much in the beginning [of that his Work] and subjoyn'd, throughout that whole Book, a confutation of their Error: In his second Book he says these words, concerning the Death of the foremention'd Persons. 'Whereas therefore they have termed us the Murderers of the Prophets, because we have not admitted of their prattling and lying Prophets, (for these, they say, are those whom the Lord promised to send his People,) let them answer us for God's sake, Is there any one of those, (most excellent!) who even from *Montanus* and his Women began to speak, that hath been persecuted by the Jews, or slain by the Impious? not one: Is there any one of them who has been apprehended and crucified for the Name [of Christ?] None at all. Neither hath any of their Women been scourg'd in the Synagogues of the Jews, or stoned: [Not one of them] any-where or in any wise: yea, *Montanus* and *Maximilla* are said to have died another manner of death. For, 'tis famed, both these Persons, incited thereto by that furious Spirit, hang'd themselves; not together, but each of them at the time of their death, as 'tis strongly reported. And so they died and put an end to their Lives after the same manner that the Traytor *Judas* did. In like manner, also common Fame says, that that admirable [Fellow] *Theodotus*, who was, as it were, the first *(m)* Procurator of that they stiled their Prophecy, was possess'd with a *(n)* false Ecstasie of Mind, as if at some time or other he should be lifted up, and assumed into Heaven; and that having given himself wholly up into [the power of] that Spirit of Error, he was thrown into the Air [by him,] and died miserably. 'Tis said indeed, that this thing was thus done; but in as much as we saw it not, we do not suppose (*O Macarius!*) that we certainly know any thing hereof. For peradventure *Montanus*, *Theodotus*, and the fore-said Woman died after this manner, perhaps they did not so die." Again, in the same Book he says, the Holy Bishops of that time did attempt to confute the Spirit which was in *Maximilla*; but were prohibited by others, to wit, those that were favourers of that Spirit: He writes thus; 'And let not the Spirit in *Maximilla* say

'to]

(m) Amongst the *Montanists* there was a certain Chest, into which those of their Party put Money, which was for the maintenance of the Prophets. *Theodotus* was the first that look'd after the Chest; whom this Author does therefore call the Procurator of their Prophecy. *Montanus* with his Prophetesses was otherways a great Cozener, who under a pretence of Offerings, scraped much Money together. He usually gave Salaries to the Preachers of his Doctrine. 'Twas necessary therefore he should have his Treasury, and one to oversee and look after it, who also might deliver out the stipends to such as *Montanus* ordered should be paid. *Valef.*

(n) *Παρεκστασις*, signifies, to be seized with a false ecstasie or trance. For there are true ecstasies; such was *Peter's*, *Act. 10*; and *Paul's*, when he was caught up to the third Heaven. There are also false ecstasies amongst Hereticks, which this Author does elegantly call *παρεκστασις*. These false ecstasies differ little from madness, because the Devil is the procurer of them: But those which proceed from the Divine Spirit do not at all disturb the state of the Mind, but are calm and pleasant, as *Epiphanius* says (in *Hæres. Cataphryg.*) *Valef.*

Commodus. [to me,] ((o) as 'tis related in the same Book of *Asterius Urbanus*,) I am driven as a Wolf from the Sheep. I am not a Wolf. I am the Word, the Spirit and the Power: But let him evidently manifest and prove that Power in the Spirit; and let him by that Spirit compel those that were then present, to confess that they try'd and conferr'd with that babbling Spirit; [I mean] those approved Men and Bishops, *Zoticus* of the Town *Comanes*, and *Julianus* of *Apamea*: Whose Mouths (p) *Themison* and those of his Party having stop't, wou'd not suffer that lying Spirit to be reprov'd by 'em." Again, in the same Book, (having interposed some words to confute the false Prophecies of *Maximilla*) he evidences both the Time

me to be a *Scholion*, which some old *Scholast*, or *Eusebius* himself put in the margin of this Book at this place. Besides, from hence it may be collected, that *Asterius Urbanus* was the Author of these 3 Books against the *Cataphrygians*, and not *Apollinaris*, as *Rufinus* and *Chrysostom* supposed. *Valef.*

(p) This was a great Man amongst the *Montanists*, who boasted himself to be a *Confessor*, and a Martyr; and was so audacious, as, like an Apostle, to write a general Epistle to the Churches, in recommendation of this new Prophecy. *Apollonius* speaks much concerning this Man in the following Chapter. *Valef.*

when he wrote these things, and also mentions her Predictions, wherein she had foretold there would be Wars and Commotions; the falshood of which [Predictions] he reprehends in these words: "And has not this Lye been already made apparently manifest? For to this day 'tis more than thirteen years since this Woman died; and and yet there has not been either a particular, or an universal War in the World. Yea rather, by the Mercy of God, the *Christians* have had a firm and lasting Peace." And thus much out of his second Book. Out of the Third I will also add some few words, where he says thus to those who boasted, that many, even of their [Party] had suffer'd as Martyrs. "When therefore they can return no answer, having been confuted in all Passages we have mention'd, they endeavour to flee to the Martyrs; saying they have many Martyrs, and that is a certain and undoubted evidence of that Power, by them called the Prophetick Spirit. But this, in my judgment, is much more untrue. For some Followers of other Heresies [do boast] they have many Martyrs, and yet we shall not, I think, upon this account embrace their Opinion, nor confess they have the Truth amongst them. Those also who first follow'd the Heresie of *Marcion*, called *Marcionists*, say, they have very many Martyrs of Christ, and yet they do not in truth acknowledge Christ himself." And after some few words, he subjoyns hereunto, saying, "Wherefore also, as often as those of the Church, being called to [undergo] Martyrdom for the true Faith, have by accident hapned into company with some of those of the *Phrygian* Heresie, who are call'd Martyrs, they dissent from them, and, having avoided all Communion with them, are perfected by a glorious Martyrdom; for they are unwilling to give their assent to the Spirit of *Montanus* and his Women: And that this is true, 'tis manifest from what has been done in our Times in [the City] of *Apamea*, situate on [the River] *Meander*, by *Cains* and *Alexander* of *Eumenia*, who suffer'd Martyrdom.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning Miltiades, and the Books he compiled.

IN the same Book he makes mention of one *Miltiades*, a Writer, who also wrote a Book against the foresaid Heresie: Having therefore

cited some words of those [Hereticks,] he proceeds, saying; "Having found all this in a certain Book which they wrote in answer to a Book of our Brother (a) *Alcibiades*'s, wherein he proves that a Prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasie of mind, I epitomiz'd them." A little after this, in the same Book, he enumerates the Prophets of the *New Testament*; amongst whom he recounts one *Ammias*, and *Quadratus*, and he says thus; (b) But a false Prophet in false Ecstasie, (whose Concomitants are Licentiousness and Audaciousness,) takes his beginning indeed from a voluntary Ignorance, but ends, as I have said, in an involuntary Madness of Mind: They shall not be able to shew any of the Prophets, either under the *Old*, or *New Testament*, who was inspir'd after this manner [by such a Spirit.] They shall not boast of *Agabus*, nor of *Judas*, nor of *Silas*, nor of the Daughters of *Philip*, nor of *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, nor of *Quadratus*, nor of many others which do not at all belong to them." Again, after some few words, he says thus; "For if, as they say, *Montanus*'s Women succeeded in the gift of Prophecy after *Quadratus* and *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, let them shew us, who amongst them have been the Successors of *Montanus* and his Women. For the Apostle is of opinion that the gift of Prophecy ought to continue in every Church until the last Advent [of our Lord.] But they are unable to shew [any Prophet,] although this is now the fourteenth year since the death of *Maximilla*." Thus far he. Now that *Miltiades*, whom he mentions, has left us other Monuments of his Diligence about the Divine Scriptures, both in the Books he composed against the *Gentiles*, and also in those against the *Jews*; having prosecuted each Subject particularly in two Volumes. Moreover also, he made an Apology for the [Christian] Philosophy, which he profess'd, [and dedicated it] to the (c) Presidents of the Provinces (a) *Ferom*, *Rufinus*, and other

ved that the name [*Miltiades*] was put for [*Alcibiades*]. On the contrary, here [*Alcibiades*] is crept into the Text of *Eusebius*, in stead of [*Miltiades*]. In *Nicephorus*'s [*Miltiades*]; but neither he, nor *Chrysostom*, understood this place. *Valef.*

(b) *Rufinus*, and *Baronius*, were mistaken, in that they supposed these following Words were taken out of *Miltiades*'s Book. For this nameless Author quotes nothing out of *Miltiades*'s Book, but only out of the *Cataphrygian*'s answer to *Miltiades*'s Book: Which thing Translators understood not. Now the meaning of this place is this; There is a great difference between the true Prophets, and the false. For the true Prophets, who were filled with the Spirit of God, did foretel things future in a quiet and serene temper of Mind. But the false Prophets, as was *Montanus*, uttered what they said in a raging and mad temper of mind. Indeed this was the chief objection of the *Ecclesiasticks* against the *Montanists*, who boasted they were inspired with a Prophetick Spirit, because they Prophecied in an ecstasie. But we read that no Prophet, either under the *Old* or *New Testament*, did ever Prophecy in an ecstasie. Therefore *Miltiades* wrote a Book against them, which was thus entitled [*ὅτι τὸ μὴ εἶναι προφητὴν ἐν ἐκστασει λαλῆναι*, i. e. a Prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasie of mind. See *Epiphanius*, *advers. Heres. Montanist*. Chap. 2, & 4; and *Chrysostom*. *Homil.* 29. on the 1 *Epist. Corinth.* *Valef.*

Translators thought *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology to the Roman Emperors, called here [*κοσμητὴς ἀρχόντας*]. But because at that time there was only one Roman Emperor, (to wit, *Commodus*.) I judge the *Governours of Provinces* are here rather meant. For the term [*ἀρχόντες*] does commonly signifie the Presidents of Provinces. To these therefore *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology, as did *Tertullian* afterwards; who calls this *Miltiades*, the Rhetorician of the Churches. *Valef.*

C H A P. XVIII.

How Apollonius also confuted the Cataphrygians, and whom he has made mention of.

A Pollonius also, an Ecclesiastick Writer, employing himself about a Confutation of that called the *Cataphrygian* Heresie, which in his time

was

Commodus was prevalent in *Phrygia*, composed a peculiar Volume against them, wherein he does both word by word disprove the false Prophecies vented by them, and also lays open the Life and Manners of the Founders of that Heresie; [shewing] how they behaved themselves. Hear what he says, in these very words, concerning *Montanus*: 'But who is this new Doctor? His Works and Doctrine do demonstrate: This is he who has taught a Dissolution of Marriages: Who has imposed

(a) *Montanus* instituted three Lent's every Year, and besides them, two Weeks of Abstinence, wherein nothing but dry Meats were to be eaten. So *Tertullian* in his Book, *De jejuniis*, and *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Marcella*. *Apollonius* objects here against *Montanus*, his instituting Fasts by a Law; not that 'tis a fault to observe Fasts; or as if 'twere not lawful for some in the Church to proclaim Fasts: For the Apostle *St. John* appointed a three days Fast at *Ephesus*, before he betook himself to the writing his Gospel. But *Montanus* had no power to proclaim a Fast, being an Heretick, an excommunicated Person, and no Presbyter. *Apollonius* therefore does deservedly blame him, because of his own Head, not by Apostolick Tradition, he instituted Fasts. *Valef.*

'monstrated therefore, that these principal Prophetesses, for the time they were filled with the Spirit, forsook their Husbands: How falsely then do they speak, who term (b) *Prisca a Virgin*? Then he goes on, saying; 'Does not the whole Scripture seem to you to prohibit a Prophet to receive Gifts and Money? When therefore I see a Prophetess receive Gold and Silver, and rich garments, how can I choose but abhor her?' Again, after some words, he says this concerning one of those whom they call Confessors: 'Moreover, *Themison*, who has cover'd himself with a (c) specious pretext of avarice, (he who would not bear the (d) sign of confession, but rid himself of his Bonds by a great sum of money, whenas upon that account he should in future have behav'd himself submissively,) does [notwithstanding] boast himself to be a Martyr, and has been so audacious, as, in imitation of the Apostle, to write a General Epistle, for the instruction of those who have behaved themselves more like true Believers than he, but does [therein] defend the Tenets of his own vain Doctrine, and speaks impiously of the Lord, his Apostles, and holy Church.' Again, he writes thus concerning others, who amongst 'em have been honour'd as Martyrs: 'But that we may speak of no more, let the Prophetess answer us concerning *Alexander*, who terms himself a Martyr, with whom she feasts, whom many of them pay a reverence to: Whose Robberies and his other audacious Facts (for which he has been punish'd) we need not speak of, since they may be seen in that place where the Publick (e) Re-

ter some words, he says this concerning one of those whom they call Confessors: 'Moreover,

(c) The *Montanists* covered their Avarice under the pretext of Religion, and specious term of Obligations, as *Apollonius* says a little before in this Chapter. *Valef.*

(d) *Christophorson* thought the Cross was meant here: But doubtless *Apollonius* means bonds, which *Themison* could not endure for Christ's sake. For that which he calls [the sign of Confession] here, in the next Words he terms [τὸ σῆμα] Bonds. *Valef.*

(e) Ο πῶς is the term in the original. At *Athens* there was an House so called, behind the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, wherein the publick Treasury was

laid. So says *Harpocration*, on that Word. In all the Temples there was such a place, as *Varro* asserts, B. 4. But here this term must mean the publick Registry, where the publick Records are kept. *Valef.*

'gifters are kept. Which therefore of these two *Commodus* forgives the other's Sins? Does the Prophet [paradon] the Martyr's Robberies, or does the Martyr [forgive] the Prophet's Avarice? For when as the Lord has said, * *Provide neither gold, nor silver, neither two coats*, these persons, wholly on the contrary, have committed heinous Sins, in possessing themselves of things that are forbidden: For we will evidence, that those which they call Prophets, and Martyrs, have extorted Money not only from the Rich, but also from the Indigent, from Orphans and Widows: And if they are confident [of their Innocency] herein, let them stay, and decide the matter with us concerning these things; that so, if they shall be convinced, for the future they may leave their Viciousness: For the Fruits [that is, the Deeds] of a Prophet, must be approved: For a Tree is known by its Fruits. That therefore those who are desirous may know the truth concerning *Alexander*, Judgment was pass'd upon him at *Ephesus* by *Amilius Frontinus* the Proconsul [of Asia] not for the name [of Christ,] but the Robberies he had audaciously committed, being at that time an (f) Apostate from Christ. Then, after he had counterfeited [a Profession of] the Name of the Lord, and deceived the faithful [Brethren] there, he was dismiss'd; but his own Church, where he was born, admitted him not, because he was a Thief. Those who are desirous to know all matters concerning him, may have recourse to the Publick Register of Asia, [where they will find them.] And yet the Prophet does pretend himself ignorant of this Man, whom he has convers'd with for many years Having evidently shown what this Man is, we have also by him declared the Imposture of the Prophet. We are able to demonstrate the like in many other things. But if they have any confidence in themselves, let them undergo the Test. Again, in another place of the same Work, he adds these words concerning those Prophets they boast of: 'If they deny that their Prophets have received Gifts, let them confess this, [to wit,] if they be convinced that they have taken Gifts, they are not Prophets: And then we will produce infinite Demonstrations hereof. 'Tis necessary that all the Fruits of a Prophet should be approved of: Tell me,

(g) The Greeks call that *Crines tingere seu rutilare*, to die, or make the hair red. To do which they made use of Ashes which had been put into Lye, as *Varro* says. See *Hesychius* in the word *ξανθίζειν*. *Valef.*

* That is, a kind of colouring stuff, which is used to make the Eye-brows black.

ingenuously whether these things are lawful or no? But I will demonstrate they are done amongst them.' The same *Apollonius* does relate in the same Work, that at the time of his writing that Book, it was (h) forty years since *Montanus* undertook [to vent] his forg'd Prophecy. And *Eusebius* places *Apollonius* after the Author without a name, of whom he spake in the foregoing Chapter: For because that anonymous Author says he wrote his Books fourteen Years after the death of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*; and in regard *Apollonius* does here say *Montanus* broach'd his new Prophecy forty Years before he wrote; therefore *Eusebius* supposed *Apollonius* to be a later Writer than that anonymous Author: In which, as I judge, he is much out. For *Apollonius* wrote his Book whilest

whilest Montanus, and his mad Prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla, were yet alive, which appears from these passages [Let the Prophetess answer us concerning Alexander, who terms himself a Martyr, with whom she feasts, &c.] And again, [And yet the Prophet does pretend himself ignorant of this Man whom he has conversed with for many Years;] Eusebius quotes in this Chapter. Apollonius therefore does not say, forty Years were past from the death of Montanus, when he wrote this Book; but only, that Montanus had set a-broach his false Prophecy forty years before he went about to write this Book against him. Let us suppose therefore Montanus to be thirty years old when he set up to be a Prophet; he could not be above 70 Years old when Apollonius wrote his Book against him. Neither had he Maximilla and Priscilla for his Companions, as soon as ever he began his Heresie; but, as I judge, they were ensnared by him a long while after. *Valef.*

Commodus. again, he says, that Zoticus (whom the former Writer made mention of) resolv'd to oppose Maximilla, who then feign'd herself to Prophesie at Pepuza, and attempted to reprove the Spirit she was moved by; but that he was forbidden by those that were her Favourers. He makes mention also of one Thraseas, who at that time was a Martyr. Moreover he says, as from Tradition, that our Saviour commanded his Apostles, they should not for the space of twelve years depart from Jerusalem: He quotes Authorities also out of the Revelation of John; and relates that John, by the Divine Power raised a Dead Man to Life at Ephesus. And he says many other things, whereby he sufficiently and fully sets forth the Deceit of the foresaid pernicious Heresie. Thus much Apollonius.

C H A P. XIX.

Serapion's [Opinion] concerning the Heresie of the Cataphrygians.

BUT Serapion, (who, as report says, was about this time Bishop of the Church of Antioch after Maximinus,) makes mention of the Writings of Apollinaris against the foresaid Heresie. He mentions him in that Epistle he wrote to

(a) Caricus and Ponticus; wherein, refuting the same Heresie, he subjoins these words: "And that you may see, that the Operation of that dissembling Party call'd the (b) New-prophecy is abominated (c) by all the Brotherhood in the World, I have sent you also the Letters of Claudius Apollinaris of most blessed memory, who was Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia." In that same Epistle of Serapion's, are contained the Subscriptions of several Bishops: One of whom has subscribed thus; I Aurelius Cyrenius Martyr wish You health: Another, after this manner, Aelius Publius Julius Bishop of (d) Develtum, a Colony of Thracia: As

(a) Eusebius (in his 6th Book, Cha. 12.) calls these Men [Ponticus and Caricus.] (b) *Valef.* (c) So the Ancients termed the Prophecy of Montanus and his Associates; as may be seen from Tertullian, de Jeuniis; Jerom, in Catalogo; Firmilian, in his Epistle to Cyprian; and the old Author quoted by our Eusebius, Chap. 16. of this Book. *Valef.*

(c) The reading of the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil MSS. agrees with our Translation, to wit, [by all the Brotherhood in the World.] The King's MS. and Robert Stephens read it thus [by all the Brotherhood in Christ, over the whole World.] *Valef.*

(d) Develtum, or Develtum, a Colony in Thracia, is mentioned by Geographers, and in the old Coins, which John Tristram put forth. Anchialus also, hereafter named, is a City of Thracia, sufficiently known. But why should the Subscriptions of the Bishops of Thracia be put to the Epistle of Serapion Bishop of Antioch? If I may make a conjecture, I suppose the Bishops of Thracia had written an Epistle to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia against Montanus's Prophecy; wherein they gave their Opinion thereof, after the same manner that those of Vienna and Lyons did, as our Eusebius related before. That these subscriptions were put to the bottom of some Epistle, 'tis apparent from Cyrenus's Subscription here mentioned. But 'tis no way likely that those Bishops did subscribe Serapion's Epistle; (1) Because Eusebius does not say so, but only that the Subscriptions of many Bishops were contained in Serapion's Letter, as was also Apollinaris's Epistle to the said Serapion. For Serapion did this with good advantage, that he might confute the Heresie of Montanus by the authority of many Bishops. (2) How could the Bishops of Thracia subscribe the Letter of a Bishop of Antioch? 'Tis most probable therefore, as I said, that the Bishops of Thracia had with a joint consent written to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia. *Valef.*

God liveth who is in Heaven, Sotas of blessed memory, Commodus, who (e) was at Anchialus, would have cast out Priscilla's Devil, but the Hypocrites would not suffer him. In the said Letters are extant the Subscriptions of many other Bishops, written with their own Hands, who were of the same Opinion with these. And of this sort were the Matters appertaining to the said [Hereticks.]

This Sotas the Bishop, hearing of this new Prophecy, failed out of Thracia into Phrygia, where having seen Priscilla, not filled with the Holy Spirit, but actuated by the Devil, he undertook to cast him out of her by Exorcism. Not only Sotas, but also many other Bishops went at that time into Phrygia, to examine that new Prophecy, says the anonymous Author, chap. 16. of this Book. Moreover, we may observe, that Sotas was dead, when Aelius Julius wrote this; which is shown by the word [martyr] a term which the Greeks use when they speak of a dead Person: Had Sotas been alive, he would doubtless have confirmed this thing by his Subscription. The same term Serapion uses, when he speaks of Apollinaris, who also was then dead. *Valef.*

C H A P. XX.

What Irenæus wrote against the Schismatics at Rome.

(a) Irenæus composed several Epistles against those at Rome who adulterated the Law of the Church. He wrote one to Blastus concerning Schism; another to Florinus concerning (b) Monarchy, or, that God is not the maker of Evil. For Florinus seem'd to be a maintainer of that Opinion: Upon whose account, (being afterwards led into the Error of Valentinus,) Irenæus compiled that Work of his, [entitled,] (c) Concerning the Number Eight. In which Piece he intimates himself to have liv'd in the first Succession after the Apostles. There also at the close of that Work, we found a most profitable (d) Note of his, which we judged useful to be inserted into this our History: It is thus; "I adjure thee (who shall transcribe this Book) by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming to judge the Quick and Dead, that you compare what you shall transcribe and correct it diligently according to that Copy whence you shall transcribe it; and that in like manner you transcribe this Adjuration, and annex it to [thy] Copy." And let thus much have been profitably said by him, and related by us, that we may always have [before our eyes] those ancient and truly holy Men, as the best pattern of a most accurate Care and Diligence. Moreover, in that Epistle (we spake of) which Irenæus wrote to Florinus, he makes mention of his being conversant with Polycarp, saying, "These Opinions, (O Florinus!) that I may speak sparingly, do not appertain to sound Doctrine:" These Opinions are dissonant from the Church, and drive those

(a) Here we begin the 20 Chapter, following therein Rufinus, Musculus, and Christopherson. The King's, the Maz. and Fuk. MSS. begin the Chapter from these words [And of this sort were the Matters, &c.] which are the close of the foregoing Chapter. *Valef.*

(b) The ancient Christians did frequently use this term; as often, as they disputed against the Gentiles, under which title they put forth many Books, to shew that there was one God, the Maker and King of all things, which term [to wit, Monarchy] they ascribed to God the Father; but [δυναστεία, i. e. the Dispensation, and Administration] they assigned to the Son and Holy Ghost; so Tertullian, (in his Book against Praxeas,) and Tatianus, (adversus Græcos.) There is a Book of Justin the Martyr's, now extant, which has this title. Moreover, from this title of Irenæus's Book we may conclude, that Florinus asserted two Principles, and embraced the Opinions of Cerdo and Marcion, affirming one to be the Author of Good, the other of Evil. *Valef.*

(c) See Irenæus, and Epiphanius, concerning a work of Valentinus's, which bears this title. *Valef.*

(d) Σημείωσις is the term in the original. Those Notes which were set at the Margin of MSS. that the Reader might understand something remarkable occurred there, were properly so called. Therefore we translate it [adnotationem, i. e. a note.] This note is now to be found in many Greek MSS. express'd only by the two first Letters, thus [ση] which do signify [σημείωσις, i. e. note.] This Adjuration of Irenæus's did so well please Eusebius, that he put it at the beginning of his Chronicle. *Valef.*

Commodus. who give their assent to them into the greatest Impiety; these Sentiments even the Hereticks, who are without the Church, have not dared to publish at any time; these Opinions the Presbyters, who liv'd before our Times, who also were the Disciples of the Apostles, did in no wise deliver unto thee. For I saw thee (when being yet a Child I was in the Lower Asia with Polycarp, behaving thy self very well in the Palace, and endeavouring to get thy self well-esteem'd of by him. For I remember the things then done, better than what has happen'd of late. For what we learn'd being Children, increases together with the Mind itself, and is closely united to it. Infomuch, that I am able to tell even the place where the Blessed Polycarp sat and discours'd; also his (e) Goings-out and Comings-in; his Manner of Life; the Shape of his Body; the Discourses he made to the Populace; the familiar Converse which, he said, he had with John, and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he rehearsed their Sayings, and what they were which he had heard from them concerning the Lord; concerning his Miracles, and his Doctrine: According as Polycarp receiv'd them from those, who with their own Eyes beheld the Word of Life, so he related them, agreeing in all things with the Scriptures. These things, by the Mercy of God bestow'd upon me, I then heard diligently, and copied them out, not in Paper, but in my Heart; and by the Grace of God I do continually and sincerely ruminare upon them. And I am able to protest in the presence of God, that if that Blessed and Apostolick Presbyter should have heard any such thing, he would presently have cried out, and (f) stopp'd his Ears, and according to his usual custom would have said; Good God! For what times hast thou reserved me, that I should suffer such things! And he would have run out of the place, where he was either sitting or standing, should he have heard such words as these. And this may be manifested from those Epistles of his, which he wrote either to the neighbouring Churches to confirm them, or to some Brethren to admonish and exhort them. Thus far Irenæus.

which was disagreeable to the rule of the Catholick Faith,) forthwith to stop their Ears, and run away. See Irenæus (B. 3. Against Heresies, Chap. 4.) and Jerom, B. 1. against Rufinus. Valef.

CHAP. XXI.

How Apollonius suffer'd Martyrdom at Rome.

AT the same time of Commodus's Empire, our Affairs were converted into a quiet and sedate posture; Peace, by the Divine Grace, encompassing the Churches throughout the whole World. In which interim the saving Word [of God] allured * very many of all sorts of Men to the religious Worship of the universal God. So that now many of those at Rome, who were very eminent both for Riches and Descent, did, together with their whole Households and Families, betake themselves to [the attaining of] Salvation. But this could not be born with by the envious Devil, that hater of Good, being by nature malicious. Therefore he (a) arms

* Or, every Soul of all sorts of Men. For that's the import of the Greek, if it be exactly rendred. Valef. translates it [Ex omni genere hominum quam plurimos, i. e. very many of all sorts of Men.]

(a) Arms, i. e. he unclothed himself; 'tis a Metaphor taken from Champions, who, being to engage, strip'd themselves, and studied by various Arts and Subtilties to vanquish their Adversaries. Valef.

himself again, inventing various Stratagems against us. At the City of Rome therefore, he brings before the Judgment-seat (b) Apollonius, a Man who was at that time one of the Faithful, and very eminent for his Learning and Philosophy; having stirr'd up (c) one of * his Ministers, who was fit for such [a wicked Enterprize] to accuse this Person. Now this Wretch, having undertaken this Accusation in an unseasonable time, (for according to the (d) Imperial Edict, the Informers against those that were [Christians] were to be put to death;) had his Legs forthwith broken, and was put to death, Perennis the Judge having pronounc'd this Sentence against him: But the Martyr, most beloved by God, (after the Judge had (e) earnestly beseech'd him by many entreaties, and requested him to render an account [of his Faith] (f) before the Senate,) having made a most (g) elegant defence before them all for the Faith he profess'd, (b) was, as it were by a Decree of the Senate, condemn'd to undergo a capital Punishment. For by an ancient (i) Law 'twas establish'd amongst them, that those [Christians] who were once accused before the Judgment-seat, should in no wise be dismiss'd, unless they receded from their Opinion. Moreover, he that is desirous to know Apollonius's Speeches before the Judge, and the Answers he made to the Interrogatories of Perennis, the Oration also which he spoke before the Senate in defence of our Faith, may see them in our Collection of the Sufferings of the ancient Martyrs.

* That is, the Devil having stirr'd up one of his own Instruments, or Ministers, &c.

(d) He means the Rescript of Marcus, mentioned Chap. 13. B. 4. See that place, and the Notes upon it. Rufinus thought the Edict of Trajan, (which Eusebius mentions B. 3. Chap. 33.) or the Rescript of Adrian, see Chap. 9. B. 4.) to Minucius Fundanus, was here meant. Valef.

(e) The Judges, who interrogated the Christians that were brought before them, were wont to perfwade and entreat them to have a regard for their own Safety, by embracing the Worship of the Heathen Gods. There are infinite Examples hereof in Tertullian, Eusebius, &c. Valef.

(f) From this passage I am induc'd to think that Apollonius was of the Senatorian Order, as Jerom has said. Who upon the information of some desperate Fellow (whose name is unknown) was brought before Perennis, the Prefect of the Prætorium, (i. e. the Officer to whom the oversight of the Soldiers was committed) as being a Christian; being ask'd by the Judge what Order he was of, and making answer that he was of the Senatorian Order, Perennis commanded him to give an account of his Faith before the Senate. Which when Apollonius had with much Eloquence done, by the sentence of the Senate he was put to death. Why may we not therefore believe Jerom, (who in his Book De Ecclesiast. Scriptor. and in his Epistle to Magnus) has said in exprets terms, that Apollonius was a Senator? And although Eusebius does not expressly say so here; yet from this Relation of his thus much may be collected. Besides, Jerom might have read the Acts of Apollonius's suffering, to which Eusebius does here refer us. In which Acts, 'tis probable, Apollonius was called a Roman Senator, and was said to have been betrayed by his Servant. These Acts were written at Rome in Greek, by Men that were Grecians, after the same manner as the Acts of the Lugdunensian Martyrs were written in Greek. Valef.

(g) Jerom (in his Book De Scriptor. Eccles.) misunderstanding this place of Eusebius, has accounted Apollonius, amongst the Ecclesiastick Writers. But Eusebius only says, that Apollonius made a most elegant Oration before the Judges in defence of the Faith he profess'd, not that he wrote an Apology. Scaliger takes notice of this mistake of Jerom's in his Animadvers. Eusebian. p. 208. But he has there alter'd the reading of part of this place in Eusebius, thus [But the Martyr, most beloved of God, after he had beseech'd the Judge by many intreaties, that he might have leave to give an account of his Faith before the Senate.] Which Emendation is contradicted by all our MS. Copies, and by reason itself. Valef.

(b) All Translators have rendred this place without taking any notice of the particle [ὅτι] in their Versions; supposing it to be useless. Which, as I judge, is not true: (1) Because the Senators were not Judges, neither had they Jurisdiction. (2) Perennis, who was the Judge in this Cause, had remitted Apollonius to the Senate, not that the Senate should give Judgment upon him, but that Apollonius should give them an account of his Religion: He honoured the Senate so far, that he would not condemn a Senator, before the Senate had

had cognizance of his Crime. When therefore the Senate had heard *Apollonius*, their answer was, That the Man should be judged according to the Law. After this *Apollonius* was punished with death, by the sentence indeed of *Perennis* himself, but by the decree of the Senate, because the Senate had heard him, and given their consent that he should be condemned. *Valef.*

(2) He means the Rescript of *Trajan*, which *Eusebius* mentions Book 3. Chap. 33. at the latter end. See the place and the note upon it. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXII.

What Bishops flourish'd at that time.

Commodus. **M**OREOVER, in the Tenth Year of *Commodus's* Reign, *Eleutherus*, having executed the Episcopal Office (a) thirteen years, was succeeded by *Victor*. In the same year also, *Julianus* having compleated his Tenth Year, *Demetrius* undertook the Government of the Churches at *Alexandria*. At the same time likewise *Serapion*, (whom we spake of a little before,) flourish'd, being the eighth Bishop from the Apostles of the *Antiochian* Church. At *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* presided *Theophilus*; and in like manner *Narcissus* (whom we made mention of before) at that time had the publick Charge over the Church at *Jerusalem*. At *Corinth* in *Achaia*, (b) *Bacchylus* was then the Bishop, and at the Church of *Ephesus*, *Polycrates*. Many others, 'tis likely, besides these were eminent at that time; but we, as it was meet, have only recounted their names, by whose Writings the Doctrine of the true Faith has been derived down to us.

Valef. (b) *Nicophorus* calls him *Bacchylus*. But sometimes diminutive terms, such as this is, are written with a double L. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Question then moved about Easter.

AT the same time no small Controversie being raised, because the Churches of all (a) *Asia* supposed, as from a more ancient Tradition, that the *fourteenth day of the Moon ought to be observ'd as the salutary Feast of *Easter*, [to wit] the same Day whereon the *Jews* were commanded to kill the Lamb, and that they ought always (b) on that Day, (whatever Day of the Week it should happen to be,) to put an end to their Fastings: When as [notwithstanding] 'twas not the usage of the (c) Churches of *Asia*.

may be taken in a threefold sense; sometimes 'tis taken for the third part of the World; sometimes for a Province, divided into nine Jurisdictions, which was governed by a *Roman* Proconsul; at other times 'tis more strictly taken for that Region which lies by the River *Meander*. In these words of *Eusebius*, 'tis, in my judgment, to be taken in the second sense, to wit, for a Province which a Proconsul governed. *Valef.*

* That is, the fourteenth day after the appearance of the New Moon: For the religious part of the Jewish Calendar was concerned in these appearances of the New Moon, the reports whereof were made by the Country-People. See the whole manner hereof described particularly, by the Learned Doctor *Cudworth*, in his excellent Discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper, pag. 67. See also Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of Oxford, in his Discourse concerning Upper-rooms, pag. 14, &c.

(b) The Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher*, in his Dissertation prefixt before *Ignatius's* Epistles, Chap. 9. says, that the *Asiatics*, who celebrated *Easter* with the *Jews*, on the first Day of unleavened Bread, passed over that Day with Mourning and Fasting; after which Day was ended, they concluded their Lent-fast. Which opinion *Eusebius* does here contradict, in that he affirms expressly, that the *Asiatics*, did put an end to their Fastings on the 14th day of the first Month, although it were not Sunday. *Valef.*

(c) Here *Eusebius* does plainly declare that the *Asiatics* only did at that time celebrate Easter with the *Jews*; but that all the other Churches observed that Festival on another Day. Wherefore I dissent from *Hallifax*, Arch-Bishop *Usher*, and others, who suppose that the *Syrians*, *Mesopotamians*, and *Cilicians*, did then keep Easter at the

same time with the *Asiatics*. 'Tis evident that the *Syrians* and *Mesopotamians*, were then right in their Sentiments about this matter, which appears from their Councils here mentioned by *Eusebius*; For *Osdroëna* is a part of *Mesopotamia*; But afterwards they fell to the Jewish Observation of this Festival, and that before the *Nicene* Council, as *Athanasius* asserts: On the contrary, the *Asiatics* forsaking their former Error, embraced the founder Opinion in their observation of *Easter*; which they did before the *Nicene*-Council, as appears from *Constantine's* Epistle, which *Eusebius* relates, B. 3. Chap. 18 and 19. of *Constantine's* Life. *Valef.*

over the rest of the World to do after this manner: Which usage, being received from Apostolick Tradition, and still prevalent, they observed, [to wit,] that they ought not to put an end to their Fastings on any other day, save that of the Resurrection of our Saviour: Upon this account Synods and Assemblies of Bishops were convened. And all of them with one consent did by their Letters inform the [Brethren] every-where of the Ecclesiastick Decree, [to wit,] that the Mystery of our Lord's Resurrection should never be celebrated on any other day but Sunday, and that on that day only we should observe to conclude the Fasts before *Easter*. There is at this time extant the Epistle of those who then were assembled in *Palestine*, over whom (e) *Theophilus* Bishop of the Church in *Cæsarea*, and *Narcissus* [Bishop] of *Jerusalem*, presided. In like manner, another [Epistle] of those [assembled] at *Rome* concerning the same Question, having *Victor* the Bishop's name prefix'd to it: Also [another] of those Bishops in *Pontus*, over whom (f) *Palmas*, as being the most ancient, presided. Also [an Epistle] of the Churches in *Gallia*, which *Irenæus* had the oversight of. Moreover of those in *Osdroëna* and the Cities there; and (g) a private Letter of *Bacchylus's*, Bishop of the *Corinthian* Church; of many others also; all which having utter'd one and the same Opinion and Sentiment propos'd the same Judgment; and this we have mention'd, was their only definitive Determination.

(e) The Bishop of *Cæsarea*, (before the *Nicene*-Council, and a long time after,) had the Dignity and Honour of a Metropolitan, and presided in all the Councils of *Palestine*, as being Bishop of the chief See. Nevertheless, the Bishops of *Jerusalem* had a respect shown them; theirs being the Apostolick Church, which first had a Bishop. Therefore the Bishops of that See were not under the Bishops of *Cæsarea*, but were distinguished, i. e. were, as to their privileges, independent of the See of *Cæsarea*. See the seventh Canon of the *Nicene* Council. *Valef.*

(f) He was Bishop of *Amastria* in *Pontus*, of whom *Zionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* makes mention, in his Epistle to the Church of *Amastria*, which Epistle our *Eusebius* speaks of B. 4. Chap. 23. There was one, which bore the same name, (to wit, *Palmas*) of the Consular Order, whom *Adrian* commanded to be killed; so says *Spartianus*. Moreover, *Eusebius* says, this *Palmas* presided, as being the most ancient Bishop, not that he was a Metropolitan. For *Heraclæa*, not *Amastria*, was Metropolis of the Cities of *Pontus*. But in the Ecclesiastick Councils the Precedency was different, according to the diversity of times and places. The plainest and most reasonable cause of Precedency was, that the ancientest Bishop should take place of the rest. Afterwards the Bishops of the Metropolitan Churches had that honour given them. *Valef.*

(g) *Jerom* (in his Book *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*) expounds this place so, as if *Bacchylus* had convened a Council in *Achaia*, apart by himself: For in this sense he takes the term [*ἰσως*] here used by *Eusebius*: But there may another sense be given hereof, to wit, that *Bacchylus* wrote a private Epistle in his own Name concerning *Easter*, not a Synodical Letter, as the rest did. *Eusebius* (Book 6. Chap. 11.) calls a private Letter, *ἰδιαν ἐπιστολὴν*. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Disagreement [of the Churches] throughout Asia.

OVER those Bishops in *Asia*, who stilly maintain'd they ought to observe the ancient usage heretofore deliver'd to them, presided *Polycrates*: Who, in the Epistle he wrote to *Victor*, and the *Roman* Church, declares the Tradition derived down to his own Times in these words: 'We

Commodus. We therefore observe the true and genuine * Day; having neither added any thing to, * He nor taken any thing from, [the uninterrupted means Ea- usage deliver'd to us.] † For in *Asia* the Great *Eusebius* Lights are dead, who shall be raised again in quotes the Day of the Lord's Advent, wherein he shall part of come with glory from Hea- this Epistle at the 31 Chap. of his 3d. B. The Learned Reader, upon ven, and raise up all his comparing of the original Greek, Saints, [I mean] *Philip*, one here, and at the said 31 Chapter, of the Twelve Apostles, will find some small difference: Up- who died at *Hierapolis*, and on which account our Version of the his two Daughters, who two places differs; for we transla- continued Virgins to the ted them as we found them. end of their lives; also his

other Daughter, having whilst she lived been inspired by the Holy Ghost, died at *Ephesus*. And moreover, *John*, who leaned on the Lord's Breast, and was a Priest, wearing a (a) Plate of Gold, and was a Martyr, and a Doctor: This (a) See B. 3. Chap. 31. Note (d.) But the Jewish use of this plate of Gold can't be meant here; for *John* was neither High-Priest amongst the Jews, nor yet of the sacerdotal race. *Polycrates* mentions 3 things of *John*; 1. That he was a Priest; 2. a Martyr; 3. a Doctor, or Evangelist. Now as he was a Doctor of Christ, and a Martyr for him; so also must he be understood to be a Priest of Christ. 'Tis probable those first Christian Priests, in imitation of the Jewish High-Priests, did wear a plate of Gold, as a Badge of Honour. *Epiphanius* (in *Heres. Nazaraor.*) says, *James* the Brother of our Lord, who was ordained the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, wore such a plate of Gold on his Forehead. The same is said of *Mark* the Evangelist, in a MS. concerning his Suffering. Valef.

(b) This is *Thraseus* the Martyr, whom *Apollonius* mentions in his Book against the *Cataphrygians*; whose Words our *Eusebius* quotes Chap. 18. of this Book; *Rufinus* says he suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*. Valef.

(c) *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* makes mention of this Martyr, in his Book concerning *Easter*; in those Words which our *Eusebius* quotes B. 4. Chap. 26. This *Sagaris* was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Asia*; in whose times the Question concerning *Easter* was raised at *Laodicea*. Valef.

(d) In the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk. MSS.* this Man's name is thus written, [παπύριος, *Papirius*.] 'Tis a Roman name. *Polycrates* does not say where this *Papirius* was Bishop. But I find in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, (in the Life of *Polycarp*) that this *Papirius* was Successor to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*. Valef.

(e) *Polycrates* does here stile *Melito*, an Eunuch, that is, in our Saviour's explication, one of those, who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake; who are content to deny themselves, and to renounce the lawful Pleasures and Comforts of the World, for the service of Religion. *Jerom* (*De Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*) attests that this *Melito* was by many accounted a Prophet. Valef.

(f) *Rufinus* thought that seven of *Polycrates*'s Ancestors, or Relations, were Bishops of *Ephesus*. But *Polycrates* does not say they were all Bishops of *Ephesus*; we may suppose they were Bishops in several Cities of *Asia*. Valef.

(g) In the King's, and *Mar. MSS.* this place is plainly written thus, [ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἔρριπεν τὴν ζύμην,] i. e. when the People removed the Leaven. So *Rufinus* read this place, as appears by his Version; viz. *Qui omnes ita observarunt hunc diem ut conveniret cum illo quo fermentum Judæorum populus aufert*; i. e. All which so observed this Day, that it might agree with that wherein the People of the Jews removed their Leaven.

I wonder why *Robert Stephens* read it [ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἔρριπεν, when the People prepared, &c.?]. For on the 14th Day of the first Month, the People did not prepare, but cast away their Leaven. See *Exod.* 12. 18. Valef.

who were greater than I, have said, * We ought *Commodus.* to obey God rather than Men." To these words, * Acts 5. speaking of all the Bishops who were present with him when he wrote, and were of the same Opinion with him, he adjoyns thus much, saying; I could make mention of the Bishops who

are present with me, whom you (b) requested me to convene, and I have called them together: whose names should I annex [to this Epistle,] they would be very numerous; all which Persons having visited me, (who am a mean Man) did by their consent approve this Epistle; well knowing that I have not born these hoary Hairs in vain, but have always led my life agreeable to the Precepts of the Lord Jesus." After this, *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome*, did immediately attempt to cut off from the common Unity the Churches of all *Asia*, together with the adjoining Churches, as having given their assent to heterodox Opinions; and (i) by his Letters he publicly declares, and pronounces all (i) *Valesius* Note at this place) is of opinion, that *Victor* did not excommunicate the Churches of *Asia*; but only endeavoured, and threatened to do it. The reasons he brings for this are these:

But this pleased not all the Bishops: Therefore they perswade him to the contrary, [advising him] to entertain thoughts of Peace, of Unity, and Love of Christians among one another. Moreover their Epistles are now extant, wherein they have sharply reprov'd *Victor*. Among whom *Irenæus*, having written a Letter in (k) the name of those Brethren in *Gallia*, whom he presided over, does indeed maintain, that the Mystery of our Lord's Resurrection ought to be celebrated only on a Sunday; but does in many other words seasonably advise him not to cut off the whole Churches of God for observing an ancient Custom derived down to them by Tradition: To which words he adjoyns thus much; For the Controversie is not only concerning the

(1) *Eusebius* says expressly, [ἐπιμενεὶν πρεσβύται, i. e. he endeavoured to cut off from the Communion, &c.] (2) The Epistles written to *Victor* by *Irenæus* and other Bishops, do shew, that the Sentence of Excommunication was not then pronounced by *Victor*; for thus *Eusebius* writes concerning *Irenæus*'s Letters, [But does in many other Words seasonably advise *Victor* not to cut off whole Churches, &c.] (3) *Photius* (in *Biblioth. Chap. 120.*) writes that *Irenæus* wrote many Letters to *Victor*, perswading him not to excommunicate any one for their dissent about the observation of *Easter*; therefore, before *Irenæus* wrote, *Victor* had excommunicated no Body: Now, it cannot be supposed that *Victor* did it after the receipt of *Irenæus*'s Letters; for then *Eusebius* would have made mention of it; but he intimates the contrary to all this, calling *Irenæus* [εἰρηνοποιόν,] i. e. Peace-maker, because his Letters restored Peace to the Church. These are *Valesius*'s reasons. On the contrary *Socrates*, (B. 5. Chap. 22.) *Hallouxius* in his life of *Irenæus*, pag. 668; and *Dr. Cave* in the Life of *Irenæus*, pag. 163. are of opinion, that this Sentence of Excommunication was actually pronounced by *Victor*. Their main Argument for this, is grounded on these Words of *Eusebius*, which here follow [καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ διὰ γεγραμμένων ἀποκρινόμενος ἀρδὴν πάντας τοὺς ἐκείσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς,] which we have thus rendred [And by his Letters he, i. e. *Victor*, publicly declares, and pronounces all the Brethren there to be wholly excommunicated.] Which, whether it does not outweigh all that *Valesius* has said to the contrary, is left to the determination of the Learned Reader.

(k) This Epistle therefore of *Irenæus*'s was a Synodical Epistle; because 'twas written in the name of the Churches of *France*, the chief City whereof then was *Lyons*. This Epistle is mentioned by *Eusebius*, in the foregoing Chapter: For I judge it to be one and the same Epistle, because 'tis unlikely there should be two Synods convened in so short a time, to determine of one and the same matter. Valef.

Commodus. Day; but also concerning the very (l) Form of the (m) Fast: For some suppose they ought to (n) Fast (o) one day, others (p) two, others more; (q) others computing forty [continued] Hours of the Day and Night make [that Space]

was a two-fold dissent in the Church; the first, concerning Easter-day; the second, about the form of the Fast; i. e. how many Days were to be kept as a Fast; for so he explains himself in the following Words. For all, as well those who celebrated Easter on the Sunday, as those who, with the Jews, kept that Festival on the fourteenth day of the Moon's appearance, did agree in this, to wit, that they fasted before Easter. Which Fast, as well as the Feast of Easter, they had received from Apostolick Tradition: See Eusebius, Book 2. Chap. 17. And the Notes there. *Valef.*

(m) Amongst the ancient Christians there were three kinds of Fasts: the first was the Fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, which ended at the 9th hour of the Day, (i. e. at three a-Clock in the afternoon,) after the end of the Station, or Holy Communion. The second sort was the Lent-Fast, which ended about the evening. The third sort was the strictest of all, and lasted to the Cock-crowing; which was therefore by the Greeks called [ὑπερθεσις,] in Latin *Superpositio*. Epiphanius (in his *Expositio fidei Catholice*, at the end of his Books, against Heresies) does plainly distinguish these three sorts of Fasts. So does Dionysius Alexandrinus, in his Epistle to Basilides. But now, it may be demanded, which of these three sorts of Fasts Irenæus does here speak of? 'Tis manifest, he means not the first sort; for he evidently speaks of a whole days Fast: Some suppose, says he, they ought to fast one day, &c. Dionysius Alexandrinus and Epiphanius, (in the places before-mentioned) seem to be of opinion, that Irenæus means the third sort of Fasts. *Valef.*

(n) These Words of Irenæus are variously understood. Bellarmine thinks he speaks of Lent. Cardinal Perron supposes he speaks of the Week that precedes Easter: Which opinion is confirm'd by Dionysius Alexandrinus and Epiphanius, in the places before-cited. *Valef.*

(o) Without doubt *Iræus* means, the Friday of the Great Week; (i. e. the Week before Easter;) on which day was kept a publick Fast, says Tertullian, in his Book *De Orat.* and in that *De Jejunio*. *Valef.*

(p) To wit, on the Preparation-Day, (which we call Good-Friday,) and on the Great-Sabbath (i. e. the Saturday before Easter.) For on these two days all Persons, except the sick, were wont to Fast, says Tertullian, in his Book *De Jejunio*. *Valef.*

(q) The King's, *Mar.* *Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. do read and point this place thus, [ἐν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥραις ἡμετέραις τὰ καὶ νυκτερινὰς συνεχῶς ἐστὶν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν.] And Musculus has faithfully translated it thus, [Alii quadraginta horas diurnas & nocturnas computantes, diem suum statuant,] whom we follow in our Version of this place; having rendred it thus, [others computing forty continued] hours of the day and night make that [space] their day [of Fasting.] This reading is doubtless the truest: For Irenæus having said that some Fast one day, others two, others more; what need is there of his adding this [others Fast forty Days] when-as in those Words of his [others Fast more Days] forty Days are comprehended? Besides, if the stop be put at [τεσσαράκοντα, forty,] (as 'tis in the *Savil* MS. and in Rufinus and Christopherson's Translations) to what shall the following Words [ἡμετέραις τὰς, &c.] be referred? If they be referred to those that Fast forty Days, (as 'tis certain they must) then 'twill necessarily follow, that those who Fast forty Days during that time do eat nothing at all, seeing that they account their Fast must be continued all the Hours of the Night, as well as the Day. Having made out the true Reading of this place, we come to explain the meaning of it. Irenæus therefore says, that some Fasted forty continued Hours of the Day and Night. Some think this Fast of forty Hours was kept by them in memory of that space of time which was between the Death of Christ and his Resurrection: Which space of time contained about forty Hours; to wit, from the sixth Hour of the Preparation-Day (that is, between 12 and 3 a Clock on Good-Friday) to the dawning of Easter-Day: But I suppose 'twas kept in honour and memory of Christ's forty Days Fast in the Wilderness. Three things may be collected from these Words of Irenæus. (1.) That the Fast before Easter was usually observed in the Church from the very times of the Apostles. (2.) This Fast was celebrated in honour and memory of Christ's Fast: (3.) That the space of time, allotted for this Fast, was various and different. But we ought always to remember that Irenæus does here speak of the Fast of *Superpositio*; (See Note (m) in this Chap.) which the Christians usually observed throughout the Great-week; (i. e. the Passion-week;) The Fast in which Week being once admitted, the Fast of Lent must also be admitted: For the Week before Easter is part of Lent. Sometimes indeed we see the Fast of this Week is distinguish'd from the Lent-Fast; (as in Epiphanius's *Expositio fidei*, &c.) but 'tis not so distinguish'd, as if it did not really belong to Lent; but 'tis distinguish'd from it, as the part is from the whole. The reason of this distinction is twofold; (1) it was kept with a more strict Fast, to wit, the Fast of *Superpositio*, as we shewed before, (Note (m).) (2) This Week does properly belong to Easter. For the *Feria* (or Days) of it have their denomination from the following Sunday, as shall hereafter be manifested. Hence 'tis called the Great-week; the reasons of which term Chrysostom does give in his 30 Homily on Genesis. This Week began from the second *Feria*, (i. e. Monday,) says Cyril in *Homil. Paschal.* and Epiphanius in *Acrianis*. *Valef.*

their (r) Day [of Fasting:] and this variety in observing [the Fast] has not been begun in our Age, but a long while since, in the Times of our Ancestors: (s) Who being (as 'tis probable) not so diligent in their

Presidencies, proposed that as a Custom to their Successors, which was introduced by simplicity and unskilfulness. And yet nevertheless all these maintain'd mutual Peace towards one another, which also we retain. Thus the variety of the Fast commends the consent of the Faith. Hereto he adjoins a Relation, which I will suitably insert in this place; it is thus: And the Presbyters, who, before Soter,

presided over that Church which You now govern, I mean Anicetus, and Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, these Persons, [I say,] neither observ'd it themselves, nor did they permit those (t) with them [to observe it.] Nevertheless, although they themselves observ'd it not, yet they maintain'd Peace with those that came to them from those Churches wherein it was observ'd. But the (u) Observation of it, amongst those who kept it not, seem'd to have much more of contrariety in it. Neither were any Persons ever excommunicated upon account of this Form [of the Fast:] But the Presbyters, your Predecessors, who observ'd it not, † sent the Eucharist to the [Presbyters] of those Churches which observ'd it not: And when (x) Polycarp of blessed memory came to Rome in the Times of Anicetus, and there had been a small Controversie between them concerning some other things, they did straightway mutually embrace each other; having not desired to be contentious with one another about this (y) Head: For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it, because he had always kept it with John the Disciple of our Lord, and the other Apostles with whom he had been conversant: Nor did Polycarp induce Anicetus to observe it, who said, he ought to retain the usage of the Presbyters that were his Predecessors. These things being thus, they received the Communion together.

that observes the custom is conversant among those who observe it not, this diversity will be much more apparent. *Valef.*

† The Bishops were wont, in the time of the Festivity of Easter, to send the Eucharist to other Bishops, in the name of *Eulogia*. This custom was at length forbidden in the Council of Laodicea, Chap. 14. *Valef.*

(x) Though the exact time of Polycarp's coming to Rome cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon Anicetus's Succession to that See, in whose time he came thither. Now 'tis evident, that almost all the ancient Catalogues place him before Soter, and next to Pius, whom he succeeded. This Succession Eusebius (in his *Chronicon*) places on the year of Christ 154; (a computation doubtless much truer than that of Baronius, who places it on the year 167;) and agreeable to this the *Chronicle* of Alexandria places Polycarp's coming to Rome in the year 158; in the 21 of Antoninus the Emperor. See Dr. Cave's Life of St. Polycarp, pag. 115.

(y) *Valesius* (in his Note on this place) denies that Polycarp came to Rome concerning the difference about the Paschal Solemnity; for it was, he says, some other Controversies, that brought him thither. But Irenæus's express words are (if our Eusebius has rightly represented them, in B. 4. Chap. 14.) That Polycarp came to Rome and discours'd Anicetus [ἐν τῇ ζήτησει περὶ τῆς καὶ τῆς πάσης ἡμέρας,] i. e. upon account of a certain Controversie concerning the Day whereon Easter was to be kept. 'Tis true, Irenæus says (in this Chapter) there was a difference between them [περὶ ἄλλαν πρῶν, i. e. concerning some other things;] but this does not hinder, but that the other was his main Errand to Rome.

And

Commodus. And *Anicetus* permitted *Polycarp*, (to wit, out of an honourable respect to him) to (2) consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church; and they parted peaceably one from another; as well those who observ'd it, as those who observed it not, retaining the Peace and Communion of the whole Church." Indeed, *Irenæus*, being truly answerable to his own name, was after this manner a Peace-maker, and advised and asserted these things upon the account of the Peace of the Churches: The same person wrote not only to *Victor*, but sent Letters also, agreeable hereunto, to several other Governours of Churches, concerning the said Controversie which was then rais'd.

C H A P. XXV.

How all with one consent unanimously agreed about Easter.

Moreover, those [Bishops] of *Palestine*, (whom we mention'd a little before) to wit, *Narcissus* and *Theophilus*; and with them *Cassius* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Clarus* [Bishop] of that at *Ptolemais*, together with those assembled with them, having treated at large concerning the Tradition about *Easter*, derived down to them by succession from the Apostles, at the end of their Epistle they adjoyn thus much, in these very words: "Make it your business to send Copies of this our Epistle throughout the whole Church, that so we may not be blamed by those, who do easily seduce their own Souls: We also declare to you, that they celebrate [Easter] at *Alexandria* on the same day that we do: (a) For Letters are convey'd from us to them, and from them to us; so that we observe the Holy Day with one consent and together. [ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, &c. For Letters, &c.] The Letters about *Easter* are extant here. The Acts of this Synod of *Cæsarea* are extant in *Bede*, in his Book concerning the vernal Equinox; which some look upon to be spurious; but I think they are in no wise to be despised. *Baronius* asserted them to be genuine. Valef.

C H A P. XXVI.

How many [Monuments] of Irenæus's Polite Ingenie have come to our hands.

(a) BUT, besides the fore-mentioned Works and Epistles of *Irenæus*'s, there is extant a most concise and most necessary Book of his against the Gentiles, entitled *Concerning Knowledge*. And another, (which he dedicated to a Brother, by name *Marcianus*, [containing] a (b) *Demonstration of the Apostolick Preaching*: And a Book of *Various (c) Tracts*, wherein he makes mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that called *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and quotes some Sentences out of them: And thus many are the [Writings] of *Irenæus*, which came to our knowledge. But *Commodus* having ended his Government after he had reign'd thirteen years, *Severus* obtain'd the Empire, *Pertinax* having not govern'd full out six Months after the Death of *Commodus*.

whom agrees the King's, and the *Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. For those Copies begin the Chapter at these Words, with this Title, [How many [Monuments,] &c.] but they call it Chap. 28. whenas 'tis truly the 26; as appears from the Index of the Chapters prefix'd before the Book. The cause of the mistake was, that the Titles of the former Chapters were set down twice in the foreaid Copies, thro' the negligence of the Transcribers. Valef.

(b) The reading in the original is, εἰς ἀποδείξιν. *Valesius* thinks it should be [εἰς ἀποδείξιν, a Demonstration.]

(c) *Rufinus* translates it [dialogos, dialogues:] *Jerom* renders it [Tractatus, Tracts.] It may be taken to signify Sermons or Discourses to the People: For in that sense our *Eusebius* takes the word διαλέγεσθαι in his 6 B. Chap. 10. and in the 36 Chap. of that Book he calls *Origen's Homilies* [διαλέξεις.] Valef.

C H A P. XXVII.

How many also of [the Works of others] who then flourish'd are come to our knowledge.]

INdeed, very many Monuments of the virtuous and laudable diligence of those Ancient and Ecclesiastick Men which then [flourish'd] are to this day preserv'd amongst many: But [the Works] of those, whom we our selves could (a) discern to be such, are, *Heraclitus's* [Comments] upon the *Apostle*, (which is *stle*, and the [Book] of (b) *Maximus* concerning the term that Question so much talk'd of amongst Hereicks, whence evil proceeds: And concerning this, that Matter is made: Also *Candidus's* Piece, on the six Days Work; and that of *Apion* upon the same subject. In like manner *Sextus's* Book concerning the Resurrection; and another Piece of *Arabianus's*, and of very many more; whose Times wherein they lived, because we want assistances from the proof thereof, we can neither commit to writing, nor yet (c) declare any memorable Passages [of their's, in this our History.] There are also come to our hands the Books of many others, whose very names we are unable to recite: All which were indeed Orthodox and Ecclesiastick [Persons,] as the Interpretations of the Sacred Scripture [produced] by every one of them do demonstrate; but yet they are unknown to us, because what they have written has not their name prefix'd to it.

Maximus, &c. *Rufinus* and *Jerom*, instead of *Heraclitus*, read *Heraclitus*. Our Historian does here relate, first the Ecclesiastick Writers of that time, whose names he knew: Afterwards he mentions those, whose Books were still extant; but their names were unknown. Valef.

(b) The Title of *Maximus's* Book was περὶ τῆς ὕλης, concerning Matter: It was compos'd by way of Dialogue. *Eusebius* quotes a most excellent piece of it in his last Chap. of his 7 B. *Preparat. Evang.* where he gives the Author this Elogue: Μαξίμου δὲ τῆς χειρὸς διαλέξεως ἐκ ἀπλῶς ἀνδρείου, καὶ λόγου διὰ τοῦτο συγγράμματος ὁ περὶ τῆς ὕλης. i. e. *Maximus*, a Person in no wise obscure for his Christian Life and Conversation, wrote a seasonable piece, entitled, Concerning Matter. Valef.

(c) *Eusebius* does usually quote some passages out of those Author's Works, which he mentions: So he did, as we see, out of *Irenæus*, *Clement*, *Hegeppus*, *Papias*, and others; whenever he knew the time of the Author's Writing. But in these Writers, whom he mentions in this Chapter, *Eusebius* says he could not perform this, because he could not certainly know the times they lived in, but was in want of Arguments and Proofs thereof. Valef.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning those, who from the beginning were Defenders of Artemon's Heresie; what manner of persons they were as to their Morals, and how that they were so audacious as to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.

IN an elaborate Piece of one of those Authors, compos'd against the Heresie of *Artemon*, (which Heresie *Paulus Samosatensis* has again attempted to revive in our Age,) there is extant a certain Relation very accommodate to the History we now have in hand. For the (a) Book now cited, evincing that the foreaid Heresie, which asserts our Saviour to be a meer Man, was an innovation of a late date; (because the Introducers of it had boasted it was very ancient,) after many [Arguments] brought to confute their blasphemous Lye, has this Relation word for word: "For they affirm that all the Ancients, and the very Apostles, received and taught the same things."

Photius (in *Biblioth.* Chap. 48.) relates that *Caius* was the Author of this Book; and makes it not the same with *The Little Labyrinth*: But *Theodoret* (B. 2. *Heret. Fabul.*) confirms *Nicephorus's* opinion, and mentions this very Story of *Theodorus the Tanner*, and *Natalis* the Bishop, attesting he had taken it out of the Books called *The Little Labyrinth*. Valef.

‘Hermio-

Severus. *Hermophilus* agree not with these now mentioned; and those of *Apollonides* differ one from another. For he that shall compare them, will find that those Copies first put forth (k) by him do very much disagree from his other [Copies,] which he did afterwards again wrest and deform. How much of Audaciousness there is in this wicked Fact, 'tis probable they themselves are not ignorant: For either they don't believe the Divine Scriptures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are Infidels: Or else they account themselves wiser than the Holy Ghost; and what are they then but Mad-men? For they cannot deny this audacious Fact to have been done by their own selves, because [the Copies] have been written out by their own Hands: (l) Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their Instructors; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things. But some of them have not indeed vouchsafed to adulterate the Scriptures, but having wholly rejected both the Law, and the Prophets, (m) by a lawless and atheistical Doctrine under a Pretext of Grace, they are fallen into the deepest Pit of Destruction." And let thus much be after this manner related concerning these things.

Severus. (1) The following Words [Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their Instructors; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things] are wanting in the King's MS. I think them not very necessary: But they are in the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. and in *Rufinus's* Version. *Valef.*

(m) *Every*, or *διὰ*, i. e. *by* or, *by reason of*, is here to be understood. These Hereticks, under a pretence of the Grace given by the Gospel rejected both the Law and the Prophets: Upon which account he calls their Doctrine Lawless and Atheistical. *Valef.*

(k) Sir H. *Suail* in Margin of his MS. had made it [as above, by him.] Our other MSS. read it [as above, by them.] But the former reading is the best: For the Author speaks only of *Apollonides* here; affirming that he put forth two Editions of the Sacred Scriptures, the latter of which differ'd very much from the former. *Valef.*

THE

SIXTH BOOK

Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Persecution under Severus.

Moreover, when *Severus* stirr'd up Persecution against the Churches in every place throughout all the Churches; noble Martyrdoms were performed by the Champions of Religion; but [the number of the Martyrs] at *Alexandria* far exceeded the rest, the (a) choicest of the Champions having been convey'd thither out of all *Egypt* and *Thebais*, as to the noblest Stadium of God; who in reward of their most patient suffering divers sorts of Torments, and several ways of death, were encircled with Crowns from God: Amongst whom *Leonides*, said to be the Father of (b) *Origen*, was beheaded, and left his Son very young. And here 'twill not be unseasonable briefly to relate what Zeal and Affection he bore to the (c) Gospel from this time of his Childhood, and for this reason especially, because his fame is much celebrated by all Men.

(a) *Agēnē*, *ἀγένη*, i. e. the choicest, 'tis the nearest signification of the word, but does not fully explain it, for the word imports something more. See *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 195.

(b) 'Tis a critical dispute whether the Greek word be *ἀγένης*, or *ἀγενής* with an Aspirate, or a *Tenuis*: Some say 'tis *ἀγένης*, because 'tis derived from *ἀγὲν* mature and *γενεῖς* natus, i. e. born in a fit season: And for this reason the *Med. Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. always write it with an Aspirate. *Valef.*

(c) *Θεῖον λόγον*, *Eusebius* always uses both for the Gospel, and the Christian Religion, as in Chap. 3. and 5. of this Book, and and this *Rufinus* renders *Divina legis studia*: *Christophor.* *Sacrarum literarum studium*; and *Musculus* translates it *Divinam Doctrinam*. *Valef.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning Origen's Virtuous Course of Life from a Child.

NOW should any one undertake accurately and at his leisure to commit to writing this Man's Life, he must say much, and a strict Collection of all Passages concerning him, would require even a particular Subject; but our aim at present is to abbreviate most things, and in short, and, as well as we can, we will give an account of some few Passages concerning him; relating what things have been manifested by some Epistles, or by the Discourse of those his Scholars, who were alive till our times. The Passages concerning *Origen* (as one would say) even from his Cradle seem to be worth remembrance. *Severus* therefore being in the tenth year of his Reign, and *Letus* being Governor of *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*; *Demetrius* also having lately taken upon him the Episcopal Office over the Churches there, after *Julianus*; when the Flame of Persecution now raged grievously, and many thousands were crown'd with Martyrdom, such a desire of Martyrdom possess'd the Soul of *Origen* being, yet very young, that he would expose himself to Dangers, and was very ready and willing to rush forward and leap into the Combat: So that now he was not far from death, had not the Divine and Celestial Providence, for the good of many, hindred and restrained his willingness to die, by

Severus. his Mother's means. First therefore she intreated him like a Suppliant, and beseech'd him to take pity of her Motherly love: But when she saw him more intent upon his purpose, and when he understood his Father was apprehended, and imprison'd, he was wholly possess'd with a desire of Martyrdom: Wherefore she hid all his Cloaths, and by this means necessitated him to abide at home. But he, seeing he had no way left, (the alacrity of his Mind surmounting the ripeness of his Years,) could not be at rest, but composed a most perswasive Epistle concerning Martyrdom, and sends it to his Father, in which he thus exhorts him word for word, saying, [*Father,*] take heed: Let not your care for us make you change your Resolution. Let this be noted as the first Token of *Origen's* acuteness of Wit from his Childhood, and of his most sincere Zeal for Religion. For he had already got no small stock of knowledge in the Doctrine of the Faith, continuing whilst he was yet a Child, to exercise himself in searching the Holy Scriptures; about which he was not a little laborious; his Father having taken great care, both in instructing him in the Libe-

(a) Τὸ ἐγκύκλιον παιδεία, are the words in the Original: The Greeks call ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν, the Liberal Arts which Children learned; but Philosophy, by the testimonies of several Authors, is not included in that Phrase, as *Dionysius Laertius*, *Clement Alexan.* and *Eusebius* himself, Chap. 15. B. 6. do attest; hence 'tis that *Platon* Cens, a noble Philosopher, says, They who place all their study, in ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν, are like *Penelope's* Womers, who when they were repuls'd by the *Milvets*, courted the *Maid*. Orators also exclude *Rhetoric* out of this number; but some include both, who mistake; for the Word ἐγκύκλιον signifies aliquid in vasis positum, vulgare, i.e. what is trivial and vulgar; now Philosophy and Rhetoric are more noble Sciences: Hence *Demosthenes* uses ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν for mean and base Offices. Valef.

much that he troubled his Father by asking him, what was the true meaning of such a sentence of Scripture inspired by God. He seemingly before his face reproved him, admonishing him not to search into any thing above the capacity of his years, nor [to enquire] any further than the plain meaning [of Scripture.] But he privately with himself rejoiced exceedingly, and gave the greatest thanks to God the Author of all Good, that he vouchsafed to make him the Father of such a Child: And 'tis reported, he has often stood by the Child as he slept, and laying his Breast bare, would kiss it with reverence, as if the sacred Spirit of God had been enthron'd in it, and accounted himself bless'd for his happy Off-spring. These and such-like they record, were the Passages concerning *Origen* in his Childhood: But when his Father was now crown'd with Martyrdom, he is left desolate (together with his Mother and younger Brothers, six in number,) being no more then seventeen years of age: Moreover, his Father's Estate having been confiscate, he was brought into extream want of necessary Subsistence, together with his Relations, but God thought him worthy of his Providence. And he obtains entertainment and rest from a Woman, who was very rich in respect of her Estate, and very eminent otherways: More-

over, (who carefully ministr'd to a very famous *Severus.* Man, one of that Heretical Sect then at *Alexandria*, but by birth an *Antiochian*.) Him the fore-said Woman having adopted for her Son, kept him with her, and shew'd kindness to him in a most special manner. But *Origen*, though forc'd to converse with the said [Heretick,] yet from that time shew'd powerful Proofs of his sound Opinion concerning the Faith. For when great Multitudes of People, not only Hereticks, but also them of our Religion, flock'd to *Paul* (for this was the Man's name) because he seem'd to be a person of great eloquence; [*Origen*] could never be induced to assist him in prayer: Always from a Child observing the Canon of the Church, and abominating the Doctrines of Heresies, (as he himself in express words somewhere says:) and having been educated in the Greek Learning by his Father at first, after his death he devoted himself wholly and more earnestly to the study of the Liberal Sciences; so that he was furnish'd with an (b) indifferent skill in the Art of Grammar; and having profess'd this Art soon after his Father's death, he got plenty of Necessaries, considering the age he then was of. (b) The Med. Maz. Fulk. and Savil MSS. read ἐκ μέτρου i. e. no indifferent skill.] Valef.

C H A P. III.

How *Origen* being very young Preach'd the Word of Christ.

(a) **W**Hilst he yet applied himself to his School, (as he in his Writings recordeth,) no one residing at *Alexandria* (b) to teach the Principles of Christianity, but all being driven away by the threatening Persecution: Some of the Heathens resorted to him, to hear the Word of God. Of which number he notes *Plutarchus* to have been the first; who when he (c) had lived a virtuous secular life, was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom. The second was *Heracles*, *Plutarchus's* Brother, who having under him shew'd many instances of a Philosophical and severe course of life, was honoured with the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* after *Demetrius*. He was now in the eighteenth year of his age, when he was Master of the Catechetical School; in which he made great proficiency, in the Persecutions during the time of *Aquila's* Prefecture over *Alexandria*. At which time he purchased to himself a famous name amongst all them who were well-affected towards the Faith, for the singular friendship and alacrity which he shew'd to all the Holy Martyrs known and unknown. For he conversed not only with such as were in the King's (a) Some dispute there is concerning the beginning of this Chapter: *Valefius* (whom we follow) follows the division of *Rufinus*, but *Christophorus* begins it at these Words [when *Origen* was 17 years old,] the King's MS. something lower; than *Valefius*, [when he was 19 years old.] Fulk. MS. at these Words, [*His Father's Estate being confiscate.*]

(b) This word καὶ μαθήσκει originally, *inchoo, to sound*: This preposition [καὶ] makes it, being a verb *Neuter*, to have an *Active* signification, and he is properly said καὶ μαθήσκειν, who tells us any thing which he would teach us by way of instruction: Hence it signifies to teach the Rudiments, or first Grounds of an Art, but peculiarly to teach the Principles of Christian Religion, which we call *Catechising* in English, fitly made out of the Greek. Some say, Heathen Authors knew not this use of this word, but they mistake, for *Lucian* uses it in this sense, to teach the Rudiments of any Art. *Stephan. Lexicon.*

(c) Μὲντε τοῦ βιωῦναι, i.e. after he had led a pious secular Life: This word βίον is by Christians used to signify *secularē vitam agere*. For βίος is *seculum*, as *Chrysostom* uses it in his 23d Homily on the Epistle to the Romans, where he calls βιωτικὰς them whom we call *Laicks*, to distinguish them from the Clergy, in these words; δεικνύς ὅτι τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν, ἔχοντες βιωτικὴν μένον. In this sense must the word here be understood; one of *Origen's* Disciples lived a pious secular Life, being a *Laick*, the other was a Clergyman. Valef.

Bonds,

THE first of them was the aforementioned *Plutarchus*, whom (when he was led to Execution) * he of whom the Discourse is, ac- * That is, accompanied to the last hour of his life, and again *Origen*. wanted little of being kill'd by the Men of his own City, as seeming the Cause of *Plutarchus's* Death. But then also the Providence of God preserv'd him. Next to *Plutarch*, the second of *Origen's* Disciples, that was a Martyr, was *Serenus*: Who by Fire gave a tryal of the Faith which he had received. *Heraclides* was made the third Martyr of the same School. The fourth after him was (a) *Heron*: Both which Persons were be-headed, the former of them while he was yet learning the Principles of Christianity, the latter when he was newly (b) baptiz'd. Besides these, another *Serenus*, different from the former, is declar'd the fifth Champion of Piety [who came out] of this School: Who, 'tis reported, was punish'd with the loss of his Head, after a most patient sufferance of many Torments. And of

(f) This word *ΣΑΝ* primarily signifies *any matter of which a thing is made*; but amongst Divines it peculiarly signifies *the filth and dregs of this world*, out of which proceed unlawful Lusts, Desires, and Contempt of God.

Severus. of women; (e) *Heraïs*, who as yet was learning the Principles of Christianity, did as he himself somewhere says, depart this life, having received Baptism by Fire.

(e) I long since conjectured it should be [*Heraïs*] in one word, not [*ἡραῖς*], two words; which conjecture I found confirmed by the King's, and *Fuk. MSS.* *Rufinus* agrees hereto, who translates this place thus, *Sed & mulieres plurimas, in quibus Hera quedam Catechumena.* 'Tis a proper name derived from *Juno*, who is called in Greek *Ἥρα*: Whence comes *ἡραϊσμός*, *Heraïs*, the name of an Egyptian Philosopher, concerning whom see *Suidas*. The Greeks celebrate the memory of this *Heraïs* on the fourth, or rather the fifth day of *March*, as 'tis in the *Menology* set forth by *Cassiodorus*. I am not certain whether this Person be the same with *Iraïs* the *Alexandrian* Virgin, who in the *Roman Martyrology* is said to have suffer'd Martyrdom (together with some others) at the City *Antinoë* on September 22. In *Cardinal Sirletus's Menology*, at the fifth of September, these Words occur; *Natalis B. Martyris Rhaidis, quæ igne consumpta est*; i. e. the birth-day of the B. Martyr Rhaidis, who was burnt. This is the same whom *Eusebius* mentions here. Therefore there were three *Heraïs's*; the first is she mentioned in the *Menæum*, at the fifth day of *March*: The second *Heraïs* is the *Catechumen*, of whom mention is made in the *Menology*, on the fifth of September: The third *Heraïs* the Egyptian Virgin, born at a place called *Tamma*; whose Father's name was *Peter*, a Presbyter: She suffer'd Martyrdom when she was twelve years old, as 'tis in the *Menæum*, at the 23d of September; where she is called *Heraïs*: In the *Roman Martyrology* she is termed, *Iraïs*. Vale!

C H A P. V.

Concerning Potamiæna.

LET *Basilides* be reckon'd the seventh among these, who lead the most renown'd *Potamiæna* to Execution, concerning which Woman, even yet there is a famous report amongst the Inhabitants of those Countries, for that she combated many times with her Lovers, in defence of the Chastity and Virginity of her Body; for which she was famous: (For besides the Vigour of her Mind, there flourish'd in her a Comeliness of Body :) Who, having suffer'd many things for her Faith in Christ, at last, after grievous Torments and horrible to be related, was together with her Mother *Marcella* consumed by Fire. Moreover, they say that the Judge, (whose name

(a) This *Aquila* was Governour of Egypt, as *Eusebius* before relates in the 3d Chapter: At which time *Origen* was in the eighteenth year of his age. Vale!

(b) The *Gladiators* were commonly noted to be lascivious wicked Men; therefore *Aquila* threaten'd to deliver her to them, thinking she, who had such special care of her Chastity, would rather revolt from her Faith, than hazard the Purity of her Body, by being put into their Power.

ous amongst them. Forthwith therefore she receiv'd the definitive Sentence [of the Judge,] and *Basilides*, one of the Military Apparitors, took and led her to Execution: But when the Multitude endeavour'd to molest and reproach her with

(c) *Ἀποροβέω*, properly signifies to fright Birds away, but here, as also in *Demosthenes*, it signifies to thrust aside out of the way, *ἀποροβέω τὴν ἀρετήν*. *Demost.*

in good part the Man's commiseration shown towards her, exhorts him to be of good courage, for when she was gone hence she would entreat her Lord for him, and within a little while she would make him a requital for what he had done for her. When she had spoken these things, they say she valiantly underwent death, not fear-

ding Pitch being leisurely, and by little and little, pour'd upon all the several Members of her Body, from the Sole of the Foot, to the Crown of the Head; such was the Combat fought by this famous Virgin. But not long after, *Basilides* upon some occasion being desired by his Fellow-Soldiers to swear, avouch'd 'twas not lawful for him to swear at all; for he was a Christian, and he openly confess'd it. At first they thought he only spake in jest, but when he constantly maintain'd it, he is brought before the Judge, and after he had made profession of his Stedfastness before him, he was put into Bonds: And when some of the Brethren in the Lord came to him, asking him what was the cause of this sudden and unexpected change, he is reported to have said, that *Potamiæna*, three days after her Martyrdom, stood by him in the Night, put a Crown about his Head, and said, she had intreated the Lord for him, and had obtain'd her request: And within a little while the Lord would take him up to himself. After these things the Brethren imparted to him the (d) Seal of the Lord; and the Day after, being famous for his Testimony of the Lord, he was beheaded: They relate, that many more throughout *Alexandria* came thick at that time to the Doctrine of Christ; to wit, such as *Potamiæna* had appear'd to in their sleep, and (e) invited them to be converted to the Gospel: But for these things let thus much suffice.

(d) *Σφραγίς*, *Eusebius* means Baptism. (e) *Rufinus* translates this place so as to make *Potamiæna* *Origen's* Scholar; neither dare we contradict him in that. For although *Eusebius* does not mention it particularly, yet we may gather so much from this his Narration; for, reckoning up the Martyrs which were of *Origen's* School, he adds to them *Basilides* and *Potamiæna*; whence 'tis collected these two also were his Disciples; and though we cannot for certain say *Basilides* was, yet 'tis probable *Potamiæna* might be one of them. Vale!

C H A P. VI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

(a) *Clemens*, who succeeded *Pantænus*, was Master of the Catecherick-School at *Alexandria* till this time. So that *Origen* when he was a Boy was one of his Scholars: Moreover, this *Clemens*, committing to writing the Subject of that Work of his, entitled *Stromateis*, in his first Volume explains the Series of Times, and determines his Computation at the Death of *Commodus*. So that 'tis plain those Books were elaborated by him in the Reign of *Severus*, the History of whose Times this Book of ours contains.

Clemens's Scholar. Moreover concerning *Clemens*, and his Books, *Eusebius* writes in the foregoing Book. And *Caius* in his little *Labyrinth*, reckons him among the Ecclesiastick Writers which writ in the time of *Victor*; the Words of *Caius* are at the end of the 5th Book: Therefore *Rufinus* rightly places this and the following Chapter in the 3d Chapter of this Book, where he speaks of *Demetrius* the Bishop's committing the Office of Catechizing to *Origen*. Vale!

C H A P. VII.

Concerning Judas the Writer.

AT this time also lived *Judas* another Writer, who commented upon the Seventy Weeks in *Daniel*, and puts an end to his Computation of the Times at the Tenth year of *Severus's* Reign. His Opinion was, that even at that time the coming of Antichrist, which was so much talk'd of, drew nigh. So great a Disturbance did the raising of the Persecution then against us cause in many Men's Minds.

C H A P.

Severus.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the bold Act of Origen.

AT this time while Origen perform'd the Office of Catechizing at Alexandria, an Act of an unripe and youthful Mind was committed by him, but which withal contain'd a most manifest token of Continence and true Faith: For he taking these words [Some * Eunuchs there are which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake] in the more simple meaning, unadvisedly like one of his juvenile years, thinking it both his duty to fulfil our Saviour's words, and also [considering] that during his youthful years he was to converse not only with Men, but Women, about the things which appertain to God; that he might exclude the Infidels from all suspicion of obscene flanders, his Mind was full bent to perform really our Saviour's words, taking great care that it might escape the knowledge of many of his Familiars: But it was impossible for him, altho' he was desirous, to conceal such a Fact. But when Demetrius understood it, as being then Governour of the Church there, he both greatly admires him for his boldness, and also, (having commended his alacrity of Mind, and sincerity of Faith,) forthwith encourages and excites him to a more diligent Employment about the Duty of Catechizing: For such at this time was [Demetrius's] opinion of this Act: But no long time after, when he saw Origen do well, and that he was famous, and well-reported of by all Men; being affected with the Frailties of Mankind, he endeavour'd by Letters, sent to all the Bishops in the World, to describe what was done as a most absurd action. (a) For the Bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem, the most approved and most famous of all the Prelates in Palestine, judging Origen worthy of Dignity and the highest pitch of Honours, had by Imposition of Hands ordain'd him Presbyter. Therefore when he had ascended to great Honour, and had purchas'd a name amongst Men in all places, and no small fame for his Virtue, and Wisdom; Demetrius, being furnish'd with no other Accusation, made a great and malicious complaint against that Act which he had done in his youth. Daring also to involve the Bishops in his Accusations who had promoted him to the Office of a Presbyter. These things were done a little after. But then Origen (b) freely and without any Impediment perform'd his Office of teaching the Divine Doctrine to all that came to him by Day or by Night; laboriously spending all his time either

(a) Eusebius here has open the reason why Demetrius, who was formerly so much Origen's friend, should now so persecute him by his Letters; which was, because the Bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem had ordain'd him Priest. In which thing no small injury was done to Demetrius, both by the Bishops, and Origen; by Origen because he had added to be ordained by foreign Bishops; and by the Bishops, because by doing this they had translated the Catechist of Alexandria into their Church. Moreover, there arises a difficulty not to be pass'd by, viz. Why two Bishops together should ordain Origen? By this means he had power to sit in two Churches, and to communicate with other Priests. See the 23. and 27. Chapters following; where this conjecture is confirm'd. 'Twas the Order, when either Deacons or Priests were ordained, some Bishops should be present, that the Ordination might be more solemn, (says Innocentius in his Epistle to Marcianus the Bishop.) Photius, in Biblioth. Chap. 118. says that Theodotus solemnized the Ordination, but Alexander gave his approbation. Christopherson also says these were the names of the Bishops; Theodotus was Bishop of Caesarea, and Alexander of Jerusalem. Valef.

(b) Αὐλάτωρ (the word here) has several significations; Rufinus explains it thus, When a Man has free power to do a thing, all impediments being removed; which explanation seems best; for, before Origen made himself an Eunuch, for fear of a scandalous Report he had reason to be cautious of conversing with Women, and teaching them; but when he had unman'd himself, as he did, he might do it freely without suspicion. Valef.

in Divine Learning, or upon them who came to him. (c) After Severus had held the Empire eighteen years, his Son Antoninus succeeds him. At this time there [lived] one (d) Alexander, one of their number who had behav'd themselves manfully in the Persecution, and also by the Providence of God had been preserv'd after their Com-bats during their Confessions; him we before manifested to have been Bishop of the Church in Jerusalem. Now because he was famous for his Confession of Christ in the time of the Persecution, he is promoted to the afore-mention'd Bishoprick, whilst Narcissus, his Predecessor, was yet alive.

(d) Concerning this Alexander, Eusebius, in his Chronicle, in the 12 year of Severus's Reign, which was the second year of this Persecution, writes thus; Alexander was accounted famous for his confession of the Name of the Lord. Valef.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Miracles of Narcissus.

THE Inhabitants of this Diocesis report many Miracles of this Narcissus, by tradition deriv'd from a continued succession of the Brethren: Amongst which they relate such a like Miracle as this done by him. 'Tis reported that on the great Vigils of Easter the Minister's Oil fail'd them, for which great pensiveness of Mind having seiz'd the whole Multitude, Narcissus gave command to them who took care of the Lights, that they should draw Water out of the Well which was nearest at hand, and bring it to him; which being forthwith done, he pray'd over the Water, and commanded them to pour the Water into the Lamps with a sincere Faith in the Lord. When they had done this also, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and Divine Power, the Nature of Water was chang'd into the (a) Fatness of Oil. Some small Specimen of this Miracle then done, has been preserv'd amongst many of the Brethren for a long time, even from that to our Age. They also relate several other things worth remembrance concerning this Man's Life. Amongst which there is such a [Story] as this: Some vile Fellows who could not endure this Person's Vigour, and his Perseverance in leading of a pious Life, fearing lest when they were caught they should suffer Punishment, because they were conscious to themselves of many evil Actions, they [resolve to] prevent him by patching up a Plot against him, and utter a grievous Calumny against him. Then, that they might persuade the Hearers to credit them, they confirm'd their Accusations with Oaths: One of them swore it was true which he said, or he wish'd he might be consumed by Fire; another, if 'twas not true, that his Body might be wasted by some terrible unhappy (b) Disease; Rufinus renders thus, Regio morbo: But Langus calls it morbus lentus, the falling-sickness. Christopherson, morbus siccus & scelus, an unfortunate, or cruel and filthy disease; which comes nearest to Rufinus's Version: For by this morbus Regius he means the Leprosie, as appears by what follows. For in the 10 Book and 25 Chapter he speaks thus of Eunomius; vir corpore & anima Leprosus, & interioris, exteriorisque morbo Regio corruptus. Gregorius Nyssenus also in his first Book against Eunomius certainly affirms he was a Leper, pag. 307. Οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ δίκης αὐτοκλήθη, ὅδε τὴν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ κατ' ἐαυτὸν διαγωγῇ πεισέλλων, ὅδε τὴν εὐσεβὴν ἐπ' ὑπερβύτων πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀποσεβὴν λογίζουσα. He who goes into another Man's house not invited, and keeps not the filthiness under his own Roof, considers not what natural abhorrence they who are found have towards those who are infected. Hieronymus in the Life of Hilario speaks thus of his Scholar Adrianus, Post aliquantum temporis computuit morbo Regio. Valef.

Antoninus and the third; that he might be depriv'd of his Sight: But none of the Faithful gave heed to 'em, altho' they swore thus, because *Narcissus's* Continency was always resplendent amongst all Men, and his Course of Life most eminently virtuous and pious: But he being in no-wise able to endure the Wickedness of what had been said against him; and, besides this, for a long time being desirous to embrace a Philosophical Life, retir'd from the whole Congregation of his Church, and liv'd many years, lying hid in Solitudes and in obscure Fields. But the great Eye of Justice could not quietly wink at what was done; but was quickly revenged upon these wicked Men by those Curses

(c) Καὶ ἐξυλῶν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες. The interpreters seem not to have rightly understood this place. *Eusebius's* meaning is this, those perjur'd Men did not forswear themselves against *Narcissus*, but against themselves, alluding without doubt to that of the Psalmist, *he ly'd mischief to himself*; For craft often falls upon the Author's own head, tho' he intends it for another. *Valef.*

(d) Στεφάνου's Body was totally infected from the bottom of his Feet to his Head with the Disease he had punish'd himself with. But the third, seeing the End of the two former, and fearing the unavoidable Vengeance of the All-seeing God, (e) publicly confess'd to all what they had plotted together in common amongst themselves; and he pin'd away with so great complaints, repenting of what he had done, and never ceas'd weeping so long, till he lost both his Eyes. And these suffer'd such Punishments for their lying Accusation.

under the place, as if Fire had fell from Heaven upon this perjur'd Man's House, but *Eusebius* confutes that, saying, it came ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον δικταίος. *Valef.* (e) Ομολογῶντες τὰ κρίματα, makes a publick confession. So the King's MS. reads, but the *Lat.* and *Ital.* MSS. read ὁμολογῶντες which sense the following Word κατὰ ἄνθρωπον confirms. *Valef.*

C H A P. X.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

When *Narcissus* was retired, it being altogether unknown where he was, 'twas the Opinion of the Bishops of the bordering Churches that they should proceed to the Ordination of another Bishop. This Man's name was *Dius*. To him having presided no long time *Germanio* was Successor. *Gordius* succeeds him, in his time from some place or other *Narcissus* again appear'd, as risen from death to life, and is immediately invited by the Brethren to his Bishoprick; all Men admiring him much more both for his Retreat, and also for his Philosophick [Course of life:] But above all for the Revenge which was vouchsafed him from God [upon his Accusers.]

C H A P. XI.

Concerning Alexander.

Narcissus being no longer able to officiate by reason of his very great Age, the Providence of God by Revelation made known to him in a Vision by Night, and call'd the fore-mention'd *Alexander* Bishop of another Church to be Co-adjutor in the Discharge of his Office. By this Revelation therefore, as if he had been warn'd by some Oracle from God, *Alexander* made a Jour-

ney to Jerusalem from Cappadocia (where he had before been honour'd with a Bishoprick,) upon account both of praying there, and also of seeing the places: The Brethren there received him most kindly; and would not permit him to return home, because of another Revelation, made

known also to them by night, and a voice most plainly utter'd to some who were the most eminent for Piety amongst them: For it told them if they went out of their Gates, they should meet him who was predetermined by God to be their Bishop. When they had done this with the common consent of the Bishops who govern'd the Churches round about, they forc'd him of necessity to continue there. Indeed, *Alexander* himself, in his own Epistles to the *Antinoites* which are preserved amongst us till this time, makes mention of *Narcissus's* Presidency together with him; writing thus word for word, at the end of that Epistle: *Narcissus* salutes

you who before me govern'd this Episcopal See, and he now is my Associate in Prayer, being an hundred and sixteen years old, and exhorts you to be of the same mind with me." These things were thus done. Now when *Serapion* was dead, *Asclepiades* succeeded in the Bishoprick of the Church of *Antiochia*. And he also was famous for his Confessions in the time of Persecution. *Alexander* also makes mention of his Consecration, writing thus to the *Antiochians*; *Alexander*

the Servant and Prisoner of Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting in the Lord to the Blessed Church of the *Antiochians*. The Lord made my Bonds ease and light in the time of my imprisonment, when I heard that by Divine Providence *Asclepiades* (a Man most fit by reason of the worthiness of his Faith) was intrusted with the care over the whole Church of the *Antiochians*. He signifies that he sent this Epistle by *Clemens*, writing on this manner, at the End. "I have sent these Letters to you, (my Lords and Brethren) by (e) *Clemens* a blessed Presbyter, a virtuous and approved Person, whom ye have known, was elected and shall know better; who, while he was here, by the Providence and Care of God confirm'd and increased the Church of the Lord.

appears by these words, calling himself the Prisoner of Christ. Hence *Eusebius* does not well by reckoning, in his *Chronicon*, *Asclepiades's* Consecration in the first year of *Antoninus Caracalla*: For *Asclepiades* was Consecrated when *Alexander* was in Prison; which *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* says, happen'd in *Severus's* Reign. *Valef.*

(e) *Hieronymus* (in *Catalogo*) conjectures this to be *Clemens Alexandrinus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* certainly liv'd till the times of *Severus*, and travelled into these Countreys, as he witnesses in the first Book of his *Stromateon*, he was also a familiar Friend of *Alexander* the Bishop, for to him he dedicates his work concerning the Canon of the Church, as *Eusebius* writes in the 13 Chapter of this Book. *Valef.*

(a) Μὴν τε φωνήν. *Christophorus*, and *Musculus* alter the reading thus μὴν τε φωνήν οὐ φωνήν, which also *Nicephorus* follows; but the reading ought not to be alter'd. *Rufinus* very well corrects this Story of *Eusebius's* (which he makes something obscure) thus. He says that that Revelation concerning *Alexander* was sent by God to *Narcissus* and other holy Men; but the voice was heard by all Men: Here *Rufinus*, like a good interpreter, lightly corrects what the Author says amiss. *Valef.*

(b) *Nicephorus* and *Hieronymus* write that *Narcissus* also consecrated; which without doubt he did. Here are two things contrary to the Canon of the Church committed in the Election of *Alexander*, first his Translation from one Bishoprick to another; secondly, that he was join'd as an assistant to another Bishop while he was yet alive, which was afterwards forbid in the Council of *Sardis*. *Valef.*

(c) Συνεζήτησάν μοι διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς. *Rufinus* and *Christophorus* do not translate this place well; but *Hieronymus* renders it truly according to the sense, though not word for word, he translates it thus: *Narcissus* salutes you who before me governed the Bishoprick, and now governs the same in Prayers with me. *Alexander's* meaning was undoubtedly this; That, *Narcissus* only assisted him in Prayers, but in no other part of the Office of Bishop. Which makes him add, that he was an hundred and sixteen years old, signifying thereby that he performed the Office, and *Narcissus* being very old had only the Title, and Name of Bishop. *Valef.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Serapion, and his Books that are extant.

It is likely that other Monuments of (a) Serapion's Studiousness and Learning are preserved amongst other Men; but those [Writings] only came to our hands which he wrote to one Dominus, a Man who in time of Persecution fell from the Faith in Christ to the Jewish Superstition: And what he wrote to Pontius and Caricus, Ecclesiastical Men; and other Epistles to other Persons. Another Book also was composed by him, concerning that Book intitled *The Gospel according to Peter*; which Book he wrote to confute the Errors in that, for some Men's sakes in the

Church of (b) Rhosse, who, taking an occasion from the foresaid Gospel, inclined to Heterodox Doctrines. Out of which Book 'twill not be unfit to set down some few words, in which he sets forth the Opinion he had concerning that Book, writing thus: 'For we, my

(b) This Rhosse is a City of Cilicia; it lies upon the right hand to them who sail into the Gulf of Issus. Some write this City's name with a single s: So Stephanus in his Tract *De Urbibus*, and Theodoret in his *Religious History*, Chap. 10, and 11. The name of this place in Plutarch is corrupted: for he calls it 'Oressus, Oressus. Valef.

ter and the other Apostles, as of Christ himself; but, like wise Men, we reject those Writings which are forged

(c) The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil's MSS. read τὸ ὀνόματι, i. e. in his name. So Rufinus seems to have read it. Serapion also a little lower says, περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Origen in his Commentaries upon the 13th Chapter of Matthew makes mention of this Gospel of Peter. Valef.

'I said, if this be the only thing which seems to breed this dejected Spirit in you, let it be read. But now understanding, from what has been told me, that their Minds were cover'd with some Heresie, I will make haste to come to you again; wherefore, Brethren, expect me suddenly: But we, Brethren, have found out what Heresie Marcianus was of, for he contradicted himself, not understanding what he said, which you shall understand by some things which have been written to you. For we have been able to (d) borrow this very Gospel of some who have been continually exercised in it, (that is of some of their Successors who preceded Marcianus, whom we call Docetæ, for many of [Marcianus's] Tenets are derived from their Doctrines,) and read it; and we find indeed many things agreeable to the true Doctrine of Christ: But some things that are particularly to be excepted against and avoided, which also we have here subjoyn'd upon your account." And thus much concerning Serapion's Books.

which Hereticks Marcianus was one. The Translator takes no notice in this place of that Heretical Sect called the Docetæ. They held that Christ was not really Incarnate, nor did truly suffer, but in opinion only. Clemens Alexandrinus in his 7th Book *Stromat.* and also Theodoret in his Book *Divinorum Decretorum* mentions them. The Ring-leader of this Sect was one Julius Cassianus, as Clemens tells us in his Third Book. Valef.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Writings of Clemens.

Clemens's (a) *Stromata's*, which are in all eight Books, are extant amongst us, which Books very well he thus intituled, *The Variegated Contexture of* (a) Rufinus this Title (b) *Discourses of Titus Flavius Clemens, concerning all things which appertain to the knowledge of the true Philosophy*: Of the same number with these are his Books intituled *Institutions*: In which he by name mentions Pantænus, as being his Master, and he writes down his (c) *Opinions* he had receiv'd concerning the scope of Scripture, and explains his Traditions. He has also an *Hortatory discourse* to the Gentiles: And three Books intituled the *Tutor*. And another Book of his (with this Title, *What Rich Man can be saved?*) And a Book concerning Easter. *Disputations also concerning Fasting*: And concerning *Detraction*: And an *Exhortation to Patience to those who were newly baptized*. And a Book intituled the *Ecclesiastick Canon*, or against those who Judaized, which Book he dedicated to Alexander the foremention'd Bishop. Moreover, in his *Stromata* he does not only compose miscellaneous Discourses out of the Holy Writings, but he also mentions some things out of the Gentile Writers, if any thing seems profitable which was spoken by them: He also explains various Opinions [which occur] in several Books both of the Greeks and Barbarians. He moreover confutes the false Opinions of the Arch-Hereticks. He lays open much of History, affording us large subject-matter of several sorts of Learning. Amongst all these he intermixes the Philosophers Opinions. Hence he fitly made the Title *Stromata*, answerable to the Subject of the Book. In the same Book he produces Authorities out of those Scriptures which are not allow'd of [as Canonical;] out of that which is call'd *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and out of the Book of *Jesus the Son of Sirac*: And out of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. And out of the [Epistles] of Barnabas, Clemens, and Jude. He also makes mention of Tatianus's Book against the Grecians, and of Cassianus, (d) who also made a *Chronography*. Moreover, he mentions Philo, (e) *Aristobulus*, Josephus, Demetrius, and Eupolemus, Jewish Writers; who all have proved by their Writings, that

στροματῆς, thus, *Opus varie contextum*. Plutarch calls some Books of his, which are part History, and part Poetry, *στροματῆς*. Eusebius takes the Books to be so call'd from the divers sorts of matter which they treat of, and so says Baronius in his *Annals*, and Suidas in his *History*: *στροματῆς*, in Greek signifies *Carpets* or *Hangings* which were woven of divers colours: Hence these Books are metaphorically entituled *στροματῆς*, from the mixture of things they treat of: For he intermixes Grecian, Barbarian, and Latine Opinions, confutes Hereticks, and composes a kind of a various History. Photius *Biblioth.*

(b) ὁποῦνῃματα (which is the term here,) are such Writings as contain only the Heads, and some Particulars of some special things; or, as Cicero in *Verrem* says, *Sunt scripta que domi continentur, nec in vulgus offeruntur*: But now the word has got a larger signification.

(c) Langus renders this word ἑρμηνεία *Dictates*, *Musculus* verbally, *Excerptions*, *Rufinus*, *Expositiones*, and *Christopherson*, *Commentaries upon the Scriptures*; but none of them sufficiently explain the Propriety of the Word: *ἐρμηνεία*, are the *Sense and Meaning of Scripture*. So Origen uses it in his 4th Book *De Principiis*, Chap. 2. speaking of the double Sense of Scripture, that is, the literal, and the spiritual Sense; and so also does Methodius, Epiphanius and Dionysius Alexandrinus use the term. Valef.

πεπονημένον, made Rufinus believe, that the preceding person Tatianus wrote a *Chronography* as well as Cassianus: But we must in no wise think that true. Valef.

(e) Some Copies read, *δεδωκεν*, but in all our MSS. and in Nicephorus 'tis *δεδωκεν*. This *Aristobulus* here is that same *Aristobulus* the Peripatetic who wrote Books of the *Explications of the Mosaicall Law* to Ptolemy Philometor, as Eusebius records in his *Chronicle*, and he produces a Fragment of these Books, in his 8th Book *Præparationis*. Origen also mentions something of these Books in his 4th Book against Celsus, pag. 204. Valef.

Antoninus MOSES, and the Originals of the Jewish Nation are ancients than any thing of Antiquity amongst the *Grecians*. And this Man's Books aforementioned are stuffed with very much excellent Learning of several kinds. In the first of these Books he says concerning himself, that he was born next to the first Successors of the Apostles. He promises also in them that he would write Commentaries upon *Genesis*. And in his Book concerning *Easter*, he confesses he was constrained by his Friends to commit to writing [for the benefit of] Posterity those Traditions which he had heard from his Ancestors. In the same Book also is mention'd *Melito*, *Irenæus*, and some others, whose Explications he sets down.

C H A P. XIV.

What Writings Clemens has mentioned.

(a) For the explication of the Title of this Book; see the Note *(a)* upon the 11th Chap. of the 5th Book, where 'tis prov'd by several Quotations that the true rendering of this Title is *Institutiones*, or *Informations*. *(b)* This phrase *ἐπιτέλειον* *διδασκαλίας* *Λαύριος* translates *compendiosam enumerationem*, *Aluisculus* concludes *tractatus*. And so *Christopherson* also: But *Rufinus* calls them *compendiosas dissertationes*. *Διδασκαλίας*, therefore is the same as *ἐκτελέσεις*, or *διεκτελέσεις* which *Photius* uses in that sense, that is, *explications*, *interpretations*; though *διεκτελέσεις* signifies a Narration only. *Vales.*

(c) *ἡ ἀρχαία ἐκτελέσεις*, according to *Hesychius*'s interpretation, is rendered the written word; *aliquid Scripto constans*. *Hesych.*

(d) *ἡ ἀρχαία ἐκτελέσεις* are Scriptures, whose authority is questioned, disputed of, and by some contradicted; we must not therefore call them *Apocrypha*, as *Rufinus* does, for *Apocrypha* are those which are certainly false and compos'd by Hereticks; but *ἀρχαία ἐκτελέσεις* are those which some approve of, others not: Of which here *Eusebius* gives us a Catalogue, some of which in *St. Hierome*'s Catalogue are accounted *Apocryphal*, as the *Revelation of Peter*, which is concluded to be undoubtedly false. *Vales.*

(e) *Catholic Epistles* are those which were not written to certain Persons, particular Cities, or Provinces, but to whole Nations, and the Universal Church. Thus *Themison*, one of *Montanus*'s Disciples, impudently wrote a Catholic Epistle, like an Apostle to the Universal Church, as *Apollonius* testifies Book 5. Chap. 16. *Eusebius* also mentions *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*'s Epistles to four Cities; which he calls *Catholic*. The *Revelation of Peter* which *Eusebius* mentions here, is quoted in *Theodorus*'s *Excerptions* which are printed at the end of *Clemens*'s *Stromata*: Hence 'tis plain that these Collections of *Theodorus* are nothing else, but fragments of *Clemens*'s *Hypotyposicon*. *Vales.*

(f) This quotation *Clemens* has out of *Macarius*.

(g) This reason also *St. Hierome* confirms upon the first Chapter of the *Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, where he says that *St. Paul* does not alter his accustomed way prefix his name before this Epistle, because he was about to speak of Christ, and thought it not fit to call himself an Apostle where Christ also must be styl'd an Apostle. *Vales.*

Clemens in the same Books writes a Tradition, concerning the Order of the Gospels which he receiv'd from the Elders before him, and it is this: 'Those Gospels, he said, which contain the Genealogies were written first. And this was the occasion of writing *Mark's Gospel*: When *Peter* preach'd the Word publicly in *Rome*, and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were there present entreated *Mark* (who had been his Follower *(h)* a long time, and remembered what he had said) that he would write down the things which had been spoken. When he had composed the Gospel, he imparted it to those who had intreated it of him. *Peter* having understood this, *(i)* used no Perswasives either to hinder him, or to incite him to it. But *John*, being the last of all, when he saw how those things which appertain'd to Christ's Humanity were already manifested in the Gospels, was mov'd [to the Enterprize] by his Acquaintance; and being inspired by the Spirit, he wrote a Gospel concerning Christ's Divinity. Thus much *Clemens*." But again, the said *Alexander* in an Epistle of his to *Origen*, mentions *Clemens*, and *Pantænus* also, as Men who were his Familiars: he writes thus. 'For this, as you know, was the will of God, that the Friendship which was begun betwixt us from our Ancestors, should not only remain inviolable, but also become more fervent and firm. For we know those blessed Fathers who went before us, with whom we, after a short time, shall be joyn'd; I mean the truly blessed *Pantænus* my Master, and the holy *Clemens* my Master, who also profited me much; and if there be any others like them, by whom I came to the knowledge of you, my most excellent Lord and Brother. And after this manner were these things. Moreover, *Adamantius* (for that also was *Origen*'s name,) in these Times, when *Zephyrinus* presided over the Church of *Rome*, *(l)* travell'd to *Rome*, (as he himself somewhere says) having a desire to see the most ancient Church of the *Romans*: Where he made no long stay, but return'd to *Alexandria*; and with all diligence there performed his customary Duty of Catechist, *Demetrinus* the then Bishop of those Churches exciting him to it, and little less than beseeching him to labour earnestly for the Utility of the Brethren.

was mightily pleas'd with the Gospel which was written by *Mark* and confirm'd it, appointing it should be read in the Churches. But if we weigh the words of *Eusebius* and *Clemens* carefully, these places will not appear in the least contradictory, as *Christopherson* says they are: For altho' *St. Peter*, as *Clemens* says, did neither openly prohibit nor further him; yet he may be said to have tacitly approv'd of what he had done. *Rufinus* has very well translated the place, whom we ought to imitate; because by his Translation he explains it very well, rendring it thus; *Licet fieri ipsum non jussit, tamen factum non prohibuit*: By which 'tis very plain that he did not disallow of it. *Vales.*

(k) This *Hieronymus* attests, speaking of *John*, in his Preface to his Commentaries upon *St. Matthew*. *Vales.*

(l) *Baronius* places *Origen*'s coming to *Rome*, on the Year of Christ 220; which was the first Year of the Reign of *Elagabalus* the Emperor: But we must in no-wise yield to this; seeing that *Eusebius* says, he came to *Rome* in *Antoninus Caracalla*'s Reign. *Baronius* also affirms that he came again to *Rome* in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperor, that is, in the Year of Christ 248. But we must not believe *Baronius* in this; for *Eusebius*, who carefully and truly wrote the History of *Origen*, makes no mention of *Origen*'s second coming to *Rome*; but rather seems to confute this of *Baronius*, saying thus, that *Origen* sent Letters concerning the Profession of his Faith to *Fabianus*, who was Bishop of *Rome*, therefore *Origen* went not to *Rome*, as *Baronius* says, only sent Letters to *Fabianus* the Bishop of *Rome*. But hence arises *Baronius*'s mistake; he follows *Porphyrius*, who in his *Life of Plotinus*, mentions one *Origen*, who was *Plotinus*'s and *Heremius*'s School-fellow; but this is not that *Origen Adamantius* which we mean here; but another *Origen*, therefore we must carefully make a distinction betwixt these two *Origen*s; which we will shew hereafter. *Vales.*

Antoninus

C H A P. XV.

Concerning Heraclas.

BUT when he perceiv'd himself not supplied with sufficient Strength both for the more profound study of Divinity, for his Researches into, and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and moreover for the Catechizing of them who came to him; (having scarce time to breath, so many flocking together to him; one Company after another coming from Morning to Evening to his School;) he divided the Multitudes, and electing *Heraclas*, one of his Familiars, made him his Assistant in Catechizing; a Man who was very studious in Divinity, most eminently skilful in other Learning; and one who was not unexperienced in Philosophy. He commits the Instruction of the New-beginners to him, but reserves to himself the hearing of those who had made some proficiency.

C H A P. XVI.

What Pains and Study Origen bestow'd about the Holy Scriptures.

ORigen now intended to make such accurate Researches into the Holy Scriptures, that he learn'd the Hebrew Tongue; and bought the

(a) *Πρωτοτύποι*, *Exemplaria*, *Copies*, by which we do any thing, or make any thing. *Eusebius* translates this Phrase [*πρωτοτύπος*] the Authentick Scriptures; because, says he, *Eusebius's* meaning is plainly the same, for he implies thus much, that these were not the very first Copies which were writ by *Esdras*; but Authentick in respect of the Septuagint, and other Translators; and he says this word *πρωτοτύπος* is commonly rendred in Latin *Authenticas*: But *Chrysostom* translates it *the old Copies*.

(b) *καταμαχέω* signifies properly *curru tero*, hence *ὁδὸς κατὰ μαχέω* *via curru trita*, the high way *καθ' ἣν αἱ ἀμαχαί διέρχονται*, hence Metaphorically (as the Latin word *trita* does to which it exactly answers) it signifies *aliquid vulgare*, that which is trite, or common; 'tis sometimes written *καταμαχέω*, as here in *Eusebius*.

(c) In the *Med. Maz. Fuk. MSS.* we find *πρὸς ἀκτίους*, but 'tis not so well as *πρὸς ἀκτίω*; for *ἀκτία* signifies *Ludi Atiaci*, but *Nicopolis* had not its name from those Games; but from the Promontory near which it was situate, 'twas called *Nicopolis* near *Actium*. *Vales.*

(d) In stead of [*ἐκ] ἡν ἐξέδωκεν, a sixth and seventh*] I read [*ἐ] μόνον πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑκτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβδόμῳ, not only a fifth and sixth, but also a seventh*]; and judge this Emendation to be altogether necessary. For *Eusebius*, having before spoken of a fifth and sixth Edition found by *Origen*, here adds this further, that *Origen* put a seventh into the Copies of his *Hexapla* of the *Psalms*. Therefore his Edition of the *Psalms* was seven-fold. But because this seventh Edition had only the *Psalms*, *Origen* altered not the Title of his Edition, to wit, *Hexapla*. This Amendment and Exposition of ours is evidently confirmed by *Johannes Zonaras*, in his *History of the Emperor Severus*. See the Author's words: But that which *Zonaras* there adds, *to wit*, that the seventh Edition was found at *Fericho*, is not expressly said by *Eusebius* here. *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De ponderib.*) and *Athanasius* (in *Synopsi*.) affirm that the fifth Edition was found at *Fericho* in an Hogshead: But *Nicephorus* thought that both the sixth and seventh were found there. Although the particular Authors of this fifth and sixth Edition are unknown; yet 'tis manifest they were *Jews*: Which is asserted by *Hierom*, in his *B. 2. Advers. Rufinum*. *Vales.*

seventh Version; and upon one of them again *Antoninus* he has noted, that it was found at *Fericho* in an Hogs-head, in the times of *Antoninus* the Son of *Severus*. When he had thus collected all these Versions into one body, and divided them into (e) Verses, (f) having placed them directly one against the other, together with (g) the Hebrew Text, he left us those Copies which are called (h) *Hexapla*. He (i) afterwards prepared apart by themselves, *Aquila's*, *Symmachus's*, and *Theodotion's* Edition, together with the *Septuagint*, [and put them out] in his *Tetrapla*.

sense. *Hierom* was the first amongst the *Latins*, who divided his Translation into Verses: See his Preface to *Isaiah*. This he did in imitation of *Origen*, who had done the same in his *Hexapla*. *Origen* herein had a regard to the profit of the Readers. For what is thus distinguish'd by Verses, is both more easily understood, and also more readily gotten by heart. Besides, this distinction was altogether necessary in order to a comparing of the Greek Editions. *Origen's* Example was afterwards followed by many; who did the same in the *New Testament*, which *Origen* had done in the Old. *Vales.*

(f) This was another of *Origen's* inventions, *to wit*, the placing of the Translations one against the other; that so, if one differed from another, it might be presently discerned by one view. See *Hierom*, in his Preface to *Chromatius*, upon the *Chronicles*. *Vales.* See a Scheme of *Origen's* Contrivance herein in *Dr. Cave's* *Life of Origen*, pag. 228.

(g) *Συμμεσσις* (the term which occurs here) signifies properly *Annotation*; See Book 5. Chap. 20. note (d.) But *Eusebius* does here call the Hebrew Text, *συμμεσσις*, because 'twas prefix'd before the six Greek Translations; in like manner as in Comments the words of the Author are prefix'd before the Exposition: This term [*συμμεσσις*] signifies not only the Exposition, but the Text, at which the Exposition is set. *Vales.*

(h) From this place 'tis evident, that this work of *Origen's* was called *Hexapla*, because there were six Greek Translations contained in it; besides the Hebrew Text, which was written in two Columns two manner of ways, in the one in Hebrew, in the other in Greek Letters. See *Epiphanius*. *Heref. Origenist.* cap. 3. And the reason why this Work was thus termed, is plain; for, as the *Tetrapla* were so called, because they contained four Greek Translations collected into one Body; so the *Hexapla* were thus termed, because they comprehended six Greek Versions, *to wit*, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Seventy-two*, *Theodotion*, and lastly the fifth and sixth Translation. But the Hebrew Text must not be reckoned amongst the Versions; that being the Original. *Zonaras* (in his *History of the Emperor Severus*) is of the same Opinion with us, and explains this place of *Eusebius* (though he mentions not his Name) as we do. *Vales.*

(i) The *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk. MSS.* have it written [*ἐπεκρίσθησαν*] which is all one as if *Eusebius* should have said [*ἐπὶ τῇ ἑξάπλῳ ἐκδόσει καὶ ἀπεκρίσθησαν*], i. e. after the Edition of his *Hexapla*, having prepared, &c.] For when *Origen* perceived that his *Hexapla* required too much cost and labour, he composed his *Tetrapla*, (which were more ready and useful,) having taken away the two Editions of the Hebrew Text, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh Translation. Hitherto it has been the Opinion of the Learned, that *Origen* made his *Tetrapla* before his *Hexapla*: *Usher* (in *Syntag. de Sept. Interpret.* cap. 5.) and *Salmasius* (in his Book *De Lingua Hellenist.*) are of this Opinion. But this passage in *Eusebius*, (as it is corrected by the Authority of our *MSS. Copies*) does wholly confute it. *Vales.*

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning Symmachus the Translator.

MOREOVER, we must understand that this *Symmachus*, one of the Translators, was an *Ebionite*. For there is an Heresie called the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, who say that Christ was born of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and suppose him to have been meer Man, who also stily affirm that the Law ought to be strictly observ'd according as the *Jews* kept it, as we have before made known somewhere in our History. *Symmachus's* Commentaries are even yet extant; in which he seems to confirm the foresaid Heresie, disputing

Antoninus (a) disputing strongly against *Matthew's Gospel*: *Origen* tells us that he received these, together with other Interpretations of *Symmachus's* of the Scriptures, from one *Juliana*, upon whom, he says, these Books of *Symmachus's* devolved by right *Matthew's* of Succession.

Gospel to be genuine: But that Gospel of the *Ebionites* was not the same Gospel of *St. Matthew* which we now have, but a forged one, and which wanted the Genealogy of Christ, as *Epiphanius* declares (in *Hæres. Ebion.*) For the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which they made use of, (as *Eusebius* says Book 3. Chap. 25. where see Note (c),) they called the Authentick Gospel of *St. Matthew*. These Words therefore [*περὶ τοῦ κατὰ ματθαίον εὐαγγελίου*] we have rendered thus [*disputing strongly against Matthew's Gospel*], to wit, ours, and the true Gospel of *St. Matthew*. From this *Symmachus* the *Ebionites* were afterwards termed *Symmachians*, because he strongly asserted their opinions. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Ambrosius.

(a) *Tὰ τινὲς φασκεῖν* is elegantly used for *alicujus partibus favere*, to be a favourer of such a Man's party: So *Euripides* in *Hecuba*, when *Polyxena* speaks to her Mother, saying, *Ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἡμῶν φασκεῖν, Ἀγαμέμνων* is on our side: Thus much for the Phrase. Now that *Ambrosius* was of *Valentinus's* Sect, or at least favoured that Opinion, *Origen* testifies in the *Proæmium* of his fifth Tome of *Explications* on *St. John's Gospel*, where he commends *Ambrosius* for relinquishing those dangerous Principles. But some will have *Ambrosius* not to have been a *Valentinian*, but a *Marcionist*, and *Epiphanius* is of that opinion. *Vales.*

(b) *Προσέχειν* here signifies to give attention to any one, so as to learn something from him, or to come often to any one, to learn as Scholars; and therefore he adds *μνηστέον παρὰ πολλοῖς, almost like Scholars*. *Vales.*

* That is, *Grecian Philosophy*. (c) That is, who were his Scholars. *Vales.*

AT this time *Ambrosius* ((a) who favoured the *Valentinian Heresie*) being convinc'd by the Truth preach'd by *Origen*, and having his Mind cleared as it were with light, assents to the Doctrine of the Orthodox Faith of the Church. And (*Origen's* fame being noised abroad every-where) several Men of great learning flocked to him, intending to make tryal of this Man's sufficiency in the Scriptures. Also infinite multitudes of Hereticks, and not a few Philosophers, and them most famous, gave (b) diligent attention to him, almost like Scholars learning from him, besides Divinity, those things which appertain to * External Philosophy: For he initiated (c) those, whom he perceived to have acute Parts into Philosophical Learning; teaching them Geometry, and Arithmetick, and the other previous Sciences: Also guiding them into the knowledge of the various Sects among Philosophers; explaining the Writings that are amongst them, and commenting on, and searching into all things. So that even amongst the *Gentiles* this Man was openly declar'd to be a great Philosopher. He also incited many of meaner Capacities to the study of the Liberal Sciences; telling them that from hence would accrue to them no small fitness and preparation for the contemplation of the Divine Scriptures: For which reason he esteemed the study of Secular and Philosophical Literature most necessary for himself.

CHAP. XIX.

What things have been recorded concerning Origen
[by the Gentiles.]

THE Heathen Philosophers who flourished in his Age are Witnesses of his great proficiency in these Studies: In whose Writings we have found frequent mention of this Man; [some of them] both dedicating their Books to him, and also delivering up their private Labours to his Censure, as to a Master. But I need not speak

of these things, whenas (a) *Porphyrius*, (who lived *Antoninus* in *Sicily* [almost] till our Age, having written some Books against us, and in them endeavoured to cavil at the Holy Scriptures, when he had mentioned those Men who made explications upon them) was unable in any wise to cast any base Aspersions upon their Opinions, and through want of Arguments betakes himself to railing, and reviles the Commentators. Of whom he attempts chiefly to reproach *Origen*, saying, that when he was young, he knew him; but he unawares commends the Man; partly by speaking the truth in some things where he could not do otherways; and partly by lying, wherein he thought he should escape being detected. Sometimes he accuses him as being a Christian; by and by, he admires, and describes the accession he made to Philosophick Literature. Hear therefore what he says word for word: 'Some Men, desirous to find out not, a defect from the pravity of the Jewish Scriptures, but an explication [of the Obscurities in them] have betaken themselves to Expositions, which have no agreement nor coherence with those Scriptures, and which contain the Author's approbation and praise, rather than a defence of those strange Sectaries. For, having boasted that what things were plainly spoken by *Moses* were obscure Riddles, allowing them the Authority of, and quoting them as, Divine Oracles full of hidden Mysteries; and having (b) bewitched the Judgments and Minds of Men, with their Pride, they afterwards put forth their Expositions. Then after some few words he says; 'Let an Example of this Absurdity be taken from a Man whom I saw when I was (c) very young, being a person then of great repute, and yet eminently renowned upon account of his Writings which he left behind him, I mean *Origen*, whose Renown is very much spread abroad amongst the Teachers of those Doctrines. For this Man having been an (d) Hearer and

Porphyrius was a *Tyrian* by birth, and was first called *Malchus*, which in *Syriack* signifies a King: But afterwards, by his Master *Longinus* a *Platonick*, whom he was an Auditor of at *Athens*, he was called *Porphyrius*, which signifies one cloath'd in Purple, a King; because Kings only wore the true πορφυρεα. *St. Hierom* says he was a Jew, born in the City of *Batanaa*; thence he calls him *Batanotes* or *Batanetes*: *Socrates* attests that this Man was once a Christian, but could not endure the reproofs of those Christians who reprovd him, and therefore turn'd an Apostate. *Lactantius*, who lived in his time, says, he wrote his Books against the Christians in the same year the Emperor pull'd down the Churches; but *St. Hierom* affirms he left his Master *Plotinus*, and *Rome*, and went to *Sicily* for his health's sake, and dwelt at *Lilybaeum*; where he wrote those Books: But we ought rather to believe *Lactantius*, who lived in his time. *St. Augustine* says there were two *Porphyrius's*; one who liv'd in *Sicily* a famous Man; and another who wrote against the Christians: But all agree that 'twas one and the same *Porphyrius* the *Platonick* who lived in *Sicily*, and wrote against the Christians. *Baronius's Annals.*

understand these Words: But *Valesius* otherwise. He says *Porphyrius's* meaning was this, that the Authors of these Expositions through the loftiness of their Words, bewitch'd or enchanted the Minds and Judgments of their Hearers, and then impos'd upon them with their Expositions. *Vales.*

(c) 'Tis probable *Origen* was seen by *Porphyrius* in his younger days, in the City of *Tyre*, where *Origen*, having left *Alexandria*, staid some time. For *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian*; and he was a young Man at the same time when *Origen* made his abode at *Tyre*. But *Porphyrius* could by no means see *Origen* at *Alexandria* when he was an old Man; because when *Origen* left *Alexandria* he was not compleat fifty years old. *Vales.*

(d) We must believe *Porphyrius*, whenas he so expressly affirms here, that *Origen Adamantius* (so he was called) was an Auditor of *Ammonius Alexandrinus*. But amongst the Auditors of *Ammonius* there was at that time another *Origen*, School-fellow to *Herennius* and *Plotinus*; mentioned by *Porphyrius* (in *vitâ Plotini*), by *Longinus* (in his Book de fine,) by *Eunapius*, and *Hierocles* (in his Book De Providentia,) *Baronius* (in his *Annals*), and *Lucas Holstenius* (in 2 and 6 cap. De vitâ Scriptisque *Porphyrii*), supposed this *Origen* to have been the same Person with *Origen Adamantius*. But I dissent from them, for these two reasons especially. (1.) *Longinus* the Philosopher (in his Book De

De fine) reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen*, (Platonick Philosophers) among those, who would not commit to writing their Opinions for the benefit of Posterity, but thought it sufficient to deliver them by word of Mouth to their Auditors. If any thing be written by any of them, (these are the words of *Longinus*), as indeed *Origen* did write one Book *De Demonibus*, it is very little: For they seemed not to have made it their business to write Books. These Words cannot be supposed to have been spoken of *Origen Adamantius*, who 'tis manifest, was a Voluminous Writer, as the Catalogue of his Works recorded by *Eusebius* does manifest: Moreover, *Porphyrius* (in these Words of his here quoted by *Eusebius*) says, *Origen* was eminently renowned upon account of his Writings which he left behind him. (2.) *Porphyrius* (in his Life of *Plotinus*, not far from the beginning) has these Words: But when *Herennius*, *Origen*, and *Plotinus* had agreed amongst themselves, that they would not publish the Opinions of *Ammonius*, which having heard from him they approved of as most especially pure and refined; *Plotinus* was as good as his Word: But *Herennius* first broke the Compact; and afterwards *Origen* followed him: But *Origen* wrote nothing besides a Book concerning Demons, and a piece in *Gallienus's* time, wherein he proved that the King was the only Poet. This last Book *Origen* wrote in praise of *Gallienus* the Emperor, to commend his Poetical faculty. For *Gallienus* was given to Poetry; and there are some nuptial Verses of his extant amongst the fragments of *Petronius Arbitrator*. Now, if it be true, that this *Origen*, School-fellow to *Plotinus*, wrote this Book under *Gallienus* the Emperor, doubtless he must necessarily be distinguished from *Origen Adamantius*. For *Origen Adamantius* survived not the times of *Gallienus*, but died when *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were Emperors, in the year of Christ 252, having completed the sixty ninth year of his age. Valef.

Antoninus of that *Ammonius*, who in our Age made a great Proficiency in Philosophy; as for his Knowledge in Philosophick Literature he profited much by this Master. But as concerning a right course of life, he undertook a way quite contrary to him: For *Ammonius*, having been educated a Christian by Christian Parents, when he arrived to Understanding, and, [the knowledge of] Philosophy, quickly betook himself to a course of life which was agreeable to the Laws. But *Origen* being a Gentile and brought up in the Learning of the Grecians, diverted to the (e) Impudence of the Barbarians. Being devoted to this [Religion] he (f) corrupted both himself, and also that proficiency he had made in Philosophick Learning: As to his manner of life he lived like a Christian, and contrary to the Laws: but in respect of his Opinions concerning things, and concerning God, he imitated the Grecians, (g) substituting the Sayings of the Heathens in the room of those strange Fables. For he was continually conversant in *Plato's* [Works,] and in those of (h) *Numenius* and *Cronius*, and revolved the Works of (i) *Apollonphanes* and (k) *Longinus*.

Porphyrius calls this barbarous Impudence, to despise the Roman Gods, and the Emperor's Edicts, to be forced by no Torments or Persecutions to sacrifice to those Heathen Gods. Valef.

(f) Κατασκευάζειν, *Cauponari*, to sell ill wine, or to keep a Vintaging-house. Now because these *Caupona* used to cheat the buyers, by mixing and dashing their Wines, and so enrich themselves; this Word is used to adulterate or corrupt; as here, and likewise in holy Writ, in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 2. 17. we find, κατασκευάζουσιν ἡμῶν τὸν λόγον, not corrupting the Word of God. Valef.

(g) Ὑποβάλλουμαι; *Porphyrius* takes this Metaphor from *Hucksters*, who, by counterfeiting false Wares for true, circumvent the buyers: For ὑποβάλλουμαι signifies to suborn, to lay one thing for another: Hence ὑποβολισμῶν, a changling, a false Child left in the place of one taken away. Thus *Porphyrius* says *Origen* plays the *Huckster*. Valef.

(h) *Origen* quotes this *Numenius* in his Books against *Celsus*: He was a famous *Pythagorean*, born at *Apamea* in *Syria*. *Longinus*, in his Book *De Fine*, mentions these Philosophers, *Numenius*, *Cronius* and *Moderatus*; who, he says, connected *Pythagoras's* and *Plato's* Opinions together. *Cronius's* Book περὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου is quoted by *Nemesius* in his Book *De Naturâ Hominis*, Cap. 2. Valef.

(i) *Apollonphanes* is called by *Stobaeus*, in his *Εκλογαί*, the Son of *Ægimius*. Valef.

(k) This was *Cassius Longinus* who has only one Book extant at this day, entitled *De sublimi Genere dicendi*; most Men think he was a *Grammatician*; but he profess'd Philosophy, as *Suidas* and others tell us: He was *Porphyrius's* Master in *Platonick* Philosophy at *Athens*. He liv'd in *Origen's* time, and was younger than him, and died a long time after him, 'tis a wonder therefore that *Porphyrius* should reckon him amongst the ancient Philosophers. Valef.

ginus; and (l) *Moderatus*, and *Nicomachus*, and *Antoninus* the Works of all the famous Men amongst the (1) This *Pythagoreans*; he also made use of the Works of (1) *Moderatus* (m) *Chæremón* the Stoick, and of (n) *Cornutus's* was born Books; when he had learn'd from them the Allegorical mode of explaining the Grecian Mysteries, he apply'd it to the Jewish Scriptures.

These are *Porphyrius's* words in his third Book of that Piece he wrote against the Christians; who has said the truth concerning the Man's hard Study and great Learning; but herein he has plainly lied, (for what would not he say who wrote against the Christians?) in that he says, that [*Origen*] was converted from a Heathen to a Christian, and that *Ammonius* fell from a pious course of life to the Heathenish way of living. For, (as our History has before manifested) *Origen* kept the Christian Doctrine received from his Ancestors:

And the Precepts of the Divine Philosophy remained uncorrupted, and unshaken in *Ammonius* even till his death; as his Works even to this present do testify; he being famous amongst most Men for his Books which he left behind him: As for example, that Book which is thus entitled, concerning the Concord of *Moses* and *Jesus*, and those other Books of his, whatsoever sort they be of, which are found amongst lovers of Learning. Let what we have said therefore be an evidence both of the Detraction of this lying Accuser, and also of *Origen's* great knowledge in the Grecian Learning. Concerning which, *Origen* (in an Epistle of his, wherein he makes an Apology for himself, to some who blamed him for his too great studiousness about this sort of Learning) writes these words:

When I employed my self wholly in the Scripture, the fame of my progress in Learning spreading it self every-where, there resorting to me sometimes Hereticks, at other times those who studied the Grecian Learning, and especially such as were skill'd in Philosophy, I thought it convenient to make researches into Heretick's Opinions, and into whatsoever things are reported to be said by Philosophers concerning the Truth: This we did, both in imitation of *Pantænus*, who profited many before us, (who was furnish'd with no small stock of Provisions of this sort:) And also of *Heraclæus*, who at this time sits among the Presbyters of *Alexandria*;

(o) whom I found with a Philosophy-Master; (o) We under whom he studied diligently five years before I began to be an Auditor of his Doctrine. And for this reason, he wearing a common Habit before, put it off, and put on a (p) Philosophical Habit, which he (q) retains and *Origen* had the same Philosophy-Master, which *Porphyrius* affirms was *Ammonius* the most famous Philosopher of that Age. Valef.

(p) The Philosophick Habit was the *Pallium*, or Cloak; which was the usual Badge of the Greek Philosophers, different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks; which those Christians still kept to, who before their Conversion had been professed Philosophers: This our *Eusebius* affirms of *Justin* the Martyr (B. 4. Chap. 11.) ἐν εἰσοσέει ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοῦ λέγον, one that in a Philosophick habit was an assessor of the Divine Word.

(q) Hence we may conjecture that the Clergy had at that time no peculiar habit; seeing that *Heraclæus*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop, always retain'd his Philosophick habit. Valef.

BUT now *Macrinus* succeeded *Antoninus* after *Alexander* he had reign'd seven Years and six Months, who having continued [Emperor] about a Year, another *Antoninus* again assumes the *Roman* Empire. In the first Year of his Reign *Zephyrinus* Bishop of *Rome* departed this life, having held that [Episcopal] Charge eighteen Years compleat. After him *Callistus* presides in the Bishoprick. He having survived five years, leaves the [care of the] Church to *Urbanus*. After this *Alexander* the Emperor succeeds in the *Roman* Empire, *Antoninus* having reigned only four Years. At this time *Philetus* succeeded *Asclepiades* in the Church of *Antioch*. Now [*Alexander*] the Emperor's Mother, whose name was *Mamaea*, being a most

Alexander most pious Woman, and religious in her Conversation, (*Origen's* fame being now every-where so spread abroad, that it came even to her ears,) was mightily desirous to see the Man, and to make tryal of his Knowledge in Divine Matters, which was so admired by all Men: She therefore making her abode at *Antioch*, sends a military Guard for him: When he had spent some time with her, and had demonstrated to her most things which tend to the Glory of God, and the Power of the Divine Doctrine, he hastned to his wonted Charge.

C H A P. XXII.

How many of Hippolytus's Works are come to our hands.

AT this time also *Hippolytus*, amongst many other Works of his, compiled a Book also (a) concerning *Easter*. In which having explain'd the Series of Times, and set forth a Canon of sixteen Years, concerning *Easter*, he determines his Computation at the first Year of *Alexander* the Emperor. Now the rest of his Works, which came to our hands are these: Upon the six Days Work. Upon those things (b) which follow'd upon the six Days Work. Against *Marcion*. (c) Upon the Canticles. Upon some Chapters of *Ezekiel*. Concerning *Easter*. (d) Against all Heresies. And many more which you may find preserv'd amongst many Men.

And Egidius Bucherius translated it into Latin, but neither of them takes notice that this Canon is only a part of the Book which he wrote Concerning *Easter*. And through his inadvertency *Scaliger* blames this place of *Eusebius*, and says, that *Hippolytus's* Canon does not end at the first year of *Alexander's* Reign, but begins there; which is really true: But *Eusebius* does not speak concerning the Canon which *Hippolytus* annex'd to his Books, but concerning the Book it self, which ends at the first year of *Alexander* the Emperor's Reign. Valef.

(b) He means the second Chapter of *Genesis*, as *Scaliger* Notes. Where also he reproves *Hieronymus* as if he had been ignorant of it, but undeservedly: For when *Hieronymus* says he wrote upon *Genesis*, he means as well his Books on the *Hexameron*, as those on the *Post-Hexameron*. Valef.

(c) *Theodoret* in his Book call'd *Eranistes* quotes this Book of *Hippolytus*. Valef.

(d) Concerning this Book of *Hippolytus's*, see *Photii Biblioth.* Chap. 121. This Book was written against 32 Heresies; the first of which was the *Dosithean*, the last the *Noetian* Heresie. Which Heresies *Irenaeus* having confuted in his Sermons, *Hippolytus* his Scholar wrote an Epitome thereof. *Stephanus Gobarus* has often quoted this piece of *Hippolytus's*, as appears from his 7, 10, and 13. Chap. B. 2. Valef.

C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning Origen's Studiousness, and how he was honour'd with the Dignity of Priesthood.

ABout this time was the beginning of *Origen's* writing Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; *Ambrosius* chiefly inciting him to it by innumerable Instigations, not with Supplications and bare Words only, but also with most plentiful Supplies of all things necessary: For there were always by him when he dictated, more in number, than seven Notaries, which at set times chang'd Courses with one another. Neither was there a less number of them which *Origen* calls it the 20. *Hieronymus* takes these words [*ἐξ ἐκείνων*] in a bad sense, as if *Origen* had set himself to write in Emulation of *Hippolytus*; and refers *ἐξ ἐκείνων* to *Hippolytus*: Which is not so, for we must understand *ἐξ ἐκείνων*, which thing is common, and so the sense is plain, to wit, from this time. Valef.

wrote Books fair, together with Girls who had been instructed to write neatly and handsomely. To all these *Ambrosius* liberally afforded a sufficient supply of all things necessary. And indeed he convey'd into *Origen* an unspeakable alacrity, in his study and labour about the Divine Oracles. By which means chiefly he induc'd him to write Commentaries: Whilst these things were in this posture, *Pontianus* succeeds *Urbanus*, who had been Bishop of *Rome* eight years: And *Zebinus* [succeeds] *Philetus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. At which time, (the Necessity of the (b) Church's Affairs constraining him) *Origen* made a journey through *Palestine* into *Greece*; and received the Order of Priesthood at *Cæsarea*, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops there. But what Combuitions were hereupon rais'd concerning him, and what (c) Decrees were made by the Prelates of the Churches upon these Commotions: And whatever else he did, continuing to be of great esteem, contributing to the Preaching of the Divine Word. [These things] requiring a distinct Volume, we have in some measure declared in the second Book of our Apology, which we wrote in defence of him.

So also says *Hieronymus* in his Catalogue. Valef.

(c) *Eusebius* ought here to have recited the Decrees of the Bishops against *Origen*, as being matter most accommodate to an Ecclesiastick History; and might better have omitted other things concerning him, and have inserted these, as most pertinent: But we ought not to blame *Eusebius* for this omission here, because it had been superfluous; having before declared them in his second Book *De Defensione Origenis*: Which Books some Men, through their immoderate hatred to *Origen*, envied us the use of. There is nothing of *Eusebius*, and *Pamphilus* the Martyr's *Apologia Origenis* extant, except some Fragments which *Photius* preserv'd as it were from Shipwreck. He, in his *Biblioth.* chap. 118. says that there were two Synods summon'd against *Origen*; the first decreed that *Origen* should be banish'd out of the Church of *Alexandria*, but did not divest him of his Priesthood: The second, which was assembled by *Demetrius*, consisting of *Egyptian* Bishops, degraded *Origen* from the Office of a Priest, to which Decree almost all the Bishops of the World subscribed, as *Hieronymus* says, whose words *Rufinus* relates in two *Apolog.* *Hieronymus* also adds that he was not only deposed, but also excommunicated by *Demetrius*. But this Decree of *Demetrius's* was ineffectual for two reasons; first, because he issued it out against him in his absence, without any legal Citation; and secondly, because this Sentence was not confirmed by the Authority of many Bishops, particularly not by the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore *Origen* still retain'd his Priest's Office, and continued Preaching in the Church, as *Eusebius* witnesses in this Book, and *Pamphilus* in his first Book *Apologia Origenis*. Valef.

C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning the Expositions he made at Alexandria.

BUT 'twas necessary for us to have annex'd these (a) to the things aforementioned; for in his sixth Book of his Expositions upon *John's* [Gospel] he declares he compos'd those five first Books while he yet lived at *Alexandria*. But only (b) twenty two Books of his Works upon that Gospel are come to our hands. In his ninth Book also upon *Genesis* (for there are twelve in all) he manifests that he did not only write those first eight Books at *Alexandria*, but also those Comments upon the twenty five first *Psalms*: And moreover those Comments upon the *Lamentations*, five Books of which came to our hands. In which Books there is some mention of his Books

Alexander upon the (c) Resurrection: Those also are two Volumes. Indeed he also wrote his Books *De Principiis*, before his removal from Alexandria. He also composed those Books entitled (d) *Stromata*, which are ten in number, in that City in the Reign of Alexander, as his (e) *Annotations* written with his own Hand, and prefix'd before those Books do manifest.

Thirteen

Books upon *Genesis*, two Books of *Mystical Homilies: Excerptions upon Exodus: Excerptions upon Leviticus: Also Monobiblia: Four Books De Principiis: Two Books concerning the Resurrection; and two other Dialogues concerning the Resurrection. Methodius the Bishop wrote an excellent Book of the Resurrection, against Origen's Books upon the same subject, as Hieronymus in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, and Maximus in his *Scholia* upon Dionysius's *Ecclesiastick Hierarchy* do testify: There are excellent fragments of this Methodius's book of the Resurrection, in Epiphanius against the Origenists, and in Photius's *Bibliotheca*. And I think 'tis for no other reason, that Eusebius never mentions this Methodius, (whereas he mentions several Ecclesiastick Writers far inferior to him,) but this, that he wrote against Origen: Eusebius, being a very great favourer of Origen, could not endure this Man's name in his History, because he was not his friend. Valef.*

(d) Hieronymus in his Epistle to Magnus the Roman Orator, says Origen wrote these ten books in imitation of Clemens; for the Argument of these Books and Clemens's afore-mentioned are alike. Hierom also cites a piece of these Books in his Apology against Rufinus, not far from the beginning. Valef.

(e) Translators did not understand what these *ὁλόγραφοι ἐπισημαίνοντες* were: *ὁλόγραφοι* in this place is the same as *ἰδίῳ γράμμι*, written with his own hand. The Lawyers call a Will *ἰδίῳ γράμμι*, which is written with the Testator's own hand, and not only confirm'd by his subscription. So Eusebius here calls those *ὁλόγραφοι* which were written with Origen's own hand, and either prefix'd or annexed to every Tome. For 'twas usual for Authors to note something with their own Hands either at the beginning, or end of their Books. Valef.

C H A P. XXV.

After what manner Origen has mentioned the Books of the Old and New Testament.

BUT in his Explication of the First Psalm, he has exhibited a Catalogue of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing on this manner word

(a) This whole quotation is to be seen in Origen's *Philocalia*; Chap. 3. but that place of the *Philocalia* must be corrected by this, for there *ἐκκοτιν* in stead of *ἐκκοσι* is read. And this is the common mistake of all Editions that they write *ἐκκοτιν*, when the Word following begins with a Vowel. But in all good Copies *ἐκκοσι* is written, although a Vowel follow. Valef.

(b) Hieronymus upon the *Apocalypsis* says, there are twenty four Books of the Old Testament; twenty two you may find in Theodotus his *Excerptions*. Some reckoned twenty two, some twenty four Books of the Old Testament: Hence arose this different account, saith Hieronymus, because some reckoned the book of Ruth, and that of the Lamentations of Jeremiah apart by themselves. Others, as Hilarius says, added Tobias, and Judith to make 24 books of the Old Testament; Epiphanius says, that some reckoned up twenty seven books of the Old Testament. Valef.

(c) I know not what Copy Robert Stephens follows, who here reads it *ἐμμεσμεν ἢ περὶ τῶν*. For in the King's, the Mar. Med. and Fulk. MSS. *ἐμμεσμεν* is the reading. Valef.

called of God. The Third and Fourth of Kings, amongst the Hebrews one Book, called Vamme-

lech David, that is, the Kingdom of David. The Alexander First and Second Book of Chronicles, in one Volume, call'd *Dibre Hajamin*, that is, The words of Days. Esdras the First and Second Book, by them made one Book, called *Efra*, that is, A helper. The Book of Psalms, *Sepher Tebillim* [in Hebrew.] Solomon's Proverbs, in Hebrew, *Misloth. Ecclesiastes, Cobeletb.*

(d) The Song of Songs, *Sirbasirim*. (e) Esaias, *Iesaja*: Hierimas with his Lamentations, and his Epistle, all in one Book, called *Fermia*. Daniel, [the Hebrews also call] Daniel. Ezechiel, *Feezechel*, Job, *Job*, Ester, *Ester* also among the Hebrews. Besides these there are (but not of their number) the Maccabees, which are entitled *Sarbet Surbane-el*. These Origen has set forth in the fore-said Work. But in the first Book of his Comments upon Matthew's Gospel, observing the Canon of the Church, he attests there are only four Gospels, in these words:

As I (f) have understood by Tradition, there are four Gospels, which, and only which, are to be allowed without contradiction by the Church of God under Heaven. As for the first, 'twas written by one Matthew, formerly a Publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ; he publish'd it, being written in Hebrew for the sake of those Jews who believed. The second is Mark's Gospel; who wrote it as Peter expounded to him; whom also he confesses to be his Son, in his Catholick Epistle, and in these words, (g) The Church which is at (g) 1 Pet. Babylon elected together with you saluteth you, and 5. 13. so doth Marcus my Son. And the third is the Gospel according to St. Luke, which is commended by Paul; he wrote it for the sake of the Heathens. Lastly, St. John's Gospel. And the same Writer in the (h) fifth Book of his Expositions upon John has these words concerning the Apostle's Epistles. Paul being made a fit Minister of the New Testament, not in the Letter, but in the Spirit, he who (i) fully preach'd the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, wrote not to all those Churches which he taught, but to those to whom he wrote he sent [Epistles that contained] but a few Verses. But Peter (k) on whom the Church of Christ was build-

(d) Some Books add this clause, *ὃς ὡς πολλαὶ ἀνέστησαν πνεύματι ἀσμεν*, not as some think the Song of Songs. This we have omitted in our Edition, but 'tis in the Mar. Med. and Fulk. MSS. and also in the King's Copy, and in Rufinus's Translation of this place. Valef.

(e) In this Catalogue the Book of the twelve minor Prophets is left out. Hence it comes to pass that although Origen promises to reckon up twenty two Books, we can find but one and twenty. In Rufinus's Version this Book is reckoned immediately after the Canticles. So also Hilarius and Cyrill of Jerusalem do reckon them. The Books of the Holy Scripture are recounted here in a different order to Epiphanius, Hieronymus, and Melito's reckoning of them: But Hilarius in his Prologue to his Commentaries upon the Psalms, agrees all along with Origen; and no wonder, for that Prologue is almost all of it a Translation of Origen's Comments upon the Psalms. Valef.

(f) These are Origen's own words, and so Rufinus, Langus and Musculus translated them: Only Christophorus thought they are Eusebius's own words: To whom we cannot consent, although in the Mar. and Med. MSS. after the Word [*μαρτῶν*] there is a final distinction; but in the King's Copy the whole Clause is continued without any distinction. Moreover, besides this place quoted by Eusebius, Origen also in another place (that is in the beginning of his Comments upon Luke) says there were four Gospels only which were allowed by the Catholick Church. Valef.

(g) The Church which is at (g) 1 Pet. Babylon elected together with you saluteth you, and 5. 13. so doth Marcus my Son. And the third is the Gospel according to St. Luke, which is commended by Paul; he wrote it for the sake of the Heathens. Lastly, St. John's Gospel. And the same Writer in the (h) fifth Book of his Expositions upon John has these words concerning the Apostle's Epistles. Paul being made a fit Minister of the New Testament, not in the Letter, but in the Spirit, he who (i) fully preach'd the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, wrote not to all those Churches which he taught, but to those to whom he wrote he sent [Epistles that contained] but a few Verses. But Peter (k) on whom the Church of Christ was build-

test part of this Preface is extant in the fifth Chapter of his *Philocalia*. Therefore this place here quoted by Eusebius must be joyned to that fragment. In that Preface Origen raises this dispute, whether many Books are to be written concerning Sacred things? And he proves it from Ecclesiastes 12. 12. Also he brings for proof the Examples of Holy Men, Prophets and Apostles, who wrote very little. But these Examples the Collector of the *Philocalia* on set purpose omitted, as he himself confesses. Valef.

(i) Rom. 15. 19.

(k) Matthew the 16 Chap. and ver. the 18. See Dr. Hammond upon the place.

Alexander. ded, against which the Gates of Hell shall not prevail, left but one Epistle which is acknowledged to be his. But let us grant that the Second is his too, for it is question'd whether it be his or not. But what must we say of John, (1) he who lay in Christ's Bosom? He left behind him but one Gospel, [though] he professes he could have written (m) so many Books, as the World could not have contain'd. He also wrote the Revelation: Being commanded to be silent, (n) and not to write the voices of the Seven Thunders. He also left to Posterity a very short Epistle. But let us grant that the second and third were his: For all Men do not allow them to be genuine: Both of them do not contain above an hundred Verses." Besides, he discourses thus concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon that Epistle. "For the Stile of that Writing, entitled *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, has nothing of that plain homeliness of the Apostle [Paul,] who confesses himself to be unlearned in his Speech, that is, in his manner of expression. But this Epistle, as to the composition of the Stile, favours much of the Grecian Eloquence; this every one will confess who knows how to judge of Stiles which are different. Again, the Sentences of this Epistle are admirable, and nothing inferior to those Books which are acknowledged to be Apostolick: And this every one will assent to as true, who gives attention to the Reading of the Apostles Writings" After the interposition of some words, Origen adds these, saying: (o) "This

is my Opinion, that the Sentences are the Sentences of an Apostle; but the Phrase and Composition is some one's else, who committed to writing the Words of the Apostle, and as it were illustrated with Explications the Words of his Master. If any Church therefore accounts this to be Paul's Epistle, let it be commended even for so doing: For the Ancients did not inconsiderately declare it to be Paul's Epistle. But God alone truly knows who wrote this Epistle. But of those written Records which are come to our hands, some ascribe the writing of this Epistle to Clemens, who was Bishop of Rome; others to Luke, who wrote the Gospel, and the Acts. But thus far concerning this."

(o) Ἀπομνημονεύειν, signifies to remember, to repeat a thing by heart, as Scholars do, where they repeat their Master's Dictates; σχολιασμός, signifies to illustrate, or make a thing plain by short Scholia's, or Explications; that is, to explain obscure words, by other words more common and known. The Translators, and especially Christopherson, seem by their Versions not to have understood this Passage. Origen says, that the Sentences of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are the Apostle's own; but the Words and Composition of the whole Epistle are some-body's else, who recorded the Sayings of the Apostle, and, like a Scholiast, explain'd them more elegantly. See Chap. 18. Book 4. Note (b.) Valef.

C H A P. XXVI.

How Heraclas succeeded in the Bishoprick of Alexandria.

(a) In the Maz. Med. It was now the (a) Tenth Year of the Reign of the afore-mentioned Emperor [Alexander,] in which Origen departed from Alexandria to Caesarea. MSS. and in Nicephorus, in stead of [δέκατον, the Tenth] it is δωδέκατον, the Twelfth. In Eusebius's Chronicon this Remove of Origen from Alexandria to Caesarea is, in some Copies, placed on the 12 Year of Alexander, as Ponticus attests. Eusebius does strangely disagree from himself, who in his Chronicon records this Removal of Origen a year, or two years after the death of Demetrius. But here he says Origen removed from Alexandria a little before Demetrius died. This last account I suppose to be truest. For after Demetrius's death, Origen had no reason to leave Alexandria; especially when Heraclas, one of Origen's Scholars succeeded Demetrius. Besides, Eusebius relates in

this Chapter, that when Origen departed from Alexandria, he left his Catechetick Office to Heraclas. Whence it appears, that Origen departed from Alexandria a little before Demetrius pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against him. For after that Sentence he could not hold his Office of Catechist in the Church of Alexandria. Baronius therefore has done well in amending Eusebius's Chronicon, in placing Origen's departure from Alexandria on the Tenth Year of Alexander's Reign, and the Death of Demetrius on the year following. But he mistakes in saying Demetrius pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against Origen a year before he left Alexandria; which we have evidently refuted. For since Origen kept his Office of Catechist till such time as he resign'd it to Heraclas at his departure, 'tis plain he departed before the Sentence of Excommunication was pronounc'd against him. Moreover, when Origen understood he was Excommunicated by Demetrius in the Synod of the Bishops, he wrote a Letter to his Friends at Alexandria, in which he inveighs against Demetrius and the rest of the Bishops. Jerome (in Book 2. Advers. Rufin.) quotes part of this Letter. Further, Origen had once before retired to Caesarea, in the times of Antoninus Caracalla; but was in a short time honourably recalled by Demetrius to Alexandria, as was before related. But afterwards, when he went into Achaia, passing through Caesarea-Palestine, he was there Ordained Presbyter. Valef.

Caesarea, and left the care of his Catechetick School to (b) Heraclas: And not long after died Demetrius, the Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, having continued in that Office forty three years compleat: Heraclas succeeded him. At this time Firmilianus, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia was very famous.

(b) Heraclas, as 'tis before related Ch. 15. was Origen's Assistant only: but after his departure, he was Catechist. Valef.

C H A P. XXVII.

How the Bishops had him in admiration.

* HE had so great an esteem for Origen, that he both invited him into the Countries of his Province for the good of the Churches; and also at another time went into Judea to visit him, and to stay some time with him, to improve himself in the knowledge of Divine matters. Besides, Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theodotus Bishop of Caesarea, at all times (as one may say,) were attentive to him, as if he had been their Master, and permitted only him to expound the Holy Scriptures, and to perform all other things appertaining to Ecclesiastical Doctrine.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning the Persecution under Maximinus.

MOREOVER, Maximinus Caesar succeeded Alexander the Roman Emperor, after he had reign'd thirteen years. He, because of his hatred to Alexander's Family, which consisted of many Believers, rais'd a Persecution, and gave command that only the Prelates of the Churches should be slain, as the Authors of the Preaching of the Gospel. And at that time Origen composed his Book concerning Martyrdom, which he dedicated to Ambrosius, and Protocletus, a Presbyter of the Church of Caesarea; because no trivial Peril and Afflictions seiz'd on them both during the times of this Persecution. Fame records the illustrious Eminency of these Men for their Confession [of the Christian Faith,] (a) when Maximinus had not reign'd above three years. Origen remarks the time of this Persecution, both in the twenty second Book of his Expositions upon John, and in several of his Epistles.

Maximinus.

place, for he thinks that Ambrosius, and Protocletus were afflicted for the Name of Christ about the end of Maximinus's Reign: But Eusebius does not say so; he only means thus much, that the Persecution continued all Maximinus's Reign, but that his Days were shortned, as the Scripture

(a) Christopherson did not all understand the meaning of this

pture says of *Antichrist*. Moreover, this Persecution begun when *Maximin* was Emperor, (after a long continued Peace in the Church,) because of frequent and most dreadful Earthquakes, which the Heathens, as they usually did, imputed to the Christians. *Firmilianus* in his Epistle to *Cyprian* attests this: See *Baronius* at the Year of Christ 237. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning *Fabian*, how unexpectedly he was elected by God Bishop of Rome.

Gordianus having succeeded *Maximinus* in the Roman Empire, *Anteros* succeeds *Pontianus*, who had been Bishop for the Church of Rome six Years. And *Fabian* succeeds him after he had perform'd the Office for a Month. They report that after the death of *Anteros*, *Fabian*, together with some other of his Acquaintance, came out of the Country to Rome to sojourn there: Where he unexpectedly came to be elected Bishop, through the Divine and Celestial Grace. For when all the Brethren were assembled together in the Church, in order to the Election of one who should succeed in the Bishoprick, and many of them had Intentions of [Electing] several eminent and worthy Men, *Fabian* being there present, no one so much as thought of him: But on a sudden, as they report, a Dove came flying from above, and sat upon his Head, which seem'd to be a representation of the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Saviour in the shape of a Dove: Upon which all the People, being at the same time moved as it were by the Divine Spirit, cry'd out with all imaginable alacrity and one common

(a) This was the common Acclamation at the Election of Bishops, of which we have many Examples in *Philostorgius*, in his Tenth Chapter of the Ninth Book. And in the Relation of what things were done at *Basilius*'s Election, (recorded in *Augustine*'s Epistles) these Acclamations are read, which were then used: They cry'd out twenty times, *Dignus & justus est, He is worthy and just*; and five times *Bene meritis, bene dignus est, He is very deserving, he is very worthy.* *Valef.*

(b) The Med. Alaz. and Fuk. MSS. add these words, *had executed that Office for forty three years*: But the King's MS. and *Rufinus* own them not. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXX.

Who were *Origen*'s Scholars.

While *Origen* executed his accustom'd Duty at *Cæsarea*, many, not only Natives of that Country, but also infinite others from places most remote, forsaking their own Countries, resorted to him to be his Disciples. The most eminent of them, we understand, were *Theodorus*, (who was also called *Gregorius*, one of the most famous Bishops in our Age,) and his Brother *Athenodorus*. He by perswasion induced them (being too much addicted to the love of

(a) *Eusebius* means by the Roman Learning, the Civil Law, which *Gregory* learn'd at the City *Berytus*, at that time when *Origen* perswaded him to nobler Studies, as he, in his Oration to *Origen*, testifies: The same thing also *Origen* attests in his Epistle to *Gregory*, Chap. 13, of his *Philocal.* *Valef.*

into them a love of Philosophy,) to exchange their former Studies, for the Study of Divinity: When they had convers'd with him five years compleat, they made so great an improvement [of their Knowledge] in the Divine Scriptures, that while they were both as yet young, they were judg'd worthy of the Government of the Churches in *Pontus*.

C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning *Africanus*.

At this time *Africanus*, (a) the Author of the Books entitl'd *Cesti*, was very famous; there is extant an Epistle of his written to *Origen*, in which he suspects the History of *Susanna* in *Daniel*, to be spurious and fictitious. *Origen* very fully answers this Epistle. There also came to our hands five Books of this same *Africanus*'s *Antinels*, written with great care and accuracy. In which Books he says he took a Journey to *Alexandria*, because of the great fame of *Heracles*; who, as we before signified, was intrusted with the care of the Church there for his eminent knowledge in Philosophy, and other Heathen Learning. There is also extant another Epistle of this same *Africanus*'s to *Aristides*, concerning the disagreement which is thought to be betwixt *Matthew* and *Luke*, in the relation of Christ's Genealogy. In which he manifestly demonstrates the consent of the Evangelists, out of an History which came to his hands; which [Epistle] we also took, and placed it in the first * Book of this Work in hand, being its proper place.

(a) I suppose that these words (viz.) the Author of the Books entitl'd *Cesti* ought to be read out, for the Clause is neither in *Rufinus*'s Version, nor in *Hieronymus*. Besides, it seems ridiculous, when he here speaks of an Ecclesiastick Writer, to mention those Books first, which contain'd nothing else, but certain Medicines made up of Herbs, Metals, Magick Figures, Charms, and the like: For, as *Suidas* witnesses, these *Cesti* contain nothing else, and have their Title from *Venus*'s *Cestus*, or Girdle, because they treat of Love-affairs. Besides, this *Africanus*, the Author of these *Cesti*, seems to be a distinct Person from *Africanus* the Chronologer, whom *Eusebius* mentions, for, as *Suidas* says, this Author of the *Cesti* was a *Libyan* by birth, and was called *Σέκτο*. But *Scaliger* in his *Animadversions* upon *Eusebius* calls him *Σέκτος Africanus*. But perhaps that *Σέκτο* in *Suidas* ought to be made *Κέστος*. And so he may be called *Africanus Cestus* from the title of his Books, even as *Clemens* was called *Stromateus*. But this *Africanus* the Chronologer was born in *Palestine*, says *Eusebius*'s Chronicle; and in a Town call'd *Emmaus*, and his name was *Julius Africanus*: This *Africanus* was a Christian, but the other was a Heathen, as appears by his Books. There was also another *Julius Africanus*, who wrote a Book *De Apparatu Bellico*; which Book in the Manuscript-Copy of the King's Library has the title of *Κέστος*, and under that title it is quoted by *Politianus* in his *Miscellanies*. The *Grecians* indeed were proud in prefixing Titles before their Books, they seem therefore to call those Books *Cesti*, which were filled with knowledge of divers kinds, like the *Cestus*, which amongst the *Grecians* signifies a Girdle wrought of divers colours: For that same reason were *Clemens*'s Books called *Stromata*. *Valef.*

* Book 1. Chap. 7.

C H A P. XXXII.

What Expositions *Origen* wrote at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*.

About this time *Origen* wrote his [Comments] upon *Esaias*, and those upon *Ezekiel* at the same time, of which Books there came to our hands thirty five Volumes upon the third part of *Esaias*, unto the Vision of the four-footed Beasts in the Wilderness: And twenty five Volumes upon *Ezekiel*, which were all he wrote upon the whole Prophet: Making his abode at that time at *Athens*, he finish'd his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*. He also begun his Comments upon the *Canticles*, and there proceeded in them to the fifth Book: But

Gordianus but he afterwards returned to *Cæsarea*, and there finish'd them, being ten Books in number. But what necessity is there at present to write an exact Catalogue of this Man's Works, which requires a Work itself; which we have also written in our (a) *History of Pamphilus's Life*, the blessed (b) Martyr of our Times. In which, endeavouring to prove how great *Pamphilus's* care and love towards sacred Learning was, we have publish'd the Catalogues of *Origen's* Works, and of several other Ecclesiastick Writers which he collected. From whence, he that is desirous, may have a full information concerning all the Monuments of *Origen's* Labours which came to our hands. But now we must proceed to the subsequent Series of our History.

(a) *Eusebius* wrote three most elegant Books concerning *Pamphilus* the Martyr's Life, as *Hieronymus* witnesseth in his first

Apology against *Rufinus*; where he also quotes a piece of that Work out of the third Book; he also mentions those Books in his Epistle to *Marcella*; 'twas in *Eusebius's* third Book *De Vita Pamphili*, wherein he wrote a Catalogue of *Origen's* Works. *Valef.*

(b) The *Med.* and *Fid.* MSS. read it *ἱερομάρτυρ*, all in one word, not *ἱεὺς μάρτυρ*. The Greeks call those *ἱερομάρτυρες* who were both Martyrs, and Priests: Therefore *Pamphilus* being a Presbyter, and a Martyr, may well be styl'd *ἱερομάρτυρ*. The Greeks in their *Menologies* have three sorts of Martyrs, some they call *μεγαλομάρτυρες*, i. e. great Martyrs: Some *ὁσιολομάρτυρες*, i. e. holy Martyrs; others *ἱερομάρτυρες*, that is, the Bishops, or sometimes Presbyters who suffer'd Martyrdom: All the rest they call *μάρτυρες*, barely Martyrs: There is also another title yet, namely, *πρεσβυτέρους*; but this is only proper to *Stephen*, and *Thecla*, he being the first of Men, and she the first of Women which were crown'd with Martyrdom. Here we may see what decency the Greeks use in comparison of the Latines; they give Epithets to their Saints, with which, as with titles they are honour'd, distinguished from other Men. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXXIII.

Concerning the Error of Beryllus.

Beryllus, who was mention'd a little before, Bishop of *Bostra* in *Arabia*, subverting the Ecclesiastick Canon, endeavour'd to introduce some new Doctrines alienating from the Faith; daring to affirm that our Lord and Saviour, before his * coming amongst Men, (a) had no proper different Subsistence: Neither any Godhead of his own, but only the Deity of the Father residing in him. Many Disputes and Conferences having been held by the Bishops against this Man about that Point, amongst the rest *Origen* was called: At first he enters into a friendly Discourse with the Man, that he might discover what his Opinion was; which when he understood by his Discourse, he reprehended him being not Orthodox; and having convinced him by Arguments and Demonstrations, he took him as it were (b) by the hand, and set him into the way of the true Doctrine, and reinstated him in his former sound Opinion. There are also written Monuments extant to this day both of *Beryllus*, and also of the Synod which was convened upon his account, which contain *Origen's* Questions proposed against him, and the Disputes holden in his

* That is, before his Incarnation. (a) This Phrase *ἰσὶα ἀειγενής* is nothing else but difference of subsistence, which may appear by the words of *Gregorius Nyssenus* in his Book *De Differentia*

Subsistentia, & *Essentia*. *Beryllus* seems to take *ἰσὶα* to signify a Person, after the manner of his times, which confounded these two terms, *ὑπόστασις*, and *ἰσὶα*. Concerning the true signification of them, see *Socrates's Ecclesiastick History*, Book 3. Chap. 7. where these terms are largely discuss'd. *Beryllus* erred in that he believed Christ had no proper personality before his Incarnation; but he was Orthodox in that he holds Christ had not a Godhead proper to himself, only the Godhead of the Father residing in him; for the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal; otherwise there would be three Gods, not one God: Therefore if this were *Beryllus's* opinion he may be excused; but he erred in that he asserted the Son by himself is not properly God, but has only a derivative Divinity from the Father. For if he asserted that the Son subsisted not personally before his Incarnation, it follows that he deprived him of his Divinity. *Valef.*

(b) *Ἀναλαμβάνειν* here may be best explained by the words of *Nicetas*, who says, he regain'd him gently, and calmly. *Valef.*

Church, and all that was done at that time. In finite other *Memoirs* the Ancients of our Times have deliver'd to Posterity concerning *Origen*: Which I intend to omit, as not pertinent to this present Subject; but what things concerning him are necessary to be known, may be read at large in that (c) *Apology* for him which was written by (c) *Hierome*, and *Pamphilus* the Holy Martyr of our times: Which we, Fellow-Labourers, carefully and joyntly compos'd upon the account of some of his quarrellsome Accusers.

(c) *Hierome* in his Catalogue, and also in his first *Apology* against

Rufinus, says, *Eusebius* wrote six Books in defence of *Origen*. *Rufinus* translated the first of these Books, and put it out under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*; for which he is most severely reprov'd by *Hieronymus*, for that he set forth a Book of *Eusebius's*, (whom *Jerome* always calls an *Heretick*) under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*. But *Rufinus* may make answer for himself from these words of *Eusebius*, who says that that *Apology* was written by both of them. Which also *Photius* confirms with his Testimony; *Photius's Biblioth.* Chap. 120. From this Book, as well as from *Eusebius's* own Words, we may gather, that *Origen* had many Enemies and Opposers, because of the newness of his Opinions. The chiefest of them was *Methodius*, concerning whom, and the reason why he is not mentioned by *Eusebius* in his History, see Book 6. Chap. 24. Note (c.) *Valef.*

C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning Philip the Emperor.

When *Gordianus* had held the Roman Empire six complete years, *Philip*, together with his Son *Philip*, succeeded him. The report is, that he, being a Christian, upon the day which is the last of the *Vigils of Easter*, was desirous to be a Partaker, together with the Congregation, of the Prayers of the Church; but could in no wise be permitted to enter into the Church by him who was then Bishop, before he had made a general confession of his Sins, and recounted himself amongst their number, who were (a) reckon'd the Lapsed, and stood in the place of Penitents: For had he not done this, he would not have been admitted by the Bishop, because of his many offences: And 'tis reported that he willingly (b) obey'd, and demonstrated in his Deeds, the sincerity and devoutness of his Affection towards the fear of God. *Valef.*

(a) *Εξῆλθοντες* here signifies a number, I am reckon'd amongst.

(b) This Story concerning *Philip* the Emperor, whom *Babylas* would not admit into the Church, being then Bishop, is told by the Author of *Chron. Alexand.* and also by *Chrysostome* in his Oration concerning Holy *Babylas*; but he does not name the Emperor. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXXV.

How Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in his Bishoprick.

IT was the third of *Philip's* Reign in which *Heraclas* died, after he had govern'd the Church sixteen years, and *Dionysius* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*.

C H A P. XXXVI.

What other Books were written by Origen.

AT this time therefore, the Faith (as it was meet) daily encreasing, and our Doctrine being boldly preach'd amongst all Men, *Origen* (tis said) was now above sixty years old: And because he had now gotten a most excellent habit of speaking thro' long use and exercise, he permitted the Notaries to (a) write his Discourses which he deliver'd in publick, but never before this time would he suffer that to be done. About this time he him. *Valef.*

(a) *Pamphilus* the Martyr in his first Book of his *Apology* attests this of

Philip. he wrote eight Books against a Book of (b) *Celsus* the *Epicurean*, intituled *The Word of Truth*. He also wrote twenty-five Volumes upon *Matthew's Gospel*: And those upon the *Twelve Prophets*, of which Books we have found only twenty-five. There is also extant an Epistle of his to *Philip* the Emperor, another to his Wife *Severa*: And several others to divers other persons: Which being scatter'd here and there, in several Mens hands, as many of them as we could find preserved, being above an hundred in number, we have collected and digested into proper Books by themselves, that they may not hereafter be again dispersed. He wrote also to (c) *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, and to several other Prelates of Churches concerning his own Orthodoxy: You have also the Declarations of these things in the sixth Book of the *Apologetica*: It was against this latter *Celsus* that *Origen* wrote eight most elegant Books, which are still extant. This is the same *Celsus*, to whom *Lucian* dedicates his Book called *Alexander*, or the *False Prophet*; being intreated by him to write the Life of that Impostor. In the end of that Book, *Lucian* speaking to him, plainly demonstrates him to be an *Epicurean*. In the same place also he seems to mention *Celsus's* Book, intituled, *The True Discourse*. Valef.

(c) *Hieronimus* in his 65th Epistle mentions this Epistle of *Origen's* to *Fabian*. Valef.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning the Diffension of the Arabians.

AGAIN, about the same time there sprang up in *Arabia* Introducers of another Opinion alienating from the Truth. These affirm'd, that Men's Souls even in this present life expired together with their Bodies, and were turn'd to corruption together with them; but that they should again revive together with the Bodies at the time of the Resurrection. No small Synod being call'd together upon this account, *Origen* is (a) again sent for thither, and having disputed publicly concerning this Question, he managed the cause so well, that those who before were fallen into Error, changed their Sentiments.

(a) 'Twas said before, chap. 33. that *Origen* was sent forin- to *Arabia* by the Bishops, to dispute against *Beryllus*: Wherefore this was the second time that *Origen* was called thither to dispute. Valef.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Heresie of the Helcesaites.

AT that time also sprang up another perverse Error, called the Heresie of the *Helcesaites*, which was stifled in its birth. *Origen* mentions it in (a) his Homily to the People upon the eighty second Psalm, in these words. 'Lately there came one, highly conceited of himself for his ability, to defend that Atheistical and most Wicked Opinion, called the Opinion of the (b) *Helcesaites*, which lately was raised in opposition to *Scholias*, and *Homilies*. His Comments he wrote for the sake of the Learned, and his *Scholias* also: But upon those Books which did not require long and tedious Comments he made *Homilies*, adapted to the People's Capacity. And this is that which *Sedulius* aims at in his Preface to his *Opus Paschale*. See *Hieronimus* in his Preface to *Isaiah*, and *Matthew*, and also in his Preface to his Comments upon *The Epistle to the Galatians*: Where he mentions this threefold Work of *Origen's*; only instead of the word *Homilia* he uses *Tractatus*, i. e. *Discourses*, which is all one: For *Tractatus* in *Latin* is the same as *Ομιλία* in *Greek*. Concerning this threefold Work of *Origen*, *Rufinus* speaks in his Epistle to *Ursacius*, which he prefixes before his Translation of *Origen's* Book upon *Numbers*. Valef.

(b) *Theodoret* in his second Book *Fabularum Hæreticarum*, Chap. 7. calls these Men *Ελκεσαίταις*, and says they were so called from one *Elcesai*. *Epiphanius* names him *Elxæus*, a false Prophet, who joyn'd himself to the *Ebionites*, and was Author of a strange, uncertain, and unfix'd

Opinion concerning Christ: Which he relates, and which little differs from *Theodoret's* story in the place quoted. Hence it appears that this *Elxæus*, and *Elcesai* are one and the same Man. *Epiphanius*, in his *Hæresi Offenorum*, calls him *Elxai*, and says he liv'd in *Trajan's* time. At first, he says, he put forth a Book full of Divine Wisdom, and a Prophecying Spirit: But afterwards he affirmed 'twas no sin for a Man to sacrifice to Idols in the time of Persecution, if so be he do it not with his whole heart. The same also *Origen* here relates of these *Elcesaits*: But *Epiphanius* more plainly demonstrates this in his *Hæresi Sampsonum*, where he says, that that these *Elcesai* (which we prov'd were the same as *Elcesaits*) had one *Elxæus*, or *Elxai*, Author of their Sect. Wherefore *Scaliger* in his *Elenchus*, Chap. 27. errs; where he says, that this *Elxai* is the same person with *Essæus*; and that these *Elcesai* or *Elcesaits* are the same as *Essæi*: Than which nothing is more absurd. Valef.

the Church. I will explain to you what evil things that Opinion asserts, that ye be not drawn away by it. It rejects some things of every part of the Scripture, but makes use of some Texts both out of the Old, and also out of the Evangelical Scripture. It rejects the Apostle [*Paul*] wholly. It says, 'tis an indifferent thing to deny [the Faith.] It holds also, that upon necessity (c) a Wife Man would deny [Christianity] with his Mouth, but not with his Heart also at the same time. They also carry about with them a Book which, they say, fell down from Heaven; and every one that hears it, and believes it, shall obtain remission of Sins: a Remission different from that which Jesus Christ bestow'd." But let thus much suffice concerning these things.

(c) The Translators *Rufinus*, *Lan- gus*, and *Christo- pherson*, knew not the use and propriety of this Phrase [*ἡ νόμος*], and so mis-interpreted it. The word signifies no more than *qui sapit*, or *sapiens*, a wise man. See that old Verse of *Hesiod*, *Ἄνθρωποι βασιλοῦσ' ἐρέω νόμους καὶ αὐτοῖς*, and *to wise men*. Valef.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning what happen'd in the times of Decius.

BUT in the mean while *Decius* succeeds *Philip*, after he had reigned seven years: Who because of his hatred towards *Philip*, rais'd a Persecution against the Churches. In which *Fabian* being Martyr'd at *Rome*, *Cornelius* succeeds in that Bishoprick. And *Alexander* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* in *Palestine*, is again brought before the Governour's Tribunal for Christ's sake: And was very famous for his second Confession at *Cæsarea*, where he was imprison'd: Being now adorn'd with a venerable old Age, and reverend grey-Hairs. After this noble and famous Testimony before the Governour's Tribunal, he expired in Prison, and *Mazabanes* was pronounc'd his Successor in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*. Also *Babylas* Bishop of *Antiochia* died (in like manner as did *Alexander*) in prison after his Confession, and *Fabius* is preferr'd to be Bishop of that Church. Moreover, how many, and how great [Afflictions] happened to *Origen* in this Persecution, and what was the end of these things, (the Devil with all his forces enviously setting himself in opposition to this Man, and fighting against him with all subtilty and power, assailing him particularly above all those who were set upon at that time :) how many, and how great things he also suffer'd for the Doctrine of Christ, as Bonds, and bodily Torments, the Punishment of the Iron-Chain in the inmost Recesses of the Prison: how he was put upon the (a) Rack, his Feet for

(a) *ἑνὸς* signifies the same as *Nervus*, a pair of Stocks, wherein the Feet are put: But in this place 'tis used for *Eculeus*, a Rack: For, *Eusebius* in this place means, that *Origen*, being put upon the Rack, patiently sustained the threats of Fire and other Torments. *ἑνὸς* therefore in this place signifies the same as the *Latin* word *Eculeus*, which the word added, (*ὡς*) *Κολαστήριον* sufficiently sheweth; for as often as this term signifies Stocks, or Shackles, we read *ξύλον* only; but when it signifies the Rack, *κολαστήριον*, or *βασιανιστήριον*, is commonly added, as here we find it to be. Valef.

several

Decius. several days being stretch'd so wide as to the distance of four holes: How valiantly he sustain'd the menaces of Fire, and all other [Tortures] inflicted by his Enemies: What also was the Exit of these things: (The Judge with his utmost power earnestly endeavouring * that he might not be slain.) Lastly, what expressions he left behind him, and how comfortable to the (b) comfortless: [All these Particulars] many of his Epistles do both truly and accurately comprehend.

(b) *Ἀναλήλως δέομαι* are the comfortless, or helpless; which some Translators did not understand; this transposition in Eusebius is common. Eusebius here says nothing of the *Aethiopian*, who was suborned against *Origen*; or concerning his denial of the Faith: *Baronius* with good reason thought these things were fabulous; But *Nemesius*, in his Book *De Natura Hominis*, Chap. 30. confirms that Narration of *Epi-phanus*. Valef.

C H A P. XL.

Concerning what things happen'd to Dionysius.

I Will also record some things concerning *Dionysius*, out of his Epistle to *Germanus*. Where speaking concerning himself, he makes this Relation: "I speak in the presence of God, and he knows that I lie not. I never made my escape

(a) *Ἐπ' ἐμαυτῶν βαλλόμενος*, Not by my own Counsel, not in my own accord. But the *Fuk.* MS. and *Georgius Syncellus's* Chronicle read *ἐπ' ἐμαυτῶν Μαζ.* and the MSS. *ἐπ' ἐμαυτῶν*. The *Med.* MS. begins this Epistle where we have begun it. Valef.

(b) *Δι' ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας* is here taken for the *Decree of the Persecution*: And accordingly we have translated the place. Valef.

(c) *Frumentarii milites* were Soldiers sent to seek after Offenders, and to pick up all Rumours and News. *Constantine* put down this sort of Officers; they were also Deputies under Governors of Provinces; such an one was this *Frumentarius*, whom *Dionysius* here mentions. Valef.

(d) *Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος*, *Mufculus* and *Christoph.* translate *Li-ber*, *Chil-* dren, which interpretation I do not approve of. Valef.

(e) *Χριστο-φύλου*, *trans-* lates *Χριστός* indigena, one born and bred in that Country; the Translator of *Georg. Syncell.* calls it *incola*; neither of them rendering it well: for *Χριστοί* are Country-Men, Rusticks. So in the Greek Councils we find, *οἱ τῶν Χριστῶν πρεσβύτεροι*, in stead of *οἱ τῶν Χριστῶν πρεσβύτεροι*, The Country-Presbyters. The *Μαζ.* *Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. in stead of *Χριστῶν* read *Χριστῶν*, so also does *Alexandrinus* use *Χριστῶν* for Rusticks. Valef.

(a) of my self, nor without the Divine appointment. But before, to wit, at the same time when the (b) Decree for the Persecution came out from *Decius*, *Sabinus* sent out his (c) Deputy to make inquisition for me; and I stay'd at home four days, expecting the arrival of the Deputy: But he went about searching all places, both High-ways, Rivers, and Fields, where he thought I might be conceal'd, or where he conjectured I might have gone: But he was so blinded, that he found not my House.

Neither could he imagine that I should stay at home when there was Inquisition made for me. And at length after the fourth day, (when God had commanded me to depart thence, and had miraculously open'd a way for me) I, and my (d) Servants, and many of the Brethren, went out together. Now that that was a special act of God's Providence the sequel declared, in which peradventure I was profitable to some." Again, after the interposition of some words, he relates what hapned to him after his Flight, in these words: "I myself, (and my Companions) being much about the time of Sun-setting apprehended by some Soldiers, was brought to *Taposiris*. But *Timotheus*, according to the Providence of God, was not with us, neither was he taken: But when he at last came, he found the House empty, and Soldiers keeping guard about it, and us reduc'd to Slavery." After some other words he saith thus. "What now was the order and manner of this miraculous Act of Providence? (I will tell nothing but truth.) A certain

(e) Country-man met *Timothy* as he was flying, and thus he saith: "I myself, (and my Companions) being much about the time of Sun-setting apprehended by some Soldiers, was brought to *Taposiris*. But *Timotheus*, according to the Providence of God, was not with us, neither was he taken: But when he at last came, he found the House empty, and Soldiers keeping guard about it, and us reduc'd to Slavery." After some other words he saith thus. "What now was the order and manner of this miraculous Act of Providence? (I will tell nothing but truth.) A certain

ing, and thus disturb'd in Mind; and he enquired of him the reason of this great haste; he told him the real truth. When the Man had heard his Relation, (he was then a-going to a Marriage-feast, and 'tis customary amongst them to tarry all night at such meetings) he went his way, and coming into the House, told the story to those that were set at the Table: All of them with an unanimous earnestness (as if it had been by a Compact amongst them) rose up together, set a-running, and with great clamours came speedily upon us. The Soldiers who guarded us being by them forthwith put to flight, they came upon us as we were, and [found] us lying upon

(f) Couches without any Furniture on them; I (God knows) at first supposing them to be Thieves, who came thither for Prey and Pillage, continued lying on the Couch, naked as I was, excepting only a Linen-Garment which I had on; and offered to them my other Cloaths, which lay by me: But they bid me arise, and come out immediately. Then understanding what was the

(f) *Scimpodia* are low Beds, such as are used in great Houses to this Day, only to sit in; call'd Couches. So *Lilanius* in his own Life uses the word: Where he saith, pag. 47. that at home he us'd to lye upon a Bed, but in the School he lean'd *ἐπὶ τῇ σκίμῳ ποδι*, upon a Couch. Hence 'tis plain those Couches were made for the ease of sick People: *ἀσπαρ* signifies *un-made*, without any furniture upon it. So *Martial* in his *Apophoreta*, speaking of Sheets,

Nudo stramina nē toro paterent,
Fundā nos tibi venimus sorores.
Valef.

cause of their coming thither, I cry'd out, intreating and beseeching them to depart and let us alone. But if their intent was to do me a kindness, I begg'd of them to behead me, and by that means to prevent those who brought me Prisoner thither. While I thus cry'd out (as my Companions and Fellow-sufferers in all my Troubles do know) they compelled me to rise up: I threw myself on my back upon the ground; but they took me by the Hands and Feet, and dragg'd me out: There follow'd me those who are my Witnesses of these things, *Caius*, *Faustus*, *Peter*, and *Paul*; (g) who took me together with that Couch upon their Shoulders, and convey'd me out of the Village; and having set me upon an ass unsaddled, they carried me away." These things *Dionysius* relates concerning himself.

(g) We must refer this word *σπινθη*, *toho* took me up, to *Caius*, and the rest of the Presbyters, and not to the Riotous Country-men, as *Christopherson* does. *σπινθη* signifies, together with the Bed or Couch on which he lay. *Dionysius* says nothing here of what hapned to him after the Rusticks forc'd him to leave *Taposiris*, having beaten the Guard: But in his Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, which is in the 7th Book, and 11th Chapter, he saith, that he and *Peter*, and *Caius* were separated from the rest of their Company, and abode in a desert and dry place of *Libya*. *Dionysius* liv'd an Exile till the death of *Decius* the Emperor, and from that desert place he wrote Letters to *Domitius* and *Didymus*. Valef.

C H A P. XLI.

Concerning those who suffer'd Martyrdom at Alexandria.

THE same Man in an Epistle of his to (a) *Fabianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives this account of the Combats of those Martyrs who suffer'd at *Alexandria* in the times of *Decius*. "The Persecution amongst us did not begin at the time when the Imperial Edict was issued out, but preceded it one whole year. For a Soothsayer, and (b) a Poet So also

names this Bishop of *Antioch*. Valef. (b) I have translated [*ποιητής*] a Poet: First, because there is a great familiarity betwixt Poets and Prophets, for the Divines or Soothsayers us'd to deliver their Oracles in Verse. Besides, the *Aegyptians* were chiefly delighted with Poetry, which *Eumapius* takes notice of. Moreover, no People were more malicious towards the Christians than these Soothsayers, moving the People to persecute them, and encouraging them by their Oracles. Valef.

Decius. (whoever he was who so endamag'd this City,) had stirr'd up, and encouraged the Tumults of the Heathens against us, exciting them to their Country-Superstition. They being prick'd forward by him, and having obtained free Power of acting all Mischief, thought it the most acceptable Service * and Worship of their Gods to slaughter us. First of all therefore they lay hands upon an old Man named *Metra*, and bid him pronounce some Atheistical words, and because he obey'd them not, they beat him with Clubs, and prick'd him in the Face and Eyes with sharp Reeds; and when they had led him into the Suburbs, they stoned him to death. Afterwards they dragg'd a believing Woman called *Quinta*, to the Temple of their Idol, and compel'd her to fall down and worship: But she turning away her face, and abominating it, they bound her feet, and drag'd her through the City, which is pav'd with sharp Stones; and having dash'd her against Milstones, and scourg'd her, they led her to the same place without the City, and stoned her. Afterwards all with one accord violently broke into the Houses of pious Men, and every one of them ran to their Neighbours, whom they knew, and plunder'd and robb'd them; their Goods which were of greater value they (c) purloin'd, but the Lumber and what was made of Wood they cast forth and burn'd in the Streets: So that the City seem'd as if it had been taken by an Enemy. But the Brethren withdrew themselves thence and privately fled; and (like those *St. Paul* speaks of) * took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. And not one of them that I know of, except one who somewhere fell into their hands, renounced the Lord till this time. Moreover, at that time they took a most admirable Virgin who was ancient, called *Apollonia*, and buffeting her on the Cheeks, they dash'd out all her Teeth. And when they had built a Pile of Wood before the City, they threatened to burn her alive, except she should re-

(d) Τὴς ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας, are the terms here, and what the words were, 'tis hard to conjecture: In his Epistle to *Germanns* he calls them [ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας] impious words; and in this Epistle δὲσπορὰ καὶ βλασφημία, horrid words.] *Vales.*

(e) Here we read ἐξέστην, i. e. in his own House, but *Nicephorus* very ill reads ἐξέστην. Concerning this *Serapion*, *Euseb.* and *Ursinus* speak at the 14th of November. Where they say he suffered in the Reign of *Decius*; but they might better have said in the Reign of *Philip*. For *Dionysius* in this Epistle to *Fabius* expressly affirms that *Serapion*, and some other Martyrs, suffer'd before the Death of *Philip* the Emperor. The same Error is committed in all *Martyrologies* concerning *Apollonia* the Virgin, which say she suffered in the time of *Decius* upon the 9th day of February. *Vales.*

would not repeat those blasphemous words, he should be dragg'd away, and burnt immediately. After this manner these things continued for a great while: Afterwards follow'd Sedition, and a Civil War, which [seized] these Wretches, and returned the cruelty they used towards us upon themselves. And we had a little breathing time, their fury towards us being something appeased. But presently news came of

the (f) Translation of that Empire, which had been more favourable to us: And much fear of a threatening Storm appeared. And now arriv'd the [Imperial] Edict, almost like that fore-told by our Lord, (g) representing those most terrible [Times] insomuch that even the Elect, if it were possible, should be discouraged. Indeed, all were put in great fear. Immediately many of them who were more eminent, yielded up themselves [to their Idolatry] through fear: Others, who (h) had to do in the management of the publick Affairs, were forc'd thro' the necessity of their Offices [they held;] and they induced others of their acquaintance, who, being summon'd by name, repaired to their impure and prophane Sacrifices. Some look'd pale and trembled, as if they themselves were about to have been Sacrifices and Victims, not Sacrificers to their Idols. So that they rendred themselves the subject of laughter to the Multitude that stood round about them; because they demonstrated themselves to all, to be fearful both of Death and of Sacrificing: But others of them ran to the Altars more willingly, protesting very confidently that they never were Christians before. Concerning whom the Lord's Prediction is most true, that they shall hardly be saved. As for the rest, some of them adhered to the one or the other of those Parties we have mention'd; some fled away; others were apprehended. And of these [though] some proceeded so far as till [they came to] Bonds and Imprisonment, and others of them had been imprison'd several days; yet before they were brought to the Tribunal, they renounced [the Faith.] Some of them after they had persisted some time in suffering Torments, yet for fear of what might follow renounc'd [their Religion.] But the stedfast and blessed Pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by him, and having received Power and Patience equal and answerable to their strong Faith, became admirable Witnesses of his Kingdom. The first of which was *Julianus* a Gouty Man, who could neither go nor stand; he, together with two other Men who carried him, was brought before the Judge: One of those Persons straightway deny'd [Christ.] But the other whose name was *Cronion*, but was surnamed *Ennus*, together with the old Man *Julianus*, having confessed the Lord, rode upon Camels through the whole City (which you know is very large) and were scourged as they sat on high, and at last in the presence of all the Multitude standing round, they were consum'd

Decius. (f) Here he means the Death of *Philip* the Emperor, who behaved himself gently and kindly toward the Christians: Therefore what Passages are here next related, happened in the last Year of the Reign of *Philip*: Which thing *Dionysius* intimates in the beginning of this Epistle; where he says, the Persecution began a Year before the Emperor's Edict came out: But *Christoph.* did not understand this place, he rendring [μεταβολὴν βασιλείας] the alteration of the Emperor's mind towards us. *Baronius* follows this Error of his, at the Year of Christ, 253. Chap. 102. *Vales.*

(g) In the King's MS. and *Stephanus's* Edition, in stead of ἀποφαίνων, ἀποφαίνων is read, but in the *Mar.* *Med.* *Euk.* and *Savil* MSS. ἀποφαίνων is the term, which is a great deal better as I think. For *Dionysius* here means that this Decree of *Decius* was so terrible, that it seemed to represent those most dreadful times of *Antichrist*, foretold by our Saviour. *Vales.*

(h) *Christophor.* mistakes in his Translation of this place. I have rendred here [ἀμφοτέρωθεν] as if it had been [ἀμφοτέρωθεν] the *Decurions* or Magistrates: For these always assembled themselves at the reading of the Emperor's Edicts in the Courts; and first of all executed his Commands; hence they were compelled to be present at the reading of this Decree, and immediately after it was read, to sacrifice to the Gods, according to the Injunction of the Decree. *Vales.*

by

Decius. *(i)* This *ἀσβεστόν* may be rendered *vive calois incensio*, a fire of unslaked Lime; so also we may translate the same phrase which is used a little after this, speaking of *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, where he says, *πυρὶ ἀσβεστώ διεζυγίσθησαν*. In stead of which phrase *Nicephorus* uses *τρίανω*, with Lime. In *Menæo*, on the 30th day of October, there is mention of these Martyrs, *Julianus*, *Cronio*, and *Macarius*, where the words are, *ἀσβεστὸς ζεὼν καὶ ἀσβεστὸς ἐκχυθέν*; burning Lime being poured upon them. *Valef.*

(k) *Macar* is derived from the Greek term *μακάριος*, which signifies blessed: *Dionysius* seems here to allude to those Words of our Saviour, *Matt. 5. 10. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, &c.* *Rufinus* translates this place thus, *Alius quidam, vir nominis sui Macarius, gente Lybicus.* *Valef.*

* *Εὐσπράς* is the term in the original: It signifies properly any kind of Iron-instrument to make incision: *Dionysius* does here mean by it, an Engine wherewith they scraped the flesh from off the bones of the Christians.

by an *(i)* exceeding hot fire. A Soldier who attended on them as they were led [to the Stake,] thrust away all those who abused them, and when the People exclaim'd against him; this most valiant Champion of God (by name *Befas*) was called in question, and after he had behav'd himself nobly in a great Combat in defence of Piety, he was beheaded: Also another Man, a *Libyan* born, (both according to his name, and also agreeable to the Divine Benediction truly stil'd *(k)* *Macar*) after much exhortation of the Judge to a Renunciation, being nothing subdu'd therewith, was burn'd alive. After these *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, after a tedious imprisonment, which they endured, having suffered infinite sorts of tortures, as ** Iron-scratchers*, *Scourges*, were also burn'd to death with unslak'd Lime: With them also four Women: *Ammonarium*, an holy Virgin, (whom the Judge for a long time and with much ear-

nestiness tortured, because she had before-hand said she would utter nothing he should enjoin her,) when she had verified her promise, she was led to execution. Now the rest were these, *Mercuria* a most Virtuous and Venerable Matron; and *Dionysia* the Mother of a numerous issue, but did not love her Children more than

(l) These words [also another *Ammonarium*.] I have added out of *Rufinus*: For *Dionysius* said there were four Women; but we find but three, except, according to *Rufinus*, we add these words. *Valef.*

(m) In stead of *Ater* in *Georg. Syncellus*, and *Niceph.* we find *Aster*: In *Rufinus* 'tis *Arfinus*; in the old *Roman Martyrology*, which is mostly taken out of *Rufinus*, he is called *Arsenius*, at the 19th of the Kalends of January. *Valef.*

the Lord; *(l)* also another *Ammonarium*. The Judge being now ashamed that he tortured them yet in vain, and that he was thus overcome by Women, slew them with the Sword, before they underwent the trial of tortures. For *Ammonarium* their Leader had suffer'd torments for them all. *Here* also, and *(m)* *Ater*, and *Isidorus*, *Egyptians*, and with them *Dioscorus*, a Lad of about fifteen years of age, were set before the Judge. Who first of all endeavour'd to deceive the Youth with words, as thinking him flexible and easie to be perswaded; he endeavour'd also to force him by Torments, [supposing] him to be remiss and inclinable to yield; but *Dioscorus* was neither moved with Perswasions, nor yielded he to Torments. When [the Judge] had most barbarously torn the rest with Stripes, and they persisted, he delivered them also to the Fire, but he dismiss'd *Dioscorus*, because he was lovely in the eyes of the People, and he also himself admired him for his most prudent Answers to his Questions: Saying, he allow'd him space for repentance because of his tender Age. And now the most Excellent *Dioscorus* continues with us, reserved for a greater and more lasting Combat. Also one *Nemesion*, another *Egyptian*, was falsely accused as a Companion of Thieves: But having before the Centurion cleared himself of this Accusation brought against him, as being most absurd,

he was impeach'd as being a Christian; and brought bound before the Governour: Who, (most unjust Man!) having inflicted upon him double as many Torments and Stripes, as upon the Thieves, [commanded] him to be burnt amongst Thieves. Blessed Man! who was honoured after Christ's example. Moreover, a whole *(n)* File of Soldiers, to wit; *Ammon*, and *Zeno*, and *Proton*, and *Ingenius*, and with them the old Man *Theophilus*, stood together before the place of Judicature. And when a certain Man was accused for being a Christian, and inclined to a Renunciation [of his Religion,] they standing by gnash'd upon him with their Teeth, made Grimaces at him with their Countenances, stretch'd out their Hands, and shew'd mimick and antick Gestures with their Bodies; [in-so-much that] all Mens Eyes were turned towards them. Before any one came to lay hands on them, they ran to the *(o)* place where the Accused usually sat, confessing themselves to be Christians: Upon which the Governour and the Assessors were surprized with a great fear. The Accused seem'd most courageous at what they were about to suffer, but the Judges trembled. So they went out of the place of Judicature in a kind of Pomp and State, and rejoiced at the Testimony [they were to give to the Faith,] God *(p)* making them to triumph gloriously.

but I rather think they were *Legionary* Soldiers of that Legion, which kept Garrison at *Alexandria*, and were under the Command of the Emperor's Deputy-Governour of *Egypt*; for at that time he who was the Emperor's Prefect in *Egypt*, had not only power in Civil Affairs, but also in Military. In the old *Roman Martyrology* the Birthday of these Martyrs is set down on the 13th of the Kalends of January. *Valef.*

(o) By this word *ἐκδορὸν* is meant *Subsellium*, i. e. the place on which the Criminals while they are examin'd by the Judge sat. It is in some places call'd *Ambon*, or *Pulpitum*. *Valef.*

(p) *Θεὸς διπλοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, *Rufinus* translates thus, *God thus triumphing by his Saints*; hence we may suppose he read *δι' αὐτῶν*. *Alusculus* and *Christophorson* follow this Translation of *Rufinus*: But we must take notice and see whether *Dionysius* means not by *διπλοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, *διπλοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, which I think he does, and therefore have so translated it. *Valef.*

C H A P. XLII.

Concerning some other things which *Dionysius* relates.

Several others were torn in pieces by the Heathens, both in the Cities, and in the Countrey-Villages: One of them I will hear speak of for example's sake. *Ischyrius* was a mercenary *Officer under one of the Magistrates. He, whom he serv'd, enjoyn'd him to sacrifice: but when he obey'd him not, he was injurious to him; when he still persisted to be disobedient, he basely reproach'd him. After he had patiently sustain'd all this, he took a great Stake, and having run it through his Guts and Bowels, murder'd him. What need I to reckon up the Multitudes, which wandered in Desarts and Mountains, and dyed by Pestilence, Thirst, and Cold, and by Diseases, Thieves, and Savage-beasts? Such of them as surviv'd are Witnesses of their Choice and Victory. But I will add one Fact for a manifestation of the truth hereof. There was one *Chæremion* a very aged Man, Bishop of the City called *Nile*, he together with his Wife

* *ἑπιστατὸς* (from whence the term [ἐπιστηνέα,] which here occurs, is derived) signifies one that looketh to another Man's Business, and that has the Charge of his Affairs committed to his care.

Decius. fled unto the Mountain (a) *Arabius*, but never re-
turn'd; neither could they, or any thing of
(a) *Herodotus* men- their Bodies ever be found, altho' the Brethren
tions a search'd all places careful-
Mountain, called *Arabius*; which ly. Also many about this
Ptolomy and others call *Troicus*. Mountain *Arabicus* were
Christopherson therefore does not well taken Captives and inflav'd
in calling it a Mountain in *Ar-* by the barbarous (b) *Sara-*
bja. 'Tis a little after called *A-* cens: Some of which were
rabicus, from its vicinity to *Ar-* with much difficulty re-
bia. Valef.

(b) This place ought to be taken notice of for this one thing: For of all the Writers which came to our Hands, there is none (that I know of) who is ancients than *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, that mentions the *Saracens*. Indeed *Ammianus Marcellinus* says in his 14th Book, that he mentioned the *Saracens* amongst the Acts of Prince *Marcus*. So also says *Spartianus*, (in *Nigro*) saying they were conquered by the Roman Soldiers. Valef.

terwards, after some few words he makes an addition to all this, saying; 'Therefore those Divine Martyrs, (who are now Assessors with Christ, Colleagues of his Kingdom, and are (c) Partakers of his Judgment, giving sentence together with him) during their being amongst us, receiv'd to themselves some of the Brethren who were laps'd, and lay convict as having sacrificed to Idols: And when they had seen their Conversion and Penitence, judging it might be acceptable to God, who in no wise willeth the death of a Sinner, but rather that he repent, they admitted them, and (d) brought them together, and received them into their Congregation, and (e) communicated with them in Prayer, and in Eating. Now, therefore (Brethren) how do you counsel us concerning these things, what must be done by us? Shall we be of like Mind, and of the same Opinion with the [Martyrs?] Shall we observe their Determination, and the Favour they [shew'd such Persons?] And shall we be indulgent towards them, to whom they were merciful? Or shall we render their Sentence unjust, and make our selves Examiners and Judges of their Opinion? Grieve their Goodness and Clemency? And de-
(c) It was the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers, that Martyrs should be Assessors, and should judge the World together with him. So says *Eulogius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in his 5th Book against the *Novatians*: But *Photius* in his *Biblioth.* reproves this Opinion. (*Photius* says) that those words of *St. Paul* in the 1 Epistle to the *Corinthians* 6. 2. *Know ye not that the Saints shall judge the World?* Must not be understood as if the Saints were to be judges with Christ: *Paul*, says he, only meaneth thus, that other Men who had not lived so piously should by the Saints means be condemned. As it is in the Gospel, *The Men of Nineve, and the Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment against wicked Men, and condemn them*, *Matth.* 2. 41. *Photius* took this Exposition out of *Chrysostome*; but *Eulogius's* Opinion seems the truer to me. For if the Martyrs are now Colleagues of Christ in his Kingdom, Why may not they be partakers of his Judgment? Moreover, Christ expressly promised the Apostles, *That they should sit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel*, *Matth.* 19. 28. Valef.

(d) This place must be rendred according to our Translation; though *Langus* and *Christopherson* translate it, as if the Martyrs admitted the Penitents into the Church: Which they could not do, being in Bonds. Moreover the Bishops only had power of reconciling Penitents, the Martyrs could only intercede for them, and write commendatory Letters in their behalf; though this word *συμμεμάρτυροι* may be rendred passively, as in the 3d Chap. of this 6th Book. Valef.

(e) Communion in the Church is twofold, of Prayer, and of the Sacraments, that of the Prayers was granted to Penitents after a certain time; but the Communion of the Body of Christ was not granted except to them who were reconciled after long time of Repentance. But *Dionysius* here means private Communion; now that I call private Communion, which was granted to any one by some private Persons, and not by the Bishop, whose Power and Duty it was to grant it. The thing these private Persons granted, was this; these Martyrs and Confessors permitted Penitents who desired their pity and intercession, to pray to God with them. Valef.

'stroy the Order [which is constituted?'] *Dionysius* very advisedly annexed these words, discouraging concerning them, who in the Times of Persecution had laps'd through infirmity of Mind.

C H A P. XLIII.

Concerning Novatus, what manner of Person he was as to his Morals; and concerning his Heresie.

FOR *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of Rome, being puffed up with pride against these Men, as if there were no further hopes of Salvation left for them, altho' they perform'd all things appertaining to an unfeigned Conversion, and a sincere Confession, constituted himself the King-leader of a peculiar Sect, of those who by reason of their haughty Minds stiled themselves † *Cathari*. Upon this account a very great Synod was assembled at Rome, consisting of sixty Bishops, but of Presbyters and Deacons [the number] was greater. And when the Pastors of each respective place in the rest of the Provinces, had consulted by themselves concerning what was to be done; (a) This Decree was promulg'd to all: 'That *Novatus*, together with all those who imitated his Pride, and who presumptuously assented to his uncharitable and most inhu-

man Opinion, should be accounted as alienated from the Church: But that the Brethren who were fallen into the Calamity [of the Lapsed,] should be healed and cured by the Remedies of Repentance.' There came to our hands the Epistles of *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*; which set forth the Acts of that Synod at Rome, and the Opinions of all those in Italy and Africa, and the Provinces there. There are also extant other Epistles written in Latin, by *Cyprian* and those Bishops assembled with him in Africa: By which it appears, that they consented to the relieving of those who were fallen into Temptation, and that the Author of this Heresie ought with good reason to be expelled out of the Catholick Church, together with all those who had been seduced by him. There is also annex'd to these (b) another Epistle of *Cornelius's* concerning the Decrees of that Synod: And also another concerning the mischievous Acts of *Novatus*. Part of which, nothing hinders but that we may here insert, that so they who read this Work, may have a perfect knowledge in all things concerning *Novatus*. *Cornelius* therefore, informing *Fabius* what a Man this *Novatus* was as to his course of life, writes these very words: 'But that you may the better understand how this admirable Fellow heretofore covered a Bishoprick, and concealing this his hot am-

Book, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, reckons up four, but *Eusebius* in this place gives us an account of three only. The first and the third seem as if *Cornelius* had writ them in Greek, which may be proved by several Arguments, for *Eusebius* quotes several things out of the third Epistle, but does not in the least signifie that it was ever translated out of Latin into Greek, which thing he always does as often as he quotes any Latin Authors. Moreover, in this very Chapter *Eusebius* signifies that the first Epistle was writ in Greek, for speaking of it, he adds that there was another Epistle of *Cyprian* annex'd to it, which was written in Latin. Which Clause certainly he had not added, had not *Cornelius's* Epistle been written in a contrary Language. Valef.

'bition

Decius. 'bition continued undiscover'd; for a Covert for his Folly, usually from the beginning having the Confessors in his company, I will make this Declaration to you: (c) *Maximus* a Presbyter of our Church, and *Urbanus*, which Men have the second time acquir'd great renown to themselves for their Confessions: *Sidonius* also; and *Celerinus*, a Man who has most patiently endured all sorts of Tortures through God's Mercy; and having corroborated the weakness of the Flesh through the strength of his Faith, utterly vanquish'd the Adversary: These Men [I say,] when they had made enquiry into the Man, and (d) detected his Subtilty and Deceit, his Perjury and Lyes, his Unsociableness and Wolfish Friendship, return'd to the Holy Church; and divulged all his subtil Devices, and his Villanies (which he had kept conceal'd within himself for a long time, refusing to declare them) in the presence both of a sufficient number of Bishops, and also of a great many Presbyters and Laicks; lamenting and repenting, because, having been seduced by this subtil and wicked Beast, for some small time they had abandon'd the Church." After some few words, he also adds this ("Dear Brother) What a wonderful change and alteration we saw made in a short time in him? For this most excellent Fellow, (who affirm'd with terrible Protestations and Oaths, that he did not in the least covet the Office of a Bishop) on a sudden appears a Bishop, as if he had been (e) thrown into the midst by an Engine. For this brave Doctor, who [pretended himself] to be a Maintainer of the Church-Discipline, when he endeavour'd by force to acquire to himself, and surreptitiously to steal the Bishoprick which was not assign'd to him by God, chose for his Confidants two Men, who despair'd of Salvation, that he might send them into some little corner, and the most despicable part of Italy, and there delude three Bishops, who were simple and unlearned Men, by a certain fraudulent enterprize, affirming and protesting that with all possible speed they must post to Rome, that all the disagreement which had been there, might by their mediation, together with the other Bishops, be compos'd.

(c) Concerning this *Maximus* the Presbyter, *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius*, Confessors, how they deserted *Novatianus*, and were converted to the Church; see *Cornelius* the Pope's Epistle to *Cyprian*. There was also at the same time another *Maximus*, Presbyter of the Church of Rome, whom *Novatianus* employ'd as Ambassador to *Cyprian* into *Africk*, together with *Macchus* and others: Afterwards the Schismatics made this *Maximus* a Bishop in *Africk*, as *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Cornelius* tells us. *Vales.*

(d) *Kατα-καύω*, signifies to catch a man in the very act of Robbery, whilst the *συνετα*, or things which he hath stolen are yet in his hands; hence it signifies to bring any Plot, Robbery, or any other Wickedness to light, to bewray, or disclose. *Viger. Idiot. pag. 27.*

(e) *Ἐκ πυρρός* (the phrase here in the Original) has the same import with [*ἐκ πυρός*], which is a proverbial speech in Greek, and signifies, exasperation, impetuosity; i.e. unlookt for, or on a sudden. See *Erasm. Adeg. pag. 46. Edit. Hoben.*

(f) *Theodoret* in his 3d Book of his *Hæretic. Fabul.* Chap. 5. writes that *Novatus* himself went into Italy to fetch these Bishops, and when he, with the Bishops upon their Journey, came into some Town or other, he forced them to Ordain him, which those Bishops complain'd of when they came to Rome; but this Epistle of *Cornelius* refutes that Story of his. *Vales.*

(g) *Cornelius* calls this an imperfect, and ineffectual Ordination, because it was solemnized by Bishops of another Diocess, and not by those Bishops who had the Right and Power of Ordaining the Bishops of Rome, which were the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Tibur*, and others: 'Twas also ineffectual and vain, because it was done by Men who were drunk, by force, at the Tenth Hour of the Day, none of the Clergy or People being present; and lastly, because another Bishop was before regularly Ordain'd. *Cornelius* both here,

and in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, says, *Novatianus* was Ordain'd by three Bishops, whereas *Pacianus* says, in his second Epistle to *Sempronianus*, he was Ordain'd by the Letters Commendatory of the Confessors: but these Differences we may thus reconcile. *Novatianus* was named to be the Bishop, by the Epistle of the Confessors, but was afterwards Consecrated by three Bishops. *Vales.*

And he laid claim to that by craft and subtilty, which did in no-wise appertain to him. One of those Bishops not long after return'd to the Church, bewailing and confessing his Sin, whom, through the mediation of all the People then present, (h) we received into the Communion of the Laity. We ordain'd Successors for the two other Bishops, and sent them away to possess their Sees. (i) This Maintainer therefore of the Gospel, knew not that 'twas meet there should be but one (k) Bishop in a Catholic Church. In which he was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that there should be (l) 46 Presbyters, 7 Deacons, 7 Sub-Deacons, Clerks 42; Exorcists, Readers, together with Janitors, 52. Widows and (m) Indigent Persons, which could not maintain themselves, above a thousand and five hundred. All these the Grace and Bounty of the Lord maintain'd. But neither could so great Multitude, so necessary in the Church, (a Congregation which by God's Providence is both rich and numerous, together with a great and innumerable multitude of People) make this Man ashamed of this so desperate an attempt, or deter him from proceeding in it, or recal him into the Church." And again, after some other words, which intervene, he adjoyns these. But come on, let us in our following words declare,

(h) Hence we may gather that *Cornelius* degraded the Bishops which assisted in the Consecration of *Novatianus*, and also Excommunicated them all, except one who by the mediation of the People, obtain'd the privilege of the Communion which the Laicks have; which was to kiss the Bishop after they had taken the Eucharist of him, as *Hieronymus* and *Paulus Diaconus* affirm. *Vales.*

(i) This is spoken ironically of *Novatianus*, because he himself (as *Cyprian* in his first Epistle to *Cornelius* witnesseth) boasted he was a Defender of the Gospel of Christ. *Vales.*

(k) The same words [*ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν καθελικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*] are in the Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Cyprian*: Where the Confessors, who deserted *Novatianus*, use these words, as a renunciation of their former Principles; by this *ἐκκλησία κατὰ τὴν ἐν καθελικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, is here meant the Church of Rome. *Vales.*

(l) Hence we may gather how many Churches there were then at Rome, for every Presbyter had his particular Church; so that if there were 46 Presbyters, there were also 46 Churches: See *Baronius* in the Year of Christ 57. *Vales.*

(m) Some Editions read *καλυψόμενοι*, others *καλυπόμενοι*; but without doubt the true Reading is *ἀλειτουργοί*, that is, as *Rufinus* renders it, indigent Persons; or as the Roman Clergy explain it, Persons who could not maintain themselves. *Chrysostome* in his 67th Homily upon *Matthew*, saith, that the Church of *Antioch* in his Days, though it had but small Revenues, yet reliev'd above 3000 Widows and Virgins daily, besides Strangers, Lepers and Prisoners: And besides Clerks, whom it supplied with Meat and Cloathing. *Vales.*

in what Works of his own, or what good Practices he was so confident, as to aspire to a Bishoprick. Was it upon this account, that from the beginning he had been conversant in the Church, and had fought many Combats in defence of it, and had been in many and great perils upon account of Religion? No, this is nothing so. For the Devil who had entred into him, and for a long time dwelt in him, was the occasion of his being a deliever. He being relieved [thereof] by the Exorcists, fell into a grievous Distemper, and it being supposed that he would die immediately, he receiv'd Baptism, ((n) being besprinkled with Water,) on the Bed whereon he lay: (If that word *ἐκ-χυσθεῖς* *Rufinus* very well renders *perfusus*, besprinkled; for People which were sick, and baptized in their Beds, could not be dipp'd in Water by the Priest, but were sprinkled with Water by him: This Baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptiz'd were called ever afterwards *Clinici*, and by the 12th Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, these *Clinici* were prohibited Priesthood. *Chrysostome* describes this sort of Baptism in his 60th Homily, Tome the 2d. (to the *Catechumeni*;) *Cyprian*, in his 76th Epistle, holds this Baptism to be lawful and perfect. *Vales.*

Decius. can be termed Baptism :) Neither when he had escaped that Sickness, did he afterwards receive the other things which the (o) Canon of the Church enjoyneth should be received: Nor was he (p) sealed by the Bishop's Imposition of Hands; which if he never receiv'd, how did he receive the Holy Ghost? And again, a little after, he saith; 'This Man in the time of Persecution, through timorousness and a desire of life, deny'd that he was a Presbyter. For being desired and intreated by the Deacons that he would come out of his Chamber, in which he had shut himself up, and succour the Brethren as far as it was meet and possible for a Presbyter to succour the distressed Brethren, who wanted assistance: He was so far from complying with the Deacons who intreated him, that with great indignation he went his way, and departed. For he said he would no longer be a Presbyter; but was a favourer of another kind of Philosophy.' Having ran over some few Passages, he makes this addition hereto in these words: 'For this excellent Fellow has deserted the Church of God, in which, after he had receiv'd Baptism, he was (q) vouchsafed the Degree of Presbyter by the favour of the Bishop, who by Imposition of Hands Ordain'd him Priest: Who being (r) deny'd [Orders] by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity, (because it was not lawful for one who had been baptized in his Bed by reason of some Infirmitie, as he was, to be admitted into (s) any sacred Order,) the Bishop intreated licence might be granted him to Ordain this Person only.' To these impious acts he afterwards subjoyneth this other, the worst of all his wicked

(o) The Canon was this, That they who were baptized in their beds, if they recovered again, should afterwards go to the Bishop, that he might supply what was wanting in that Baptism. Novatianus is here accused by Cornelius, because, after his recovery, he never went to the Bishop for the completion of Baptism, as the Canon of the Church enjoyneth: For it is expressly commanded in the 47th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, and in Chap. 38. of the Council of Eliberis. Valef.

(p) Rufinus thinketh that by this Phrase [*τὸ σφραγιζόμενον καὶ τὸ ἐπισημαίνον*] is meant the *Chrism*, but I rather think he means the *imposition of Hands*, by which the Bishops gave the Holy Ghost to them who were baptized. Cyprian, to Fabianus, confirms our interpretation. 'Tis true *σφραγιζόμενον* signifies to sign, or mark, it also signifies, to lay hands on, as Innocentius uses it in his 3d and 6th Chap. to Decentius, and Marcellus in his Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza, and Ambrose (or whosoever it is who is the Author of those Books) upon the 4th Chap. of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. This Sealing of the baptized was sometimes perform'd with the *Chrism*, (that is) when the Person, in case of approaching death, had been baptized by some of the inferior Clergy, and not anointed; but if he had been perfectly baptized before, only imposition of Hands by the Bishop was required, as the Canon *Arausicanus* tells us. Hence I conjecture arose the custom of not using the *Chrism* in Baptism amongst the Novatians, (as Theodoret tells us they did not, in his third Book *Heret. Fabul.*) because their Ringleader Novatianus received Baptism without the *Chrism*. Valef.

(q) Hence we may gather that Novatianus immediately received Priest's Orders, being never Ordained Deacon, or Subdeacon: Which thing was at that time customary in the Church, as we may see in Origen and others. Valef.

(r) Formerly Bishops could not Ordain Priests without the consent of the Clergy, and People. Now concerning the requiring of the People's Votes in the Election of Presbyters, the Nicene Fathers themselves do evidence that, in their Synodical Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt. Out of several places of that Epistle we may gather, that the consent of the People was required in the Ordination of Clergy-men. The Holy Fathers also in that same Epistle deprive those Bishops who adhered to Meletius the Schismatick, of all Authority of proposing their names to the People, who were to be admitted into Holy Orders, and only granted it to those Bishops who were pure from all Schism. For, in those days, the Bishops gave up the names of them who were to be Ordained to the People, that if they had any thing to object against any of them, they might attest it openly; as we may read in the *Sacramentarium* of Gregory the Great. There is also an excellent passage in St. Chrysostome upon the same thing in his 18th Homily upon the second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. We have the whole Solemnity excellently described in the *Sacramentarium* of Gregory the Great, pag. 236. upon which place consult the whole Annotations of that most learned Man Hugo Menardus. Valef.

(s) *Κλῆρος* signifies a Degree or Order of them who have any Office in the Church. So Cornelius calls *κλῆρος πρεσβυτέρων*, the Presbytership. Eusebius and Irenaeus very often use *κλῆρος ἐπισκοπῆς* for the Dignity of a Bishop: *κλῆρος* signifies any degree whatsoever. Valef.

Exploits; saying thus; 'For he made Oblations, and distributed to every one a part thereof; which when he had (t) delivered, instead of blessing them, he compelled the wretched Men to swear, holding the hands of him that received with both his hands, and not letting them go, till the Persons had sworn, pronouncing these words; (for I will here make use of his own words :) Swear to me by the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt never desert me, and revolt to Cornelius. So the miserable Man was not permitted to taste before (u) he had cursed himself. And at the receiving of the Bread, instead of saying Amen, he says, I will never return to Cornelius.' Again, after some other words he says thus: 'Now you must understand he is stripped naked of all his Followers, and left desolate. The Brethren daily deserting him, and returning to the Church: And (x) Moses a blessed Martyr, (who lately amongst us suffered a famous and admirable Martyrdom,) taking notice in his life-time of this Man's Impudence and Folly, (y) depriv'd him of Communion, together with the five (z) Presbyters, who with him had voluntarily separated themselves from the Church.' Now at the end of his Epistle, he makes a Catalogue of those Bishops who were present at Rome, and condemn'd the folly of Novatus. He also gives an account of their names, and the name of every one's particular Church, in which he govern'd. He does also expressly mention those, who were not then present [at Rome,] but by Letters approv'd of the Sentence of the foresaid Bishops, together with their names, and the names of the Cities, from which each of them wrote. Thus much Cornelius has recorded in his Epistle to Fabius Bishop of Antioch.

posed to Novatianus: But I had rather read it *ἐαυτῷ*, with George Synellus. The meaning of the place then is this, That the unhappy Man was not permitted to taste, before he had solemnly cursed himself. Valef.

+ This Phrase [*ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*] has the same import with what Cornelius has said a little before, viz. [*ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*] For the faithful (when they received the Eucharist from the hands of the Priest) used to answer Amen, after the Priest, delivering the Sacrament: had said, The Body of our Lord, &c. See Ambrose in his B. 4. Chap. 5. De Sacrament: Cyril of Jerusalem, in his last Catechism; and August. B. 12. Chap. 10. against Faustus. Valef.

(x) Concerning this Moses, a Presbyter of Rome, Cyprian in his Epistles do speak frequently. After the Martyrdom of Fabianus Bishop of Rome (who suffered Anno Christi 250.) this Moses was apprehended, (together with Maximus the Presbyter, and Nicostatus the Deacon,) cast into Prison, where after 11 Months and 11 Days, he dy'd. See Cyprian's 15th Epistle to Moses and Maximus. Valef.

(y) Moses being a Presbyter had no Authority to excommunicate his fellow-Presbyters: All he could do was to separate himself from their Communion, when they came to visit him in Prison. This Phrase here [*ἀποκρίσας ἐπὶ τὸν*, i. e. he deprived him of Communion] the ancient Writers frequently used, when they spake of those Presbyters, who abstained from Communion with others. See Paulinus in the Life of St. Ambrose. Moses's depriving of Novatianus of Communion was, I suppose, done by him a little before his death. For at first Moses the Confessor had Communion with Novatianus: And when the Clergy of Rome wrote that Epistle to Cyprian (which among Cyprian's Epistles is accounted the 31,) Moses then had Communion with Novatianus; for both of them subscrib'd that Epistle. Moreover, Novatianus himself wrote an Epistle, as Cyprian attests in his Epistle to Anonianus: From which Epistle we may perceive the Wit and Eloquence of Novatianus; for that Epistle, we must confess, is a most elegant Piece; and it was written when Moses had been a year in Prison, as may be collected from Cyprian's Epistles to Moses. Valef.

(z) Who these five Presbyters were, who with Novatianus made a Schism, 'tis to me unknown. I can't think that Maximus the Presbyter and Confessor, who with Urbanus, Sidonius, Nicostatus, and the rest of the Confessors were seduced by Novatianus, adhered to his Party any long time. For Maximus and the rest of the Confessors went

Decius.

(t) It was the proper duty of the Priest to deliver

the Eucharist, and the Cup into the Hands of the Receivers. See Chrysostome's 46 Homily upon Matthew: In the 2d Council of Orleans, Chap. 15. the Deacons are forbid to presume to deliver the Body of Christ to the Believers, when the Priest is present. Valef.

(u) Every Oath has a Curse annex'd to it, which though it is not always expressed (as in this place) yet may be tacitly understood; which thing the Latin Translators did not take notice of, and hence they make

ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν, before he had devoted himself to him (i. e.) as they supposed.

George Synellus. The meaning of the place then is this, That the unhappy Man was not permitted to taste, before he had solemnly cursed himself. Valef.

went over to *Novatianus's* party after *Moses's* death. Indeed *Novatianus* separated himself from the Church before *Moses's* death, which happened in February, *Decius* 3, and *Eusebius* being *Consuls*: But the Confessors did not betake themselves to *Novatianus's* side till after *Moses's* death. So great was the power, and authority of *Moses*. Besides, 'tis evident the Confessors were not dismiss'd of their imprisonment till *Moses* was dead: For why should they be freed rather than *Moses*? Therefore they became *Novatianus's* followers after *Moses's* death. One *Maximus*, name-like to *Maximus* the Presbyter and Confessor, seems to have been one of these five Presbyters; whom *Novatianus* sent as his Messenger afterwards into *Africa*. Valef.

C H A P. XLIV.

Dionysius's Story concerning Serapion.

Decius. **D**ionysius Bishop of *Alexandria* sent Letters to to this same *Fabius*, who was something inclining to this Schism, and having discoursed several things concerning Repentance in his Letters to him, and also related the Combats of some who had undergone Martyrdom a little before at *Alexandria*, amongst other Stories, he relates a miraculous thing, which I thought necessary here to insert into this our History, it runs thus: "I will here propose to you one Example which hapned amongst us. There was amongst us one *Serapion* an old Man, a Believer; who for a long time had liv'd blameless: But in the time of Persecution he lapsed; he often petition'd for pardon, (a) but no body gave attention to him, because he had sacrific'd. Being taken with Sickness, he remain'd for the space of three days speechless, and senseless: Being a little refresh'd on the fourth day, he called his Daughter's Son to him, and said, Child, how long do you detain me? I pray make haste, and absolve me quickly, call one of the (b) Presbyters to me: And when he had spoken these words, he was again speechless. The Child ran to the Presbyter. It was now Night; and the Presbyter also was sick, and not able to come. But (because I had before given command, [that those People who were dying, if they desired it, and (c) especially if they had before humbly requested it, should be (d) absolved, that they might depart with a lively hope] he (e) gave (a) He means that none of the Clergy, or Laity, were moved with his entreaties so as to think him worthy of absolution. (For the People's Suffrages were required when any one was to be received into the Church, who for any fault had been excommunicated.) And the Bishop himself sometimes asked the Consent of the People, The People also did often intercede for the Penitents to the Bishop, as we may see in the preceding Chapter in the Epistle of Pope *Cornelius* to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch*. Valef.

(b) Some one may perhaps ask why *Serapion* did not rather send for the Bishop, whose Office it was to reconcile Penitents. The Bishop had given this Authority to the Presbyters, for fear, lest he being absent, any one should dye without Absolution and the Communion. See *Epiphanius* in his *Herese of the Arians*. This custom of committing this Authority to the Presbyters was usual in all great Cities. Valef.

(c) This was the Decree of the *African Synod* about the same time that *Dionysius* wrote these things. Valef.

(d) In the *Savil* and *Fuk*. MSS. before this word [*ἐπιειδης*] there are some Words inserted which also *Christopherson* inserts in his Translation: It may appear from this place that the Sacrament was delivered to such Penitents in case of necessity, without the reconciliatory imposition of Hands. And this Communion was called, the *Vitaticum*. See Canon the 77 and 78 of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, and the 39th Canon of the first Council of *Arausica*: This Communion was called also *dispensatoria*, because it was granted to dying Penitents, before the completion of the full time appointed for Repentance, and if the penitent Communicant recovered, it was perfected after his recovery by Imposition, he completing his time of Repentance. Valef.

(e) This that *Dionysius* here says concerning the giving of the Eucharist to the Boy to carry to the sick Person, ought not to seem strange, for it was frequently done a long time after; So that *St. Udalric* thought it necessary expressly to prohibit it, in his Synodical Speech which *Gretser* published, together with the Life of *Gregory the Seventh*, Chap. 20. But that which *Gretser* takes to be *St. Udalric's* Oration, I found lately to be the Synodical Epistle of *Ratherius* Bishop of *Verona* to his Clergy. And so 'tis entitled in the old *Laudunensian* MS. Valef.

to the Child a piece of the Sacrament, bidding *Decius.* him to (f) moisten it in Water, and put it into (f) *Rufinus* translates the old Man's Mouth: The Child return'd with this phrase it. And when he approached, before he came in; *Serapion* again recover'd himself a little, and said, Child thou art come, the Presbyter was not able to come; but do thou perform quickly what he enjoyn'd thee, and let me depart. The Boy moisten'd it in Water, and put it into his Mouth immediately: And when he had swallow'd it by little and little, he straightway gave up the Ghost. Is it not plain that he was preserved, and his Life prolong'd till he was absent us'd solv'd, that his Sin being quite blotted out, he might for the several good Works he perform'd, be (g) acknowledg'd [by Christ?"] Thus much *Dionysius*. *Adamantius* witnesseth in his 2d Book concerning the Miracles of *St. Columba*, Cap. 6. And *Bede* also in the Life of *St. Cuthbert*, Chap. 31. and in his Poem upon the same Man's Life; and several other Ecclesiastical Writers. But the Eucharist being put into the mouth of sick Persons, is mentioned in the 76th Canon of the 4th Council of *Carthage*; which Canon is, concerning sick Persons, who desired Repentance, but were speechless before the Priest came to them. See the Contents of that Canon. Valef.

(g) *Langus*, *Wolffius* and *Musculus* render *ὁμολογῆσαι* in this place by the Latin word *confiteri*; which, in my opinion, is intolerable. *Christopherson* renders it, in numerum Confessorum referri, to be reckoned amongst the Confessors: Which translation I like, if it be understood thus, referri à Christo, to be reckoned by Christ. For *Dionysius* alludeth to Christ's Words in the Gospel; He who shall confess me before Men, him will I also confess before my Father, &c. *Matth.* 10. 32. Valef.

C H A P. XLV.

Dionysius's Epistle to Novatus.

LET us now see what the same Person wrote to *Novatus*, who about this time disturb'd the Fraternity of the *Roman* Church. Take notice therefore how he writes to him, because he pretended that some of the Brethren were the Authors of his Apostacy and Schism, and how he yielded to it, being compelled by them. *Dionysius* sendeth greeting to our Brother (a) *Novatus*. If you (as you say) were seduced unwillingly, you should manifest it by a voluntary return. For better it were to endure any thing whatever, than that the Church of God should be rent asunder. Nor were Martyrdom less honourable if a Man suffer death before he will yield to raise Schism in the Church, than if he undergo it rather than he will yield to sacrifice to Idols. Yea, in my opinion, 'tis much more glorious, for in that case Man suffers Martyrdom for his own Soul's sake only: But in this he undergoes it for the sake of the whole Church. Wherefore now, if you can perswade or compel the Brethren to return to concord, your Good Deed will be greater than your Crime; for this will not be imputed to you; but that will be commended. But if you can effect nothing upon the Disobedient, save your own Soul. I wish you Health, and that you may embrace Peace in the Lord. These things he wrote to *Novatus*.

(a) *Hieronymus*, in his Catalogue, where he relates the beginning of this Epistle, in stead of *Novatus* more truly writes *Novatianus*. And so in *George Synellus's* Chronicle we read *Διονύσιος Νουατιανῶ* *Rufinus* says that *Dionysius* wrote two Epistles after the same Copy; one to *Novatus*, another to *Novatianus*; and at the end of *Dionysius's* Epistle to *Novatus*, which *Eusebius* here rehearseth, he adds thus much, And he wrote these same Words to *Novatianus*: Which Words are nowhere found in the Greek Text. The Greek Writers being deceived through the likeness of the Names, make a confusion betwixt *Novatus*, and *Novatianus*, using them both to signifie one and the same Person. Our Author *Eusebius* is also guilty of this mistake. Valef.

Decius:

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning Dionysius's other Epistles.

HE also wrote an Epistle concerning Repentance to them (a) in Egypt; in which he layeth down his Opinions concerning the Lapsed, and makes distinctions in the degrees of Faults. There is also extant a particular Book of his concerning Repentance, to Conon Bishop of the Church of Herimopolis. And another (b) objurgatory Epistle to his Flock at Alexandria. And amongst them there is an Epistle written to Origen concerning Martyrdom: And an Epistle to the Brethren at Laodicea, over whom Thelymidres was Bishop: He also writ concerning Repentance to the Brethren in Armenia, over whom (c) Meruzanes was Bishop. He writes to all these, and also to Cornelius Bishop of Rome, after he had received his Epistle concerning Novatus: Where he declares that he was invited by Helenus Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and those who were with him;

(a) Hieronymus in his Book concerning the Ecclesiastick Writers, saith, that Dionysius wrote this Epistle about Repentance, and the Order and Degree of Sins, to the Armenians. Vales.

(b) Musculus and Christophor. translate ἐπισπερτικὴν, an Hortatory Epistle; but not well: Eusebius uses the same word in his former Books. Vales.

(c) In the Maz. Med. and Fuk. MSS. in stead of μερεζάνης, 'tis μερεζάνης; he was Bishop of Armenia the Less, as I think. Vales.

and also by Firmilianus Bishop of Cappadocia, and by Theoctistus Bishop of Palestine, to meet them at the Synod at Antioch, where some Men endeavour'd to establish the Novatian Schism.

(d) Moreover, he sends him word that he had heard Fabian was dead, and that Demetrianus was appointed to be his Successor in the Bishoprick of Antioch. He also writes concerning the Bishop of Jerusalem in these very words: 'Also blessed Alexander being in Prison, there died a happy death.' There is extant besides this another Epistle of his sent by Hippolytus to the Brethren at Rome, concerning the (e) Office of a Deacon. He also wrote another to them concerning Peace, and concerning Repentance likewise. And again he wrote another to the Confessors there, who even at that present were favourers of Novatus's Opinion. He also sent to those same Men two other Epistles, after their return to the Church. He also compiled many more Epistles written to divers persons, wherein he has left to them, who at this time studiously peruse his Works, variety of profit.

(d) We must understand this News was written in the same Epistle, and not in another, as Christopherson thinks. Vales.

(e) Rufinus translates διακονικὴν de Ministeris, as if the Epistle were so intitled, because it treated concerning the Ministers of the Church. Vales.

Goar, who published Georgius Syncellus, and illustrated him with his Notes, thinks that this διακονικὴ was a kind of an Ecclesiastick Epistle, as were the Synodical, the Dimissory-Epistles, and the like: But I rather assent to Rufinus, that it was called διακονικὴ, because it treated concerning the Duty of a Deacon. Vales.

T H E
S E V E N T H B O O K
O f t h e E c c l e s i a s t i c a l H i s t o r y
O F
E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S.

The P R E F A C E.

Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, shall again assist us with his Words in the Composure of this Seventh Book of the Ecclesiastick History; who particularly relates all the Actions of his own Times, in the Epistles which he left to Posterity: And our Narration shall take its beginning from hence.

C H A P. I.

Concerning the Wickedness of Decius and Gallus.

GALLUS succeeds Decius, who was slain in a short time, together with his (a) Children, before he had fully compleated the (b) Second Year of his Reign. (c) About this time died Origen, having lived Seventy Years wanting one. But Dionysius in his Epistle to Hermammon, writes thus concerning Gallus: 'But neither did Gallus understand what was Decius's Destruction; neither did he before see what brought his Ruin; But he also stumbled upon the same Stone, which lay before his Eyes. He, (his Kingdom being in a happy state, and all Affairs succeeding according to his (d) desire) persecuted the Holy Men (Gallus. who offer'd up their Prayers to God for his Peace and Safety, and together with them, drove away those Prayers, by which they interceded for him.' This he writes concerning Gallus. MS. and Stephan. Edit. instead of *ἡ τὴν πᾶν*, read *ἡ τὴν πᾶν*. And make it a Metaphor taken from them who sail with Tide and Stream. Valef.

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C H A P. II.

Who about these Times were Bishops of Rome.

Cornelius having possess'd the Bishoprick of Rome about three years, Lucius was appointed his Successor. He having ministred in the Office not eight whole months, died, and relinquished the Dignity to Stephen. It was this Stephen to whom Dionysius wrote the first of his Epistles concerning Baptism, there being about that time a great Controversie raised, whether it were lawful for the Converts, of what Sect soever, to be cleansed by Baptism. (a) For an old Custom had prevail'd, that about these Converts only Imposition together with Prayer was to be used. (a) At these words we should begin the 3d Chapt.

for what follows concerning Cyprian, ought to be contain'd in the same Sentence with these last words in this Chapter. And before these words in all Books we find a distinction, which shews, here is to begin another Period. But Musculus and Christoph. begin the third Chapter where we do. Valef.

C H A P. III.

How Cyprian, with some Bishops which were of his mind, was the first that was of the Opinion, that the Converts of any Heretical Sect whatever, ought to be a rebaptized.

Cyprian then Bishop of Carthage was the (a) first of all, who thought, that Hereticks should not be admitted unless they were cleansed (a) Cyprian was not the first Author of this Opinion; but Agrippinus, who was Bishop of Carthage a long time before

(a) Baronius placeth Origen's Death at the Year of Christ 256. in the third Year of Gallus and Volusianus: Eusebius here placeth it in the same year that Decius died, and Gallus began to govern. But Eusebius himself in the 36th Chapter of the 6th Book of this History confirmeth what Baronius saith: For he says that in the 3d Year of Philip the Emperor's Reign, Origen was above 60 years old. And from the 3d Year of Philip's Reign to the 3d Year of Gallus and Volusianus's Consulship, 'tis 9 years. Moreover, if we say Origen liv'd 69 years, and died in the first year of Gallus the Emperor, he must necessarily be born in the 4th year of Commodus the Emperor: But the Chronicon Alexandr. assigns his Birth to the 9th Year of that Emperor. Valef.

before him, having assembled together the Bishops of *Africa* and *Numidia*, made a Decree that Hereticks should be re-baptiz'd, as *Cyprian* saith in his 71 and 73 Epistles. Therefore *Cyprian* ought here to be excused, who only endeavoured to maintain his Predecessors Opinion, which was establish'd by the Authority of a Synod. But this Custom of re-baptizing Hereticks, had been used in *Cappadocia* time out of mind, as *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* testifieth in his Epistle to *Cyprian*. Valef.

Gallus. from their former Error by Baptism. (b) But *Stephen* thinking no Innovations ought to be raised in opposition to the Tradition which had prevailed of old, was in no wise well pleased the Bishops at this.

of *Africa* is in the 74 and 75 Epist. of *Cyprian*. *Firmilianus* also, in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, relates some Heads of that Epistle, and confutes them. Valef.

C H A P. IV.

How many Epistles Dionysius wrote concerning this Controversie.

Dionysius therefore having written at large to * him concerning this business, at last certifieth him, that the Persecution being allay'd, the Churches in all places, which detested *Novatus's* (a) *Novelties*, had regain'd a general Peace amongst themselves: Thus he writes.

(a) Near *Novatus's* (the term here) has some allusion to *Novatus*, or *Novatianus's* name: Other Greek Authors call that which the Latines call *Novitates* *hæreses*, *Novelties*, *Innovations*, or *newness of Doctrine*, *νέωσις*. Valef.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the Peace which followed the Persecution.

(a) *Baronius* from this Epist. of *Dionysius's* (at the Year of Christ 259) gathers that the Eastern Bishops had renounced their Error, and adhered to *Stephen's* Opinion, that Hereticks were not to be rebaptiz'd.

But any considerate Reader of this Epistle will find it far otherwise. For the Subject of this Epistle is twofold. 1. Whether Hereticks were to be rebaptized. 2. Concerning the Unanimity of the Oriental Churches, which had abominated the *Novatian* Heresie, and decreed that the Lapsed should be received. He therefore tells him, that *Demetrius* Bishop of *Antioch*, Metropolitan of the East, and the rest had subscribed to this Opinion; which he knew would please *Stephen*, because *Fabius*, *Demetrius's* Predecessor, endeavour'd to establish the *Novatian* Heresie, as *Dionysius* before signified in the end of the 6th Book of this History. Valef.

(b) These words [*καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω*, and a little farther,] are not in the *Euk.* and *Savil* MSS. but *Syncellus*, *Nicephorus*, King's, *Mar.* and *Aled.* MSS. have them; and though some will have these words to signify *περαιτέρω* *ἐκκλησίαι*, the more remote Churches, yet I think that they are *Eusebius's* own words, repeating the Heads of *Dionysius's* Epistle. And this is my Reason, because in most of our MSS. there is a middle distinction at these words; therefore we translate it thus, a little further he writes. Valef.

(c) This City was in *Dionysius's* Days, and also till *Constantinus's* Time called *Ælia*. It was afterwards called *Jerusalem* (as I before noted) through the Pride of the Bishops of that See, who termed themselves the Successors of *James the Just*: Hence is it that *Rufinus* never calls it *Ælia*, but according to the manner of his Times, always *Jerusalem*. Valef.

(d) frequently relieve, and to whom you have *Gallus*. now written: *Mesopotamia* also, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*: And in a word, all People everywhere rejoyce for the Concord and Brotherly-love, and praise God." These are the words of *Dionysius*. But *Xystus* succeeds *Stephen* after he had executed the Episcopal Office two years. To him *Dionysius* wrote a second Epistle concerning Baptism, and set forth to him the Judgment and Opinion of *Stephen*, and the other Bishops. Concerning *Stephen* thus he writes: "Indeed he before wrote Letters concerning *Helenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the [Bishops] of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*. And moreover, concerning all the neighbouring Provinces, that he would have no communion with them for this very reason, because, says he, they rebaptize Hereticks. And consider the weightiness of the Affair; for truly I hear that there have been Determinations made in the (f) greatest Synods of Bishops concerning this business, that Hereticks which were converted, should be first Catechized, and then should be wash'd and cleansed from the Filth of their old and unclean Leaven. And I wrote to him, making intercession for all these Men. And afterwards he says; Also to our Well-beloved and Fellow-Presbyters, *Dionysius* and *Philemon* (who were formerly of *Stephen's* Opinion, and wrote to me concerning the same things) I before wrote in short, but now I have written more at large." But thus much concerning the said Controversie.

continued in the Church of *Rome* in his days. And to that purpose Collections were made in the Church. *Επαρκεῖν* properly signifies, to supply one with all things necessary for a journey, *viaticum* *præbere*, and also it signifies (as it does here) to relieve charitably, as we do Beggars, with Money, or Alms. So *Clemens Alex.* in his first Book *Stromat.* and *Chrysost.* in his 67 Homily upon *Matthew*, use the word. Valef.

(e) *Stephen* wrote another Epistle (besides that we mentioned, before he wrote to the Bishops of *Africa*) to the Eastern Bishops, which *Firmilianus* mentions in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, near the end: Where *Firmilianus* says, that he broke off all Peace and Friendship with the Eastern Bishops, but he did not, only threaten'd that he would renounce all communion with them, if they persisted in their old Opinion, as *Dionysius* here expressly testifieth. It is certain that *Stephen* never proceeded in this matter farther than threats; for after *Stephen's* death, *Dionysius* wrote to *Xystus* desiring his judgment in that point. For *Dionysius* inclined to the Opinion of the *Africans*, and the Eastern Bishops, as *Hieronymus* witnesseth. *Firmilianus* in his foresaid Epistle does strangely aggravate the business; so that some think from his words they may gather that *Stephen* excommunicated those Bishops: He was indeed much displeased that the *African* Synod should pretend to disannul so ancient a custom, and make Decrees, that Hereticks should be rebaptized, without the knowledge of the Church of *Rome*: But he never broke Peace with them, nor excommunicated them: For he wrote an answer to *Cyprian*. And altho' his Letters to *Cyprian* were something sharp, yet they still remain'd Friends: For *Cyprian* afterwards in his Letters to *Pompeius*, called *Stephen* Brother. In fine, the *Africans*, notwithstanding *Stephen's* Letters, rebaptiz'd Hereticks till the Times of *Constantine*, as we may see from the Council of *Orleans*. Valef.

(f) He means by these great Synods, the Synod of *Iconium*, of which see *Firmilianus's* Epistle to *Cyprian*; the Council of *Synnada*, and the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*: In which Council above eighty Bishops gave their Opinion, some of which were Martyrs and Confessors: In the Council of *Iconium* fifty Bishops met, as *August.* attests in Book 3. and Chap. 3. against *Crescens*. But the Eastern Churches, especially the Churches of *Cappadocia*, still retained their old custom of rebaptizing Hereticks. And that custom remained amongst them even till the first Synod of *Constantinople*. Valef.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Heresie of Sabellius.

(a) After this Head of discourse, he informs him of the (b) *Sabellian* Hereticks, who at that time of the King's MS. reads *ἐπ' αὐτῷ*, which reading we follow, and understand *κεφαλαιῶ*, which word is used in *Eusebius* before. Now *ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεφαλαιῶ*, signifies, *Post illud capitulum*, after that Chapter, or Head of his Discourse. *Dionysius's* Epistle to *Xystus* consisted of two principal Heads, which were the Matter and Subject of the whole, (*viz.*) Concerning Hereticks being rebaptized, and concerning *Sabellius's* Heresie. Valef.

(b) These Hereticks were very ancient, even before *Sabellius*, though those

those who maintained these Opinions were afterwards also denominated from *Sabellius*. For we find this was the Opinion of *Praxeas*, against whom *Tertullian* wrote. After *Praxeas* followed *Noetus*, (See *Epiphani. Heres. 57.*) from whom they were called *Noetiani*. Suddenly after *Noetus* arose *Sabellius*, from whom all which held the same Opinion, were afterwards called *Sabellians*. This *Sabellius* (the reviver of this Heresie) was a *Lybian*, born at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*: He affirmed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one Substance, one Person under three several Names, which in the time of the Old Testament gave the Law under the notion of the Father: In the New, was made Man in the capacity of the Son, and descended afterwards upon the Apostles, in the quality of the Holy Ghost. *Dionysius* undertakes this Man; but managing the Cause with too much eagerness and fervency of disputation, he bent the Stick too much the other way, asserting not only ἐτερότητα καὶ ὑπόστασιν, a distinction of Persons, but also ἑτερογένειαν, a difference of Essence, and an inequality of Power and Glory. Upon which account he is severely censured by St. Basil, (*Epist. 41. ad Magn. Philosoph.*) and others of the Ancients, as one of those who in a great measure opened the Gap to those *Arian* Impieties, which afterwards broke in upon the World.

Gallus. time abounded mightily; and thus he writes;
 ~~~~~ For concerning the Opinion which lately sprung up at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*, which is impious, and full of Blasphemies against God Almighty, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and contains much Infidelity against his only-begotten Son, the first-begotten of every Creature, the Word that was conversant amongst Men; and is full of stupidity and senselessness about the Holy Ghost: When Letters came to me from both Parties and Brethren to discourse with me, I wrote some (c) Epistles according to my ability with God's assistance, explaining those [Points] more at large like an Instructor: Of which Epistles I have sent you Copies.

*Dionysius* here seems to mean his Epistle to *Anthon* Bishop of *Bernice*, and that to *Telephorus*, and that to *Euphranor*: All against *Sabellius*. *Eusebius* mentions these Epistles, in Chap. 26. of this seventh Book. *Athanasius* in his defence of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* mentions but one Epistle of *Dionysius*'s to *Anthon* and *Euphranor*. *Dionysius* was accused by some Bishops of *Egypt*, for speaking some things about Christ in that Epistle which were not Orthodox. *Vales*.

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning the most execrable Error of the Hereticks, and concerning the Vision sent from God, which appeared to *Dionysius*, and the Ecclesiastick Canon be received.

THE same *Dionysius* in his third Epistle concerning Baptism, written to *Philemon*, Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, annexeth these words: 'I have read over the Books and Traditions of the Hereticks, defiling my Mind for a little while with their most accursed Inventions: Indeed, I received this advantage from them, that I can the better confute them in my own thoughts, and do grow to a greater detestation of them. And when one of my Brother-Presbyters prohibited me, fearing lest I should be mixed and disordered with the Filth of their Wickedness; (for he said my Mind would be defiled, and truly I was sensible he said true :) a Vision sent from God corroborated me. And a voice came to me, which gave me this express command, saying, Read all things that thou shalt take into thy hands, for thou art able to search into, and to examine every thing, and this was the principal cause of thy becoming a Christian: I gladly received the Vision, as being consonant with the (a) Words of the Apostle, who speaketh thus to those who are able,

(a) These Words

ἐπιμενετε τὰς ἀποδείξεις, be ye skilful Tryers or Examiners, are no where found in the Apostle. Indeed we have, in the first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* Chap. 5. ver. 21. these Words, Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good: Which are the same in effect with these, be ye Tryers, &c. But *Origen* and *Hieronymus* say that these words, *Estote boni*

*Trapezita*, are an express command of our Saviour's: And that the place out of the *Thessalonians* above-quoted has relation to these words *ἐπιμενετε τὰς ἀποδείξεις*, and exactly agrees with them; wherefore I am of the same mind with the Learned *Usher*, who in his *Proleg. to Ignatius's Epist.* cap. 8. says, this command of Christ is taken out of the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. These words are also quoted in *Cyril Hierosolymit.* his 6 Catechism, near the end. *Vales*.

'Be ye skilful \* Examiners.' Afterwards, having spoken something concerning all the Heresies, he continues, saying; 'I received this Rule and Canon from *Heraclas* our Blessed Pope. For the original is those who were Converts from Heresies, (altho' they were (b) Apostates from the Church; or rather not Apostates, but seemingly assembled themselves, and were privately discovered to frequent any of the Heterodox Teachers) he excommunicated, and would not again admit them into the Church although they intreated him before they had made a publick Confession of what they had heard from the adverse Party. And then he again admitted them to Communion, but thought no second Baptism was requisite for them, because they had before received Holy \* [Baptism] from him.' Again, after a copious discourse upon this Question, he thus concludes: 'This furthermore I understand, that the *Africans* of this Age were not the only Introducers of this Custom, but this was establish'd long before by Bishops, who were before our Age, in their most populous Assemblies, and in the (c) Synods of the Brethren at *Iconium*, and at *Synnada*, and amongst many other Persons; whose Sentiments and Determinations I will by no means overthrow, nor excite them to Contention and Strife. For it is the use of the Temple,

(which by the length of their journey they were sometimes disabled to do) these *Trapezita* set up their Tables in the very Temple, that so they might traffick with all that had use of them; in like manner as others brought *Oxen* and *Sheep* and *Doves*, to sell there to them which had not brought their Sacrifices with them. See Dr. *Hammond* on *Matt.* 21. v. 12.

(b) Here we may see the Difference between *Apostates*, and those which are simply called *Hereticks*. *Apostates* were them, who had been baptized in the Catholic Church, but had deserted the Church and revolted to *Hereticks*: *Simple Hereticks* were those who had never been admitted into the Church. And this was the custom in the Church, that *Apostates* as well as *simple Hereticks* should be received (when they returned to the Church) by imposition of Hands. St. *August.* in his 48 Epistle to *Vincentius* saith, the Church dealt more kindly with them who were never received into the Church, (that is with them who were simply *Hereticks*) than with them who had been received into her, and deserted her, (that is *Apostates*.) This is therefore the sense of *Dionysius*'s words here, as we may gather by the aforementioned Words of St. *August.* *Dionysius* here says, *Heraclas* his Predecessor had this form of admitting Converts, who had been *Apostate Hereticks*, into the Church. He required a publick Confession (which is called *Exomologesis*) of the Principles of that Heresie which they had followed; but he did not baptize them, because they had been before baptized: Immediately after this Confession he laid his Hands upon them (as we may gather from *Dionysius*'s words;) this imposition of hands upon an *Apostate*, and a *simple Heretick*, was different. The one was ad penitentiam, in order to Repentance: The other was ad tradendum Spiritum Sanctum, for the delivery of the Holy Ghost; the first was used at the admission of *Apostates*, the other at the admission of them whom they called *pure Hereticks*. See *Cyprian*'s Epistle to *Stephanus*. *Vales*.

\* In the *Med. MS.* and *Rob. Stephen's Edit.* the reading is [καὶ ὁ ἀγιος πνεύματός, &c. for they had received the holy Spirit, &c.] In the *King's, Mar. and Luk. MSS.* the word [πνεύματός, Spirit] is wanting: Which in my judgment is the truest reading. For *Dionysius* gives the reason why *Heraclas* did not reiterate Baptism in the admission of *Hereticks* in these words. [καὶ ὁ ἀγιος πνεύματός παρ' αὐτοῦ τετυγμένον] [understand *Βαπτισμὸς, Baptism*] [for they had before received Holy Baptism from him.] *Dionysius* calls Baptism Holy, to difference it from the Baptism of *Hereticks*; which *Cyprian*, *Firmilian*, and others (who at that time defended the opinion of not rebaptizing *Hereticks*) call profane: *Dionysius* was a favourer of their party, as appears both from his Epistles here quoted by *Eusebius*, and also from St. *Jerom*'s Testimony. *Vales*.

(c) That these Synods were before *Dionysius Alexand.* his time, we may easily gather by his own Words here: For he expressly affirms that these Synods were πολλὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν, long before our time. The same thing *Firmilianus* witnesseth, in his Epistle to *Cyprian* concerning the Synod of *Iconium*. This Synod was a long time before the Days of *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, as we may gather by *Firmilianus*'s Words in his said Epistle to *Cyprian*, where he expressly affirms that this Synod



of *Iconium* had been long since assembled: Also *Dionysius Alexand.* in his Epistle to *Philemon* Presbyter of *Rome*, which he wrote about the beginning of the presidency of *Xystus*, saith, that this Synod was solemnly assembled by the Bishops which preceded him a long time. Therefore this Synod seems to have been assembled about the end of *Alexander Severus's* Reign: About which time, as *Eusebius* in the 6th Book of this History recordeth, *Firmilianus* was newly promoted to the Dignity of Priest in the Church of *Cæsarea*. Therefore I cannot assent to *Baronius* and *Binius*, who reckon this Synod of *Iconium* in the Year of Christ 253, which was the 2d Year of *Stephen's* presidency. *Valef.*

*Gallus.* 'written: Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's land-mark, which thy fathers have set in thine inheritance.'

His fourth Epistle concerning Baptism, is written to *Dionysius*, who was at that time Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, and a little while after obtained the Bishoprick there. From which Epistle we may learn what a Learned and Admirable Man this same *Dionysius* was, by *Dionysius Alexandrinus's* Testimonies of him. After other things he writes to him in that Epistle concerning *Novatus* in these words:

#### C H A P. VIII.

##### Concerning *Novatus's* Heresie.

**F**OR with sufficient reason we abominate (a) *Novatianus*, who stir'd up Schism in the Church, and seduced some of the Brethren to Blasphemies and Impieties, and introduced most prophane Doctrine concerning God, and calumniously accused our most gracious Lord Jesus Christ as unmerciful; besides all these things he (b) disalloweth of Holy Baptism; and utterly abolisheth Faith, and the (c) Confession of Faith before Baptism: And he perfectly (d) banisheth the Holy Ghost from them, (although there, were some hope that it still rested in them, or would return to them again.)

of this Heretick only in this place of *Eusebius*. *Valef.*

(a) *Novatianus* who did not allow but condemn the Baptism of the Catholic Church, is truly here *ἀρεσκὴν πρὸς ἀποδομίαν* (i. e.) he rejected, and counted that Baptism as unprofitable and ineffectual to salvation. *Valef.*

(b) Gives the custom for the Catechumeni, or Catechized, before the receiving of Baptism to repeat the Creed. And at every Article the Priest asked them whether they believed; to which they answered, *Yes*, *Amen*. Wherefore when they said that they believed the Remission of Sins, *Novatians* who did not allow Remission of Sins, but abolished it, made it abolish that Confession of Faith which the Catechized repeated before Baptism. See *Cy. Lib. 7. th* and 76th Epistle. *Valef.*

(c) It is very difficult to understand what *Dionysius* here means by saying, *Novatians banished the Holy Spirit from the Brethren*: Perhaps by the Holy Spirit he means the Grace which was given to Penitents by imposition of hands when they were admitted into Communion, after the performance of the Act of Repentance. But then these words are very oblique, altho' there was some hope that it still rested in them, or would return to them again. 'Tis plain and evident that *Dionysius* here speaks concerning them who had lapsed, but how can the Holy Spirit be said to abide in them who had sinned? Indeed it may be said to return again to them after their Repentance, but can in no wise abide in them, for the Scripture saith, Every Soul which sinneth shall likewise perish. We must then understand it of them who had lapsed through weakness and ignorance: Who in those days were called *libellatici*, or sacrificers, (who had purchased libels of security from the Heathen Magistrate, for fear lest they should be compelled to sacrifice) for such as sin through weakness or ignorance, do not forfeit the Grace of the Spirit: But if this explication please not, we will understand it spoken of the Faithful: Some of whom retained the Holy Spirit which they received in Baptism, some lost it. From them who had lost it, *Novatianus* utterly expelled and banished the Holy Spirit, by denying them Repentance and Peace, by which the Grace of the Holy Spirit is regained; he drove it away from them who retained it, and kept it, by insinuating into their minds false and sinister Opinions of the Holy Ghost, as that he was unmerciful, implacable, &c. And so denied them, and utterly deprived them of all hopes of pardon for Sin committed. *Valef.*

#### C H A P. IX.

*Gallus.*

Concerning the Baptism of the Hereticks, that it is impious.

**D**ionysius's Fifth Epistle was written to *Xystus* Bishop of *Rome*. In which after much discourse against Hereticks, he relates this very accident which hapned in his days. 'For truly (Brother) I want your advice, and desire your judgment. Such a thing as this, coming to my knowledge, I fear lest I should err in it. For one of the Congregation of the Brethren, who was accounted an ancient Believer, a person who had been a Member of the Congregation before my Ordination, (yea, and as I think) before ever blessed *Heraclas* was constituted Bishop: This Man (I say) being present at the Baptism of some who were lately baptized, and having heard the Questions and their Answers, came to me weeping, and lamenting his own case: And falling down at my Feet he made a confession of, and renounced the Baptism which he had received from the Hereticks, that it was not of this kind, neither had it any likeness at all to this of ours; but was full of Impieties and Blasphemies. He also said that he was now most grievously prick'd in Mind, and had not the confidence to lift up his Eyes to God, having been initiated by such impious words and ceremonies. For this reason he pray'd that he might partake of the most pure Baptism, (a) Adoption (a) *ἁγία* and Grace: Which thing I durst not perform; *ἁγία* is by *Christo-* but told him that the daily Communion with *phor.* the Church he had so long enjoy'd was sufficient rendered *Ecclesiam,* for that. For I durst not rebaptize one who had *areceiv'g* heard the (b) giving of thanks, and had together with the rest of the Congregation said *amen* to it, and who had (c) stood before the holy *into the* Table, and (d) stretch'd out his hand to receive *Church;* the holy Food; and who had receiv'd it, and for *'tis by* a long time had been partaker of the Body and *Musculus* Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, I *rendered* bade him be of good courage, and approach the *susceptio* Holy Communion with a steadfast Faith, and a *only;* good Conscience. But he ceased not his Lamentations, and has been afraid to come to the holy *which* of. For *Baptism*

is termed *ἁγία*, because in it God receiveth us as his Sons: *ἁγία* may also be translated *perceptio*, for, so Baptism is styled in the MS. Acts of the Passion of St. *Genesius Mimus*. *Valef.*

(b) When the Priest had finished the solemn Prayer of the Eucharist, all the People with a joint Acclamation used to say aloud *Amen*, (that is) so be it. We must understand that place of St. Paul in the first Epistle to the *Corinth.* Chap. 14. v. 16. to be spoken in reference to this Custom, in which place St. Paul taxeth the *Hebrews*, who used the *Hebrew* or *Syrian* Language commonly in their Oblations and Divine Service, when the *Grecians* were present with them, (as the Commentator says upon the place.) This word *Amen* denotes the assent of the People to the Prayer made by another before them, and it is an expression of affirmation, which the Church still retaineth. *Valef.*

(c) From these Words [*τεταπὴν ἁγία*] we may gather that the Communicants came to the Altar, and received the Body of Christ from the Presbyter, standing up, and not upon their Knees, as we do now: Had it not been so, *Dionysius* would not have added *ἁγία*; which word we find to be properly used in reference to them who minister at the Altar. *Chrysostom* in his 41 Homily, upon the first Epistle to the *Corinth.* useth [*ὁ παρὰς τοῦ θυσιασίου*] for the Priest; but [*ὁ προσεὶσιντες, or προσελθόντες*] he useth to signify the Laity. But in the 44 Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* all Communicants were prohibited from coming to the Altar, except the Priests. *Valef.*

(d) In the Primitive Church the faithful Communicants came to the Altar with their Hands carefully washed, and when they were about to receive the Body of our Lord, they stretched out their right Hands bending them and making them hollow, and they put their left Hands under them lest they should drop any of that Holy Food. See *Chrysost.* 3d Homil. upon the *Ephefians*, and also his 52 Homil. upon *Matthew*. *Valef.*



Table, and can scarce endure to be present at the Prayers, altho' he be desired." There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides those before-spoken of concerning Baptism, which is directed from him and the Church he presided over, to Xystus and the Church at Rome. In which Epistle he enters into a prolix Argumentation about, and discourses at large upon the Question proposed. There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides these concerning Lucianus, which he wrote to Dionysius the Roman. But thus much concerning these things.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Valerian, and the Persecution in his Reign.

*Valerian.* Moreover, Gallus having not possessed the Empire two compleat years, was slain; Valerian and Gallienus his Son, succeeded in the Government. Again therefore, what Dionysius relateth concerning this [Valerian] we may gather out of his Epistle to Hermammion, in which he makes this Narration: "This also is reveal'd to St. John; for saith he, (a) And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies, and power was given unto him, [to continue] forty and two months. It is matter of wonder to see how both these things are fulfilled in Valerian, and especially if we consider how he behaved himself before the Persecution, how kind and how loving he was to the Servants of God: For no Emperor of all his Predecessors was so courteously, so lovingly disposed towards them (no not (b) those who are manifestly reported to have been Christians) as he was, who at the beginning of his Empire seem'd most merciful, most loving towards them. His whole Household was filled with pious Men, and was [seemingly] a Church of God. (c) But his Master, and (d) Chief of the Magicians of Egypt, per-

For whereas Valerian reigned almost seven years, as 'tis acknowledged by all; in his former three years he was mild towards the Christians, but in his latter triennium he raised a Persecution against the Church. Valerian began to reign in the year of Christ 253. (about the end of the year) Valerianus 2. and Maximus being Coss. This is manifest from the old Coins produced by Oeco and Goltzius, wherein Valerian is inscribed TRIBVN. P O T E S T A T. 3. Consul 3. Also, T R I B. P O T. 5. Cof. 4. The same may be gathered from Gallienus's Coins. Valef.

By these Christian Emperors he means Philip the first Christian Emperor (as many of the Ancients do affirm) of the Romans: But because he speaks in the plural number, we may add Alexander Severus, who in his private Chappel had Christ's Image, and favoured the Christians. But Dionysius here means those Emperors who were called and thought to be Christians, not that they were really so. Valef.

(a) This ἀρχισυνάγωγος ὃς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγαν, Baronius at the year of Christ 252. saith, was the same Man that excited the Alexandrians in the Reign of Decius to persecute the Christians. (See Chap. 21. Book 6. of this History: ) But I think it was quite a distinct Person, namely Macrianus, he that was afterwards Emperor, who stirred up Valerian to persecute the Christians: This Macrianus was Valerian's Master or Tutor, and by his evil Counsel it was that Valerian raised this Persecution; which thing Dionysius's following Words do confirm. Valef.

(d) This ἀρχισυνάγωγος, is a term borrowed from the Jews; for in their Synagogues there were these degrees of Officers; the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, or Rulers of the Synagogues; also Fathers of the Synagogues; Priests, Presbyters and Deacons of the Synagogues, whom they called Aganites; there were also Apostles and Patriarchs, who were set over all these: But what this ἀρχισυνάγωγος may mean in this place, we are yet to seek; Neither know we what these μέγροι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου were, except we call them Aruspices or Diviners, who were at Rome: Or we may call them the Priests of Isis and Serapis, over whom this Macrianus was Ruler or Chief. Now these Magicians were prohibited by the Jews, but the Roman Emperors, in imitation of Alexander the Great, had these Magicians with them in their Camps and in all their Exploits. Dio says, M. Antony, in his expedition into Germany, took Arnuphis an Egyptian Sorcerer along with him; so Valerian here had Magicians in his Army, and the Chief or Head of them was this Macrianus, as Dionysius attests. Valef.

swaded him to change his resolution: Bidding him murder and persecute those pure and holy Men, as being Impugners and Obstructors of accursed and abominable Sorceries. For there were then, and are yet living, Men, who with their very aspects, or (e) blowing upon, or words, are powerful enough utterly to dissipate the Cheats of noxious Demons. He advised him to perform impure Rites of Initiation, abominable Incantments and execrable Sacrifices; to cut the Throats of miserable Infants, to sacrifice the Children of unhappy Parents, to rip open the Bowels of new-born Babes; and to tear in pieces and cut asunder God's own Workmanship, as if by these Acts he should purchase for himself a prosperous Felicity." He also adds these words: "Indeed, (f) Macrianus offer'd acceptable Thank-offerings to the Demons for the Empire which he hoped for, who at first when he was named the Emperor's (g) Rationalist, did mind nothing that was reasonable, (b) or for the Publick: But he lay under the curse of the Prophet, which saith, (i) Wo to them who prophesie after their own hearts, and regard not the publick good. For he did not understand that there was a Providence which over-ruled all things. Neither had he regard to the Judgment of him, who was before all, is in all, and above all. Upon this account he was indeed an Adversary of his Catholick Church: But he alienated, and banished himself from the mercy of God, and fled away from his own Salvation as far as he could; in this thing verifying his own name." After some other Passages he again saith: "For Valerian, who was induced to act these things by his means, was exposed to Affronts and Reproaches, according to what was spoken to Esaias, saying, They have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations; I also will chuse their delusions, and recompence their sins upon them. (k) This Macrianus was most extraordinarily desirous of the

in reference to the δαίμονες, the Demons, and not βασιλεῖς, the Emperors, as some think; which interpretation if we should follow, the sense would be lost; but in our Translation the sense is plain and entire. And also although here we find Μακεῖνον, yet the Μακ. Med. and Fek. MSS. read Μακελιανός. So likewise the Writers of the Roman History, and the old Coins name this Tyrant. Valef.

(g) The Greeks call them ἐπὶ τοῦ καθελοῦ λόγων, whom the Latines call Rationales, vel procuratores summe rei; Receivers-General, or Stewards of the Emperor's Estate. Whose Procurator or Steward this Macrianus was, we cannot certainly tell; we must not suppose he was Valerian's. Valef.

(b) Dionysius here jesteth upon the word καθελικόν, by which he meaneth both the Steward's Office, and also the Catholick Religion, from which signification some gather our Religion to be called καθελικόν, quod sit rationalis, because 'tis rational: But I can scarce think that we can hence gather the Catholick Religion to be so called; for this word καθελικός does not signify rationalis, except we understand λογιστής a Steward, or Rationalist. We find this Title attributed to the Church about the first Age after the Apostles, see B. 4. Chap. 15. pag. 59. and in the Acts of the Martyrdom of Pionius the Martyr, who suffered in the Reign of Decius Augustus, it is so termed: About which time several Heresies arose, and endeavoured by their Traditions to subvert the true Faith of Christ, and the Doctrine of the Apostles. At that time, that the true Church might be distinguished from the adulterate Conventicles of Hereticks, this name Catholick was attributed to the Congregation of the Orthodox Persons. Valef.

(i) This place out of the 13th Chap. of Ezek. vers. 3. μη κατέλας βλέπειν, Hieronym. translates, non omnino vident, see not at all: But our Author Dionysius renders it as if it were την κατέλας περινοῖαν; accommodating the words of the Prophet, or rather of the Septuagint, to his own purpose. Valef.

\* Robert Stephens reads [τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, from his own Church:] But in the Kings, the Μακ. Fek. and Savil MSS. the reading is [τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, from his own Salvation.] Valef.

(k) Christoph. thought these words [ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐδεῖ τὸν δ' ἔλεον ἐπιμανεῖς, he was most extraordinarily desirous of the Empire] were spoken concerning Valerian, when as 'tis plain they must be referred to Macrianus. For he could not possibly say of Valerian, that he was unfit for the Empire which he coveted, for he was a most



eminent Man, the very chief of the City: And before he reigned (as Historians aver) was judged worthy of the Empire by common consent. This Translation and Mistake of *Christoph.* has also brought *Baronius* into an Error. *Valef.*

*Valerian.* Empire, but being unable to put on the Imperial Dignity, because of his feebleness of Body, he made his two Sons Emperors, who were Heirs of their Father's Iniquities. The Prophecy which God spake is most evidently accomplished in these two Brothers: *Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me:* For he imposed his own (l) evil Lusts which he could not enjoy, upon the Heads of his Children, and imprinted on them his own Wickedness and Hatred against God. Thus much *Dionysius* writeth concerning *Valerian.*

(l) *ὁν ἡ πόλις* we have rendered (which he could not enjoy) And if that reading [*ἡ πόλις*] be true, it must be so rendered: The King's MS. and *Steph.* Edit. read [*ἡ πόλις*]. But the *Alaz. Med.* and *Fuk. MSS.* read *ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ*, which he successfully obtained; and in my opinion 'tis the better reading: For *Macrianus* did obtain the Empire, which he was so desirous of, but by reason of his debility of Body he was unable to carry the *Insignia* of the Empire, but raised his two Sons to that Dignity, wherefore upon the obtaining of all these his desires, *Dionysius* might well say of him, *ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπ' ἰδίῳ ἐπιδουλόητο*, that he was *votum compos*, Master of all his wishes. As for this feebleness of Body (*ἀσθενεὶα τοῦ σώματος*) which he attributeth to *Macrianus*, we find it mentioned in no Historians, except in *Zonaras's Annals* (who was the only Man that gave us a true Relation of the Acts of *Macrianus* and his Sons) and he says *Macrianus* was lame. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning what then happened to *Dionysius*, and to those Christians which were in Egypt.

**B**UT concerning the Persecution which raged exceedingly against him; what [Sufferings] also he and others sustained upon account of the worship of the Supreme God, his own words will

\*The passage which follows, is an eminent fragment of the Epistle (or rather the Book) which *Dionysius* wrote against *Germanus* the Bishop; and it is to be joined to that other fragment of the same Book, which you had in Chap. 42. of Book 6. *Valef.*

(a) This place of *Dionysius* alludeth to that of *Saint Paul* in the 11th Chap. of the 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians* v. 15; where *St. Paul* useth this same exaltation, being about to commend himself: Upon which place see *Chrysostom's* Annotations. *Valef.*

(b) These words we find in the 12th Chap. of *Tobit*, ver. 7.

declare, which he wrote in answer to \* *Germanus*, a Bishop of those times, who endeavour'd out of malice to revile him: Thus he answers him. (a) I run the hazard of falling into great folly and stupidity, being compelled of necessity to relate the miraculous Providence of God concerning us. But because 'tis said; (b) *It is good to keep close the secrets of a King, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God:* Therefore I will hand to hand engage in the assault made against me by *Germanus*. I came to *Emilianus* not without company, for there followed me *Maximus* my Fellow-Presbyter, and *Fauftus*, *Eusebius*, and *Cheremon* who were Deacons. One of the Brethren of *Rome* also then present went in with us. Neither did *Emilianus* say to me at first, do not you hold solemn Assemblies; For this was needless for him to have said, and a recursion from the last to the first, or principal thing in hand: For it was not his desire that we should not assemble others, but his principal care was that we ourselves should not be Christians. And he commanded me to leave off that way of Worship, for he thought that if I would change my mind, others would follow my example: I replied not

impertinently but in short, that (c) *we ought to obey God rather than man.* But I openly protested that I worshipped him who is the only true God, and adored no

other, and that I would never change my mind, nor ever cease being a Christian. After these words he bid us depart thence into a Village called *Cephro* adjoining to the Wilderness. But hear what words passed on both sides, as we find them inserted in the

(d) Publick Records (e): When *Dionysius* and *Fauftus*, and *Maximus* and *Marcellus* and *Cheremon*, were brought in, *Emilianus* the Governour said; I have also discoursed with you by word of mouth concerning the Clemency which our Lords the Emperors have used towards you, for they have given you power to remain in safety, if you will but turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and adore the Gods which are Protectors of their Empire, and forget those things which are repugnant to nature. What

say you to these [Proposals?] For I hope you will not shew yourselves ungrateful towards their Clemency, because they incite you to better things. *Dionysius* replied, all Men do not worship the same Gods, but every one worships those whom they think to be Gods: But we pay reverence and adoration to one only God, the Creator of all things, who gave the Empire into the hands of the most Sacred and August Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. And to him we offer up our Prayers incessantly for the permanency and stability of their Empire. *Emilianus* the Governour said unto them, who hindereth you but you may also worship him (if he be a God) together with them who are by nature Gods: For you are commanded to worship the Gods, and also those Gods whom all Men own to be such: *Dionysius* replied, we adore no other. Then said *Emilianus* the Governour unto them, I see you are altogether ungrateful and insensible of the Emperor's Lenity towards you: Wherefore you shall not abide in this City, but shall be sent into the parts of *Libya*, to a place

called † *Cephro*; for this place I have design'd for you according to our Emperor's command; and it shall in no wise be suffer'd that either you, or any others, keep your Meetings, or have recourse to the places called the (f) *Cameteries*; but if it appears that any one of you be not gone to the place which I have commanded you to go to, or shall be found afterwards in any Assembly, he will bring imminent danger upon himself, for a necessary observation [thereof] shall not be wanting. Therefore depart

Chap. 5. of the Acts of the Apostles, ver. 29. they are *St. Peter's* answer to the *Sanhedrim*, when they laid to their charge the preaching the Gospel: But how these words come in in this place I cannot tell, except we read with the Kings MS. *ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ἐκ ἀποστόλων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος ὁ Ἀποστόλος*, &c. (i. e.) I answered him not absurdly, and not much unlike the answer of the Apostle. *Valef.*

(d) *Christophorus* translates [*ἐν κοινῇ*] sicut a quibusdam in *Commentariis relata sunt*; but we have rendered it thus, as they are inserted in the Publick Records. For the Greeks use *κοινὴν* in the same sense as the Latines use their word *Acta*, see Book 1. Chap. 9. Note (b.) Those which wrote these, *ἐπισημασμένοι*, the Latines call *ab Actis*, Registers, Records. We find mention of the Registers of *Alexandria* in several places. *Lucianus* was once Recorder of *Alexandria*, and he saith he had a large Salary out of the City-Treasury for the performance of this Office; and for the good execution thereof he had the Government of a Province conferred upon him. *Valef.*

(e) This was the form of their publick Acts, as *Amm. Marc.* informs us in his 22 Book. *Valef.*

† *Cephro* was the most rude and barbarous tract of the *Lybian* Desert; and *Coluthio* (a place hereafter mentioned in this Chapter, to which *Dionysius* was in particular designed) was, 'tis like, the most uncomfortable part of that tract. See *Nicephor. B. 6. Chap. 10.*

(f) Those places which *Eusebius* in Greek here calls *κοιμητήρια*, the Latines call *Areae*. *Valef.* They were the places where the Martyrs were usually buried; upon which account the Christians frequented them. See Book 4. Chap. 15. Note (a.)



Valerian. depart hence whither you are commanded: And he compell'd me, altho' I was sick, to depart, and gave not one day's respite. (g) How then could I have any leisure to call or not to call a Meeting? After some Passages again he saith; But neither were we absent (by God's assistance) from a corporal Congregation: For with greater diligence I gathered together those in the City, as if I had been present with them, being absent in Body (as I (b) said) but present in Spirit. In Cephro also there was a great Congregation assembled with us, some of whom were the Brethren who follow'd us out of the City; others came thither from the rest of Egypt: And there God opened to us a Door [to preach his] Word: At first indeed we were persecuted and stoned: But afterwards some

(g) Here Dionysius answers Germanus's Cavil, who accused him, because he never called an Assembly of the Brethren before the Persecution began; which was a custom in those days, (viz.) That the Bishops, upon the approach of a Persecution, should gather the People together, and exhort them to a constant perseverance in Christianity; and Baptize Infants, and Catechumens, lest they should die unbaptized; and also distribute the Sacrament to Believers. Valef.

(b) Altho' we read here [ὡς ἔπειτα] and have so translated it; yet the Maz. and Med. MSS. read [ὡς ἐπεί] [as one may say:] The Eux. and Savil MSS. read ὡς ἔπειτα ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, as the Apostle said: 'Tis certain Dionys. here alludeth to that of the Apostle in the First to the Corinth. Chap. 5. Ver. 3. Valef.

of the Heathens, and those not a few, forsook their Idols, and were converted to God; for the Word, which they had not before received, was then first sown amongst them by us; as if God had sent us away to them for this End. After we had here fulfilled the Ministry, he again removed us to another place. For Amilianus resolved to convey us into places more uncomfortable (as he thought) and more like the Lybian Desert: And he gave command that we should altogether repair to Marcotis, having allotted particular Villages throughout that Region for every of us. But he ordered us to reside near the High-road, that we might be the first that should be apprehended. For this was wholly his Contrivance and Provision, that whenever he had a mind to apprehend us, he might have all of us easily taken without any trouble. But when I was commanded to depart to Cephro, although I knew not where the place lay, (having scarce ever before heard the name of it,) yet I went away willingly, and not at all disturb'd. But when they told me I was to

(i) In the Original the reading is [τὰ κολλυθία] but we must necessarily understand μέρος [parts,] and so we have translated it. This Coluthio was a part of the Marcotic Prefecture in Egypt; so called from them who were formerly Possessors of it. Colutho is a common name amongst the Egyptians, and hence came κολλυθίων which in Niceph. we find written with a single (L.) There were several Egyptians called by this name Colutho. Valef.

Brethren and good Men, and exposed to the Disturbances of Travellers, and Incurfions of Thieves. But I received comfort by the Brethren, when they suggested to me, that it lay nearer to the City; and although Cephro had brought us a great Multitude of Brethren out of Egypt, so that we could hold larger Assemblies, yet there, the City lying nearer, we should more frequently enjoy the Company of our truly beloved Friends and Acquaintance, for they would flock thither, and reside with us. And there would

be (k) particular Congregations, as if it were in the more remote Suburbs. And so it fell out to be." After some other discourse he thus again (k) These writeth concerning what happen'd unto him. words, [But perhaps] Germanus \* glorieth in his many Confessions; and he can enumerate a great many [Afflictions] which have befallen him. But how many Sentences of the Judges may he reckon up which were pronounc'd against us; [how many] Confiscations, Proscriptions, Plundering of Goods, (l) Deprivations of Dignities, Contempts of worldly Glory, Despisings of the Praises of the Prefects and (m) Senators: What patient sufferance of publick Menaces, of Exclamations against us, and of Perils, and of Persecutions, of wandering up and down in Exile, and of Anxieties, and of all sort of Tribulation: What things happen'd to me under Decius, and (n) Sabinus, and what to this present under (o) Amilianus. But where appear'd Germanus? What report is there concerning him? But I desist from this great Imprudence which I am fallen into upon Germanus's account. Wherefore I willingly give those Brethren, who perfectly know these matters, leave to make a Narration of every thing which did befall us." The same Dionysius, in his Epistle to Domitius and Didymus, doth again in these words mention some things concerning this Persecution; "It is superfluous to recite to you, who knew them not, the names of all our [Martyrs,] which were very many. But understand thus much, that both Men and Women; Young and Old; young Women and ancient Women; Soldiers and Rusticks; Persons of all sorts, and all Ages; some of them having been victorious in the Combate by Scourges and Fire, and others by the Sword, received Crowns of [Martyrdom.] But a long interval of time pass'd away, being insufficient to make some appear acceptable to the Lord: In like manner, as for me it hath not seem'd [sufficient to make me acceptable] who have continued even till this (o) These time: Wherefore God hath reserved me for a time words which he knows to be opportune, who saith; (o) cur in Isa.

Valerian. These words, which we here translate particular Congregations, are in Greek ἐκκλησίαι συναγωγῶν. Those that dwell in the remotest parts of the Suburbs were not bound to come to the Congregation of the Great Church: But in that part of the Suburbs there were particular Assemblies in a Church, or some other place fit for that purpose. Thus much we may gather by this Passage of Dionysius. Moreover, the Greeks did not call those places only which joyned to the City ἐκκλησία, but also the Villages which were a great way distant from the City. Canopus which was twelve miles from Alexandria, is called by Athanasius, in his Libel which he presented to the Council of Chalcedon, ἐκκλησία. Further, from this place we may gather, that in Dionysius's days there was but one Church in Alexandria, whither all the Christians assembled themselves to pray: But afterwards, in the Days of Athanasius, the number of the Churches being increased by the bounty of the Bishops of Alexandria, the Citizens of Alexandria had particular Congregations in divers Churches; except in the solemn Festivals of Easter and Whitsontide, when all the People assembled themselves in the Great Church. Valef.

\* These things concerning Germanus are here spoken ironically. Valef.

(l) By these words, ἀξιώσεων στέρησις, Deprivations of Dignities; we may conjecture that Dionysius was descended of a good Family; for dignitas is that which cometh by nobleness of birth. Thus we find, in Gest. Purgat. Cecilian, that Victor being ask'd by Zenophilus the President, cujus conditionis esset, he answered, he was Professor litterarum Romanarum, and when he ask'd him cujus dignitatis esset, he answered he was spiriting a Patre Decurione Constantinienfium, avo milite, qui in Comitatu militaverat. Dionysius Alexandrinus, before he turn'd Christian, was by Profession an Orator, or Teacher of Rhetorick. Valef.

(m) Augustus commanded the Alexandrians to govern their City without any Senators or Aldermen. But afterwards Severus the Emperor granted the Alexandrians power of having a Senate, as we may read in Book 51. of Dio. And in Athanasius's Epistle Ad solitarios, there is mention of the Senators of Alexandria. Valef.

(n) This Sabinus was Prefect of Egypt under Decius the Emperor; of him Dionysius speaketh in his Epistle to Fabius, which Epistle is quoted in Chap. 41. Book 6. of this History: But Amilianus, who is here mentioned as Governour, afterwards seized the Empire, as Pollio writeth in his 30 Tyrants. Valef.



*Valerian.* In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee. But because you are inquisitive after our Affairs, and desirous to be informed in what condition we live: You have fully heard, how when I, Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul were led away Prisoners by the Centurion, and (p) the Magistrates [of Alexandria] and the Guards and Officers that were with them, (q) some of them of Marcotis came upon them, and took us away by force, dragging us by violence who were unwilling, and would not follow them. But at this present, I, and Caius, and Peter being alone, and deprived of the rest of the Brethren, are shut up in a desert and most uncomfortable place of Libya, being three days journey distant from Parætonium. And a little after these words, he saith; Some have hid themselves secretly in the City that they may visit the Brethren; as Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, who are Presbyters. (For Faustinus and Aquila being Men more eminently known in the World, travel up and down Egypt.) But the Deacons that are surviving, besides those that died in (r) the Plague, are these: Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon. Eusebius, [I say,] one whom God hath empowered from the beginning, and furnished with great vigour to fulfil the Office of Ministration to the Confessors in Prison, and to perform the Funeral (s) Rites due to the Bodies of the perfected and blessed Martyrs, with great hazard and danger. For to this very present the Governour ceaseth not most cruelly to slay some who are brought before him, (as I before told you) to tear in pieces others with tortures, and to make other some to pine away in Prisons, and Bonds, giving a strict charge that none approach them, and making diligent search whether any one be seen to come near them. Notwithstanding, God through the cheerfulness and fortitude of the Brethren, doth incessantly refresh the afflicted. These are Dionysius's words, and are contained in that Epistle.

Wherefore this word *ἐπαγγέλλομαι* must here signify some other Officer besides a Captain, we will therefore render it the *Duumviri*, or, as we call them, the *Sheriffs*, or *Magistrates of Alexandria*; which are in Greek often called *ἐπαγγέλλομαι*. Now it was the duty of these Magistrates to apprehend Criminals, commit them to Prison, examine them, &c. still reserving the power of judging to the Roman President. Wherefore 'tis not here absurd, but very reasonable to say, these *Duumviri* assisted the Governour in leading these Men into banishment: The following Words also *ἐπαγγέλλομαι* and *ἐπεσφίζομαι* confirm our Opinion: For *ἐπεσφίζομαι* are the Guards which belonged to the Pretest; *ἐπαγγέλλομαι* are the Officers belonging to the *Duumviri*, or *Sheriff*. Athanasius in his Epistle ad Solitarios, calls this Magistrate, or *Duumvir*, *ἐπαγγέλλομαι*. Valef.

(q) These things hapned in the first Persecution under Decius, at that time when Dionysius, by the sentence of Sabinus the Governour, was led to Taposiris. See his own Epistle to Fabius in Chap. 40. Book 6. And whosoever does compare that Epistle with this here, he will conclude them both written concerning the same thing. Wherefore, Eusebius mistakes when he thinks that the subject of this Epistle here to Domitius is that thing which happened in Valerian's Reign: For none of these things which he here mentioneth, happened in Valerian's Reign, but in the Persecution which began a little before Decius's Reign, as Dionysius himself saith in his Epist. against Germanus, which Eusebius quoteth in the 6th Book. But in the Persecution under Valerian, he had only those Companions which he mentions in the beginning of this Chapter. Valef.

(r) Rufinus in stead of *νόσος* readeth *ῥήσος*, and accordingly he translates the place, *some who dyed in the Island*: But Dionysius means the Plague, which in Gallus and Volusianus's time, spread itself quite through the Roman Empire, as Eusebius and others Record. Valef.

(s) Christoph. renders this word *ἐν σπασματι*, by a long Periphrasis thus, *ad linthea, quibus corpora beatorum Martyrum jam vitâ defunctorum involverentur, consuecunda*; he all along having relation to the usage in our days, for with us the dead are wrapped in linnen-cloth, and so interr'd. But the Ancients, I mean the Christians, used to wrap the dead in most costly cloathes, and so bury them: But for Christopherson's translation, we have Athanasius's authority, who saith, in his life of St. Anthony, that the Egyptians used to wrap their dead Bodies, especially those of the Holy Martyrs in Linnen, and did not inter them, but laid them upon Beds, and kept them within their own private Houses. Valef.

We must further understand, that this Eusebius Valerian, whom he before called a Deacon, was a (t) great while after constituted Bishop of the Church of (t) The words Laodicea in Syria. And Maximus, who he said was then a Presbyter, succeeded Dionysius himself in the Government of the Brethren at Alexandria. Faustus also, (who together with Dionysius was at that time famous for his being a Confessor) was reserv'd even till the Persecution in our days, and being very old, and full of years, he was persecuted by Martyrdom, being beheaded even in our Age. But thus much concerning what hapned to Dionysius about that time.

was a great while after that Eusebius was ordained Bishop of Laodicea: For he succeeded Socrates, as Eusebius attests a little lower. Valef.

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Martyrs which suffered at Cæsarea in Palestine.

IN this Persecution under Valerian, three Men of Cæsarea in Palestine very eminent for their Confession of Christ, were crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, being made food for the Wild Beasts. One of them was called Priscus; the other Malchus; the name of the third was Alexander. They report that these Men, living in the Country, should blame themselves first for being careless and slothful Persons, because they were negligent of, and did not eagerly catch at the Crown of Martyrdom, seeing that was a seasonable time of distributing those rewards of Victory to them who had the least spark of Celestial love in them. Then, when they had consulted about these things amongst themselves, they took a journey to Cæsarea, and went immediately to the place where the Judge was, and received the afore-mention'd Sentence of Death. Besides these, there was a Woman of the same City, in the same Persecution, who they report, strove in the same Combat: But 'tis famed that she was one of Marcion's Sect.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Peace under Gallienus.

(a) BUT not long after, Valerian being (b) captivated and enslaved by the Barbarians, his Son reigned alone, who behav'd himself more prudently in his Empire. He immediately putteth a stop to the Persecution against us by his Edicts; and gave command that the Prelates of our Religion should securely, and with freedom execute their usual Offices, by his Rescript which runs thus: EMPEROR CÆSAR PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALLIENUS, PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS, To Dionysius, Pinna, Demetrius, and the rest of the

Bishops: We have commanded that the Indulgence of our Gracious Bounty be published through the whole World: That all shall quickly depart out of Religious places. And for this cause you are empower'd to make

(a) Rufinus here alters the course of the Chapters, and placeth these which we place here as the 12th and 14th, after the 19 Chapter immediately; but in his Index before his History he keeps the same method as the Greek Copies of Eusebius does: Why he should here pervert the Order, I cannot tell; except it is, because he thinks it is more convenient to subjoin the sufferings of Marinus, and Asturius to the sufferings of the Martyrs of Cæsarea. But he ought to observe that those Martyrs of Cæsarea suffered in Valerian's Persecution; but Marinus and Asturius suffered in the Reign of Gallienus. This mistake of Rufinus has brought several other Authors into the same Error. Valef.

(b) Valerian was taken captive by the King of Persia, in the year of Christ 259.



Gallienus. make use of a Copy of our Rescript, that no body may molest you : And that which is lawful for you to put in execution was granted by Us long ago : And

(c) For an upon this account Aurelius Cyrenius, Our (c) High-  
Steward shall keep the Copy of this Edict granted  
by Us. For the more manifest understanding of  
these things, they were translated by Us out of  
Latin into Greek, and here inserted. There is  
also extant another Rescript sent to other Bishops,  
in which he permitteth to them the Restauration  
of the places called (d) Cæmeteria.

pag. 112.

(d) They were the places where they buried their Dead, and often  
assembled for their Religious Solemnities, especially the Memorials of  
the Martyrs ; as has before been remark'd.

## C H A P. XIV.

What Bishops flourish'd in those Times.

(a) Xystus AT this time (a) Xystus still continued to pre-  
side over the Church of Rome ; but Deme-  
trianus succeeded Fabius in the Bishoprick of An-  
tioch ; Firmilianus was Bishop of Cæsarea in Cap-  
padocia : Moreover, Gregorius, and his Brother  
Athenodorus governed the Churches of Pontus ;  
they were both Origen's Scholars. Theophilus  
Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine being dead, Dom-  
nus succeeded in that Bishoprick : He living but  
a little while, Theotecnus, who lived till our times,  
was constituted his Successor. And this person  
also was one of Origen's School. But Mazabanes  
of Jerusalem being dead, Hymenæus succeeded  
in that See, who also was very eminent in our  
days.

see in Cyprian's Epistle. Valef.

## C H A P. XV.

How Marinus was Martyr'd at Cæsarea.

A General Peace being at this time restored  
to the Churches in Cæsarea of Palestine, Ma-  
rinus, a Man honour'd with a (a) Military Digi-  
nity, and eminent for Descent and Riches,  
was beheaded for his Confession of Christ,  
upon this account. There is a certain Digi-  
nity amongst the Romans termed the (b) Vine,  
which those that obtain'd, are said to be made  
Centurions ; (c) this place being vacant, Ma-  
rinus, whose course in order it was, was called to  
that Promotion : When he was forthwith to have  
been invested in that Dignity, there came ano-  
ther before the Tribunal, and accused him, say-  
ing, it was unlawful according to the Old Laws,  
for him to hold any Dignity amongst the Ro-  
mans ; for he was a Christian, and did not sa-  
crifice to the Emperors ; therefore the Office be-  
longed to him. (d) Achæus (for that was the  
name of the Judge) being enraged at this, first  
ask'd Marinus what Opinion he was of : Then  
when he saw that he stedfastly confess'd himself  
to be a Christian, he granted him three hours  
respite for deliberation. When he was gone out  
of the place of Judicature Theotecnus the Bishop of  
that City coming to him, taketh him aside to  
discourse with him ; and laying hold of his Hand,  
leads him to the Church ; wherein when he had  
placed him at the very Altar, he put his (e) Cloak  
a little aside, and shewed him the Sword where-  
with he was girded, and also brought the Book  
of the Sacred Gospels and placed it right against  
him, bidding him on his own accord to take  
which of those two best pleased him. When Mari-  
nus without any delay had put forth his Right  
Hand, and taken up the Sacred Book, Theotecnus  
said unto him, adhere therefore, adhere to God ;  
and being empower'd by him thou shalt obtain  
what thou hast chosen ; go in peace. Immedi-  
ately as he return'd from the Church, the Cryer,  
who stood before the Tribunal, called him ; for the  
time allotted him was now accomplish'd : When  
he was brought before the place of Judicature,  
and had shew'd a greater courage in the Confession  
of the Faith than he did before, immediately he  
was halled away to Execution, and was (f) crown'd  
with Martyrdom.

erroneous Reading. The Clamys and the Balteus (i. e. the Cloak and  
the Belt) were Military Badges, as may be proved from innumerable  
places in Chrysostom, Libanius, and others. Valef.

(f) The term here is [τελειῶται,] i. e. he was perfected by Martyr-  
dom. For Martyrs were initiated by Confession, and perfected by  
Death ; as Dionysius phrases it at the end of Chap. 11. in this Book.  
Clemens Alexandrinus (in Book 4. Stromat. pag. 206.) gives another  
reason, why Martyrdom is called τελειωσις ὅτι τελειὸν ἐργον ἀγάπης  
ἐνδείκνυται, because it demonstrates the Perfection of Love. Valef.

## C H A P. XVI.

A Relation concerning Astyrius.

A Styrius also is much fam'd for his Religious  
boldness and freedom at that time : A Man  
who was a Roman Senator, a singular Favourite  
of the Emperor's : And both for his nobleness of  
Birth and Estate, known to all Persons. He, be-  
ing present at the Death of the foresaid Martyr,  
took up the Corps, wrapped it in a white and  
precious Garment, laid it upon his Shoulders and  
carried it away ; and when he had adorn'd it ve-  
ry richly, he deposited it in a decent Grave. This  
Person's Familiars, who lived till our days, re-  
late infinite other things concerning him.

## C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the mighty Miracles of our Saviour at  
Paneas.

A Mongst which they relate this Miracle. At  
Cæsarea-Philippi, (which the (a) Phœnicians (a) Those  
call Paneas) they report there are Springs to be whom our  
Eusebius  
here calls ποινῆς, Phœnicians, are the Grecians which inhabited Phœ-  
nicia. For Paneas is a Greek name, the Syrians, or rather the Syro-  
Phœnicians, called this City Dan, as S. Jerom affirms in his Questions  
on Genesis ; his words are these : Dan Phœnices oppidum, quod nunc  
M 3 Paneas



*Panæas dicitur. Dan autem unus e fontibus Jordanis. Nam & alter vocatur Jor, quod interpretatur p̄thegv. Duobus ergo fontibus, qui hauriunt a se distant, in unum rivulum federatis, Jordanis deinceps appellatur; i. e. Dan is a Town of Phœnicia, which is now called Panæas. Also Dan is the name of one of the Spring-heads of Jordan. For the other is named Jor, the Interpretation whereof is [a Stream.] These two Fountains therefore, which are not far distant from each other, are united into one Rivulet, which is afterwards called Jordan. Valef.*

*Gallienus.* seen at the foot of the Mountain called *Panius*, out of which the River *Jordan* hath its Original. They say, that on a certain Festival they used

(b) This custom, *σπαργον κα-ταβਾਲεσαι*, of casting the Sacrifice into the Springs, or Wells, which they worshipped, was used by the Heathens. And hence it is that *Publicola* asked *Augustine*, in his 153. Epistle, whether it were lawful to drink of that Spring or Well, into which any part of a Sacrifice had been cast. *Valef.*

to (b) cast a Sacrifice into these Springs, and by the Power of the Devil it would miraculously vanish out of sight: And that this was a Miracle much talk'd of by them who had seen it. *Astyrinus* therefore being upon a time present with those that did this, and seeing many

struck with admiration at what was done, was sorry for their Error. Then he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and besought the supreme God, by Jesus Christ, that he would rebuke this Devil which seduced the People, and command him to cease from deceiving of Men. They report that when he had prayed thus, the Sacrifice floated upon the Waters immediately. Thus perish'd their Miracle, and never afterwards was there any Prodigy done near that place.

#### C H A P. XVIII.

*Concerning the Statue, which the Woman who had the Flux of Blood, erected.*

**B**UT since I have made mention of this City, I think it not at all unsuitable to produce a Story, which is worthy to be related to Posterity.

(a) This place of *Eusebius*, concerning the Woman who had the Issue of Blood, is quoted in the *Seventh Synod, Act. 4. pag. 508.* See also what *Philostorgius* saith in his *Seventh Book, Chap. 3.* And what *Nicephorus*, who borroweth it from him. *Valef.*

For they say that the Woman, (a) who had the Issue of Blood, whom the sacred Gospels inform us to have been healed by our Saviour, was born in this City: And that her House may be seen there, and that the

illustrious Monuments of our Saviour's beneficence shown towards her do yet remain. For near the Gate of her House (tis said) stands upon a Pillar of Stone, the Effigies of a Woman in Brass, kneeling on her Knees, and stretching forth her Hands forward in the form of a Suppliant. On the other side opposite to it stood another Image of a Man made of the same Metal standing upright, dressed decently in a short Vesture, and stretching out his Hand towards the Woman. At whose Feet upon the Base of the Pillar 'tis said there springs up a strange kind of an Herb, which grows up to the

\* *Διπλοῖδω* it sometimes signifies a Military Cloak: This term occurs *Iul. 109. 29.* where 'tis rendred a Mantle.

(b) *Rufinus* understands this place [*μεχρὲς τῆς περιστάσεως ἀνίου*] so, as if this Herb had no healing virtue till it was grown up to the Skirt of our Saviour's Vesture: But since *Eusebius* does not expressly determine it that way, every one may interpret the place as pleaseth him best. I think *Eusebius* meaneth by the addition of these words, that the Herb grew up no higher than the Skirt of our Saviour's Doublet, as if it were in reverence to him. See *Nicephor. Book 6. Chap. 15. Valef.*

City to see it. Nor need it seem a wonder that the ancient Gentiles, who received Benefits from

our Saviour, did these things; seeing that we have seen the Pictures of his Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Christ himself, drawn in colours, and preserved till our days. It is probable enough that those Ancients, according to the custom of the Heathens, were wont (c) unadvisedly to honour all those after this manner as Saviours, by whom they have been any ways benefited.

*indifferenter, indifferently*; but I rather think *ἀπεροφλὰκτως* here signifies *inconsiderately, unadvisedly, contrary to the Doctrine of the Ancients, unwisely.* Moreover, *Sir Henry Savil* in the Margin of his MS. upon these words *ἐθνικὴ συνήθεια*, the custom of the Heathens, bids us take notice that this is here spoken concerning Images. *Valef.*

#### C H A P. XIX.

*Concerning the Chair of James the Apostle.*

**T**HE Episcopal Chair of *James* the First Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was consecrated by our (a) Saviour himself, and the Apostles; (a) This was an old Tradition that *James* the Brother of Christ; being reserved till this time, the Brethren who have succeeded in that the Apo- Church do reverence it: Hence they plainly manifest to all what great veneration and respect, Bishop of both the Ancients, and also those of our Age, *Jerusalem* have, and do pay to Holy Men for their love to by Christ. God. But thus much concerning these things. *Besides Eusebius, St.*

*Chrysost.* in his 38 *Homil.* upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, on these words, *Deinde visus est Jacobo, Then he was seen of James*; expressly affirmeth it: The same also *Epiphanius, Niceph. Callist.* and others do affirm. They all seem to borrow this Opinion from the First Book of *Clemens's Recognitions*: Also in the Eighth Book of his *Constitutions*, Chap. 35. we find him speaking of *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* in these words, *ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν κνεῖν, καὶ ὁ Ἰσὺς ἀποστόλων χειροτονῶντας, Ordained by our Saviour himself, and the Apostles.* We must farther advertise the Reader that these words *τὸν ἀποστόλου, the Apostle*, are wanting in the King's, Fuk. and Maz. MSS. and in *Rufinus*: But in our Maz. Med. Fuk. MSS. in the Contents of this Chapter, we find this word *Ἀποστόλου, the Apostle*: Although in the Index of the Chapters which is prefixed, we find it thus written, *περὶ τῆς καθέδρου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, concerning the Chair of James the Bishop.* *Valef.*

#### C H A P. XX.

*Concerning Dionysius's Paschal Epistles, in which he prescribeth a Canon concerning Easter.*

**M**OREOVER, besides those his fore-mention'd Epistles, the same *Dionysius* at the (a) same (a) From time wrote these still extant, called (b) *Paschal Epistles*: Amongst which he interweaves *Panegyrick Discourses concerning the Feast of Easter.* One of these Epistles he dedicateth to *Flavius*; another to *Domitius* and *Didymus*: In which he published a Canon of eight years, having proved that we ought to celebrate the Feast of *Easter*, at no other time, these Epistles but after the Vernal *Æquinox*. He composed another Epistle besides these, to his Fellow-Persecutors at *Alexandria*, and others to divers other Persons, and these he wrote whilst the rage of the Persecution still continued.

this Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, was written in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperor. *Valef.*

(b) *Rufinus* very well translates this word *ἐορταστικὰς*, in this place, *Paschales, Paschal Epistles.* The Bishops of *Alexandria* used to write these *Paschal Letters* every Year, and send them to the rest of the Churches of *Egypt*; that they might all agree in the time of the Celebration of *Easter*. There are at this day extant Epistles of this sort, written by *Theophilus, Cyril*, and others: What was the Form of these Epistles we may understand from the 30 *Paschal Homilies* of *Cyril*; first they discoursed some thing concerning *Easter*: In the end they declared the beginning of *Lent*, and the Day of *Easter*, whence we may call them *Homilies*, as well as *Epistles.* *Valef.*



Gallienus.

C H A P. XXI.

Concerning what things hapned at Alexandria.

**D**ionysius returned to Alexandria, Peace being as yet scarce thoroughly settled there. But when Sedition and War joyntly raged again there, so that he could not visit all the Brethren in the City, they being divided into the one or the other Party of the Faction: Again, even on Easter-Day, as if he had been exiled out of Alexandria, he conversed with them by Letters. And in his other Paschal Letter, which a little after this he wrote to Hierax, one of the Egyptian Bishops, he mentioneth the Sedition then at Alexandria, in these words: 'It is no wonder if it be difficult for me to converse with Men far remote even by Letters, whenas it is render'd now no easie matter for me to discourse with my self, and to give advice to my own Soul. For I am compelled to send Letters even to my own Bowels, my Brethren, who live under the same Roof, have the same mind, and are Members and Inhabitants of the same Church; and it appears to me a great difficulty, how I should convey my Letters to them: For a Man may with more ease and less danger travel not only beyond the Bounds of this Province, but even from East to West, than out of Alexandria into Alexandria.

(a) In the King's MS. we find, in stead of this πύλας, this City, πύλας, these Cities; which reading is not to be rejected: for that Faction had so divided Alexandria, that in a manner it became of one City two, as before he seemeth to intimate, when he saith, that

a Man may with more ease travel from East to West, than out of Alexandria into Alexandria. This great Sedition, I think, happened, when Emilianus posselt himself of the Government of Alexandria. Valef.

(b) There are divers ways of translating this place according as we point it. Most Translators have erred here, by an Erroneous conjunction of this Sentence with what precedeth. But Dionysius's following words confirm our Punctuation and Version: The sense of which is that the Havens of Alexandria, overflowing with the Blood of the slaughtered Citizens, did truly represent the Red Sea. Wherefore it is not the Middle Street of the City which is compared to the Red Sea (although some so interpret it) but the Ports or Havens are said to represent that. Valef.

(c) Betwixt these words where we use only a middle distinction or comma, Robert Stephens uses a full period, contrary to the Authority of all the MSS. we ought rather to follow the punctuation of the MSS. and join this passage with what precedeth: But here we meet with a Genitive case plural of the Article [δῶν,] which we translate in the singular number, and refer it to θαλάσσης the Sea, which is a singular put for the plural number. For the Sea was divided into two parts, and opened a broad way for the Israelites; so that what was really but one Sea, seemed to be two; but if we translate it according to Stephanus's Punctuation, we can find no word to which this Genitive case plural of the Article can reasonably be referred. Valef.

like that River which by Moses, in the sight of Gallienus. Pharaoh, was turned into Blood, and stank: And what other Water can purifie this Water which purgeth all things itself? How can that vast and immense Ocean which is unpassable by Men, cleanse this bitter Sea? Or how can that great River which springeth out of Eden, though it gather its four Heads, into which it is divided, into that one of Geon, wash away this putrified Gore? Or how can that Air be purified, which on every side is defiled with most noisome Exhalations? For such Vapours arise from the Earth; such Winds from the Sea; such Blasts from the Rivers; and such Mists from the Havens, that the very Dews are nothing else but the Gore of dead Carcases putrified in all the subjacent Elements. After all this they wonder, and seem to doubt whence these continued Plagues; whence these some Diseases; these Contagions of all kinds; and this various, and numerous Destruction of Men proceeds. They admire why this great City contains not in it as many Inhabitants, (should they be number'd even from Infants to the most Aged and Decrepit) as it formerly maintained Persons, who were (e) lively old Men, as they called them. But in those days there were many persons betwixt forty and seventy years old, that their number could not now be made up, although all from fourteen to fourscore years of age were registred, and their names enrolled in the Tables, that they might partake of the publick Distribution of Corn. And our youngest Men now look as if they were of the same age with our old Men formerly. And altho' they see Mankind so much diminished and consumed from off the Earth, (their intire Destruction being increased and augmented incessantly) yet they tremble not.

civitatis ingens cisterna concamerata, crassisque inmitens fornicibus substructa est, in quas exundans Nilus per aqueductum in planitie magno artificio constructum extra Alexandriam deductus, sub ejus manibus demittitur, &c. This artificial conveyance of the River, though it were otherwise acceptable to the Inhabitants, yet it could not be without some annoyance to the Air, the Complexion whereof suffered much alteration by the noisome Vapours which rose up out of the Waters, which in tract of time putrified in their Cisterns. It is the collection of the foresaid Leo, in his following Words, Cisterna porro temporis successu turbide ac confusa redditae, plurimis aestivo tempore languoribus occasionem praebent, &c. The same Author gives us another reason for the unwholesomeness of that City; which was caused by certain little Gardens planted near the City, the Fruits whereof were so unwholsome, that the Inhabitants were thereby made subject to very noxious Feavers, and many other Diseases. See John Leo's descript. Afric. 675, and 676. Edit. Jugd. Barro. 1632.

(d) Συνεχῆς λοιμοί, continued Plagues without intermission. The Plague even from the times of Gallus and Volusianus, over-ran and destroyed almost all the Roman Empire. Eutropius saith that the Reign of Gallus and Volusianus was only remarkable for the great Plague which happened in their Days. Aurelius Victor affirms that Gallus and Volusianus were beloved very much on this account, because they took care of everyones, even of the poorest Man's Funeral. The Plague afterwards raged at Rome, and in the Roman Provinces, in the Days of Gallienus, as Pollio in Gallienus's Life attests. Valef.

(e) Ὠμόγεγνες; vivid, lively, lusty old Men. So they were called at Alexandria, who were between forty and seventy years old. Their names were registred in Tables that they might partake of the publick distribution of the Corn, as Dionysius attests in his following Words. Over these were the Archigerontes, of whom mention is made in the first Law of the Codex Theodosianus, de Alexandrinae plebis primatibus. Hither may be referred that which Gregor. Naz. affirms, in his 21 Oration concerning St. Athanasius, to wit, that the Alexandrians were wont to be distributed into Sexes, Ages, and Trades, as often as, out of respect, they went forth to meet any Person. Valef.

C H A P. XXII.

Concerning the Plague which then raged.

**A**fterwards the Pestilence succeeding the War; when the Feast [of Easter] was at hand, Dionysius again writeth to the Brethren, describing



*Gallienus*, describing the Miseries of that Calamity in these words: (a) To some Men this present may seem

(a) This is not a time to celebrate a Festival; but neither Exordium this which we observe; nor any other time (I of this *Paschal Epistle* of *Dionysius*) speak not only of the mournful, but also of any of those times which they account most joyful) is a time of Festivity to them. Now indeed all places are full of mourning, all persons lament, and the City rings on every side with continual lamentations for the Multitudes of them who are already dead, and who are daily dying: For as the Scripture saith concerning the First-born of the Egyptians, so now a great cry is heard: For there is no House, in which there is not one dead; ((b) and I wish there were but one in every House:) Indeed many and sore Afflictions have befallen us before this Calamity. (c) First of all they expelled us out of the City: And when we only were persecuted and oppressed by all men, yet nevertheless even then we kept the Festival days. And every place where every one of us particularly underwent affliction; the Field; the Desert; the Ship; the Inn; the Prison, was a place for holding our solemn Assemblies: But the persecuted Martyrs, who are satiated in Heaven, kept the most joyful Feast of all. After these [Miseries] succeeded War and Famine; in which we were Fellow-sufferers with the Heathens. We alone suffer'd whatever they afflicted us with; but whatever Calamities they brought upon themselves and suffer'd, we participated of. And we were again made joyful by the Peace of Christ, which he

(b) Here we read only ὅτε ἀπὸ πάντων, and I wish: But *Turnebus* in the Margin of his Book very well correcteth and pointeth it thus; καὶ ὅτε ἀπὸ πάντων γε αἱς; And I wish only one had died in every House. The King's MS. reads thus καὶ ὅτε ἀπὸ πάντων γε αἱς πολλὰ, &c. But *Turnebus* does very well amend this place of *Dionysius*, by his fore-said Punctuation of it. Valef.

(c) *Dionysius* here makes a compendious Repetition of all the Sufferings of the Christians from the time he was first ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*. First, he recounts the Persecution and Expulsion, which began in the last Year of *Philip* the Emperor. Next the Civil War which immediately followed; concerning which Civil War, see Chap. 41. Book 6. of this History. Then he saith, after a little Cessation follow'd the Plague; which rag'd grievously in the times of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*; but it began in *Decius's* Reign: For it is evident by *Dionysius's* Epistle to *Dionysius* and *Dionysius*, that some Deacons died of this Plague in the Reign of *Decius*. See Chap. 11. Book 7. Valef.

granted to us alone: But when both we and they had enjoy'd a very short time of Refreshment, this Plague immediately invaded us. A thing most formidable to them, and more calamitous than any accident whatsoever. And, as one of their own Writers saith, it was the only thing which surmounted all Men's expectation and fear. It was indeed no such thing to us; but rather an exercise and tryal, nothing inferior to our former Sufferings: For this Plague did not spare us; but it rag'd grievously amongst the Heathens." After these words he continues, saying; "Indeed many of our Brethren through their superabundant love, and brotherly kindness neglecting their own selves, and firmly adhering to one another, without any thing of caution visiting them who are infected, carefully ministering to them, and healing them in Christ, most willingly died with them; infe-

cting themselves with other Men's Distempers, attracting the Disease from their Neighbours upon themselves, and voluntarily (d) drawing the Infection out of them by translating it into themselves. And many who had cured and restored others to their former health, died themselves, having brought their Death upon themselves; and being thus made the Ransom and Expiation for them all; they died, really fulfilling that common saying, which always hitherto hath seem'd to contain no more than an officious (e) Friendship. Thus therefore died the best of our Brethren; some of whom were Priests, and others Deacons; also those of the Laity which were eminent died voluntarily: So that this kind of death which was suffered upon account of Piety, and a steadfast Faith, may be esteem'd no less honourable than Martyrdom. They took the dead Bodies of the Saints up in their open hands, and into their Bosoms; they closed their Eyes, and shut their Mouths; carried them upon their Shoulders; and (f) buried them: They stuck close to them; embraced them; washed them; and (g) adorned them curiously in their Cloaths; not long after they had the like good Offices performed to themselves: For those who survived did continually tread in the steps of such as went before them. But the Gentiles practice was quite contrary to this. They thrust out of doors those which begun to be infected; they fled away from those who were most dear to them; they deserted them being half-dead in the High-ways; and cast forth the dead Bodies unburied; being utterly averse from a Participation and Society [with them] in Death, which yet was in no wise easie for them to avoid, though they used all Arts and Devices to decline it." After this Epistle, when Affairs in *Alexandria* were in a peaceable and quiet posture, he again sendeth another *Paschal Epistle* to the Brethren throughout *Egypt*; he also writ several other besides this. There is also extant an Epistle of his concerning the Sabbath, and another concerning Exercitation. Again, in an Epistle to *Hermammion*, and the Brethren in *Egypt*, he has a long Discourse concerning the Improbability of *Decius* and his Successors, where he also makes mention of the Peace in the Reign of *Gallienus*.

and Infection. It is no more than what he said in these words, ἵνα νόσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐλκόντες, drawing the Infection upon themselves. Valef.

(e) This word φιλοφροσύνη we have here rendred Friendship; yet the word primarily and properly signifies that which the Latines call *Comitas*, that is, *Complaisance*, *Courteousness*, *Civility*, *Affability*: As for this term ἀντίλημμα, which we have translated a Ransom; we find it in the first Epistle to the *Corinth*. Chap. 4. v. 13. This word seems to have been used by the *Alexandrians* in their Salutations: When they met together, and promised their sincere love, willingness and diligence in serving one another, they used to say ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀντίλημμα σοῦ; or else we may take the word in this sense; as if the Heathens should call the Christians the very ἀντίλημμα πάντων, the Off-scouring, the Filth, the very *Faces Populi*, and the *Purgamenta Seculi*; which Interpretation is not to be rejected here. Valef.

(f) *Christoph.* in his Latin Version, renders this word [ἀντιτίθεντες] decenter ornantes, dressing them up neatly: But he mistakes; for *Dionysius* speaks of their Dress afterwards in these words, ἀντιτίθεντες κατὰ κοσμήσαντες, decking them in their best Cloaths: ἀντιτίθεντες, here we therefore render *Componentes*, (that is) burying them; and so the word is used in *Prophane* as well as in *Sacred* Authors: *Compositus pro sepulto*, in *Virgil*, and *Horace*. Valef.

(g) Πεισολαῖς κατὰ κοσμήσαντες, some render *lintheo funebri involventes*, shrouding them in a Winding-sheet. But this is contrary to the custom of Buryings in those Days; for the Heathens used to dress the Dead in their best Cloaths, and so interr them. And the Christians used in like manner so to dress the Saints Corps: See Chap. 16. of this Seventh Book, concerning *Asturius*. Valef.



Gallienus.

C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning the Reign of Gallienus.

Nothing hinders but we may hear his own words, which run thus : *[(a) Macrianus.]* therefore, having treacherously betray'd one of the Emperors which preceded him, and made War upon the other, was immediately extirpated, and together with his whole Family became extinct. *Gallienus* was now proclaim'd, and by common consent receiv'd Emperor. He was both an old Emperor and a new ; for he was before \* them, and also surviv'd them : For according to that which was spoken by the Prophet *Esaïas*, † *Behold the former things are come to pass, and new things shall now rise up.* For as a Cloud rising up before the Rays of the Sun, overshadoweth it for a while, and appears to be substituted into the place thereof : But when the Cloud has gone over it, or is dissolved ; the Sun, which before was risen, seems then to arise again : So *Macrianus*, who set himself before, and (b) approach'd the very Empire of *Gallienus*, now is not, for he never was : But *Gallienus*, as he was Emperor before, so he now continues to be. And the Empire itself, having deposited its old age as it were, and being cleansed from the Dregs of its former Improbability, now flourisheth with greater vividness ; is seen and heard of at a larger distance, and spreads its fame in all places." He afterwards declares the time when he wrote these things, in these words ; "It now again comes into my mind to contemplate the Years of our Emperor : For I see how those most impious Persons who had so great a name, are in a short time become most obscure. But our most Pious and Religious Emperor, having pass'd his seventh, is now in the ninth year of his Empire, in which we are about to solemnize the Festivals.

C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning Nepos, and his Schism.

Besides, *Dionysius* wrote two Books concerning the Promises. The occasion of his writing these Books was *Nepos*, an Egyptian Bishop, who taught that the Promises, which were made to the Saints in the Sacred Scriptures, should be perform'd in the \* Jewish sence, and affirmed that there was to come a thousand year's State upon Earth, which should be spent in bodily pleasures. Now he supposing he could confirm his own Opinion out of *John's* Revelation, wrote a Book upon this Question, and intitled it, *A Confutation of the Allegorical Expositors* ; which Piece *Dionysius* confutes in his Books concerning the Promises. In the first Book of which he proposeth his own Opinion concerning the Question. In

the second he discourseth concerning the *Revelation of John*, where in the very beginning he makes mention of this *Nepos*, and writes thus concerning him : "But because they produce a Book of *Nepos's*, on which they rely very much, as if it did (a) infallibly demonstrate that the Kingdom of Christ should be [set up] [on Earth : Indeed for several other things I commend and love *Nepos*, for his Faith, his industry and study in the Scriptures, and also for the many (b) Psalms and Hymns he composed, with which many of the Brethren are even at this time much delighted. And I reverence the Man for this reason chiefly, because he is (c) dead. But I judge Truth most to be beloved, and to be the most precious of all things. It is our duty to praise, and freely to commend whatever is truly said : But we are also to examine and correct whatever unsound opinion appears to have been committed to writing. Now could he be present, and discuss his Opinion by word of mouth, then a bare discourse by Questions and Answers, without any writing might suffice to convince and reduce the adverse Party to an agreement. But since there is a Book published (and as to some it seems) a most

persuasive one ; since some Teachers look upon the Law and the Prophets to be of no value ; neglect to follow the Gospels ; have small esteem for the Epistles of the Apostles ; and (d) promise great things concerning the Doctrine of this Book, as containing some great and hidden Mystery ; since they will not suffer the more ignorant of our Brethren to think of any thing that is sublime and great, neither of the glorious and truly divine Advent of our Lord, nor of our Resurrection from the Dead ; our gathering together to him, and our being made like him : (e) But persuade 'em to think that Men hope for nothing in the Kingdom of God, but abject and mortal things, such as they now hope for : It is necessary we enter into a dispute against our Brother *Nepos*, as if he himself were present." After some words he continues saying ; "When I was in the Province of the (f) *Armenia* (where, as you know, this Opinion was long since propagated so far, that there were Schisms and Revoltings of whole Churches together ;) having convened the Presbyters and Teachers

(a) We have here sufficient evidence that this Book concerning the Promises was written in answer to *Nepos*. I wonder that *Hieronymus* in his Preface before the eighteenth Book of his Comments upon *Esaïas*, should affirm that this Book was written against *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lions*. Indeed *Irenæus* was one of them who believed that Christ should come and reign on the Earth 1000 years, which Opinion was grounded on *Papius's* Authority, as *Hieronymus* himself affirms, and also our Author *Eusebius* in the end of the third Book. But as well from this place, as also from *Hieronymus* himself, in his Book *De Script. Ecclesiastic.* we may gather that this Book was not written against *Irenæus*, but against *Nepos*. *Valef.*

(b) *Ψαλμοὶ*, we have here translated, the Composition of Psalms and Hymns ; according to the custom of the Christians, who used to compose Psalms and Hymns in honour of Christ, as *Eusebius* in the end of the fifth Book attesteth. We also find mention of these Hymns in the Epistle of the Council of *Antioch* against *Paul* of *Samosata*, and in the last Canon but one of the Council of *Laodicea*, where there is an express prohibition, that no Psalms which in Greek are called *ὑμνοὶ*, that is ; composed by private or ignorant Persons, should be sung in Churches. *Valef.*

(c) *Pliny* in his 28 Book, Chap. 2. asketh, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. *Valef.*

(d) This word *ὑπόσχεσις* signifies properly to promise a great while before any performance ; it is a Metaphor taken from the Mysteries of the *Greeks*, who promised strange and great things to them who are initiated, and tormented them with a long expectation ; that by keeping their thoughts thus in suspense, they might beget in them an Opinion, and a Fear and Reverence. *Valef.*

(e) The true reading of this place in the Greek, we owe to the *Maz. MS.* according to which reading we have here translated it. *Valef.*

(f) This Province was so called from *Armenia*, who was Queen of it, before it was a Roman Province. *Valef.*

\* That is, that the Promises were to be literally understood.



*Gallienus.* Teachers of the Brethren in every particular Village, (such Brethren also as had a mind to come being present,) I advised them that there might be Researches made into this Doctrine, in the presence of a publick Assembly. And when they produced this Book as a defence, and an impregnable Bulwark, sitting with them three whole Days together from Morning till Evening, I endeavour'd to discuss the Contents thereof. In all which time I did extraordinarily admire the Constancy of the Brethren, their

(g) *Ευπερηκολέγητον*, is the term in the Original; I have rendred it *docilitatem*, aptness to be taught. For Auditors are properly said *εὐπερηκολέγειν*, when they apprehend the sence of words. Valef.

love to Truth, and the (g) great quickness and readiness of their Understanding, with so much order, modesty and moderation did we propose Questions, propound Doubts, and yield our assents. For we took special care never pertinaciously to defend our former Opinions, when once they were found to be erroneous: Neither did we shun the Objections of others; but to the utmost of our power, we endeavour'd to (h) keep close

(h) The Greek Phrase is *ἐπιβατεῖν ὅς περὶ αὐτῶν*, which *Valerius* renders, *ad ea de quibus instituta erat disputatio eniti*; and we, to keep close to the Points of the Question in hand, or the present Question.

on, and consent with others: But with a good Conscience, unfeignedly, and with (i) Hearts display'd to God, we received whatever was grounded upon the Demonstrations and Declarations of the Sacred Scripture. In the conclusion, the chief Maintainer and Champion of this Doctrine, by name *Coracio*, confessed and made a Protestation to us, in the audience of all the Brethren there assembled, that he would no longer adhere to this Opinion, nor dispute concerning it, nor mention it, nor preach it, so powerfully was he convinc'd by the Arguments which had been brought against it. And the rest of the Brethren, which were present, rejoiced at this Conference, and at the (k) Reconciliation and Unanimity which was amongst all Men."

(i) This phrase *ἡ-πλωμέναις ταῖς καρδίαις*, is truly translated thus, *expansis cordibus*, & *patefactis*, with hearts unfolded, and, as it were spread abroad: But some translate it *simplicibus cordibus*, with pure and single hearts: Which sence the words may bear, yet it is not so good in this place, as the other Version. Valef.

(k) *Συνκατάβασις*, is not put in this place for *Dispensation*, but for the same as *συμβίβασις*, (i. e.) an Union, and Reconciliation: And so *Dionysius* uses the word a little before: St. Paul also in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, Chap. 2. Ver. 2. and 19. useth *συμβιβάζειν*, and *συμβιβάζου*, in this sence. Valef.

## CHAP. XXV.

### Concerning the Revelation of John.

HAVING interposed some words, he afterwards says thus concerning the *Revelation of John*: Indeed some of our Ancestors disown'd, and wholly rejected this Book; confuting every Chapter, and demonstrating it to be an unknown and senseless Work, and that the Title is forged; for they say it is not *John's*: Neither is it a *Revelation*, because it is covered over with so thick and dark a Veil of Ignorance; And that not only no Apostle, but also no Holy or Ecclesiastick Person, could have been the Compiler of this Work: But that it was \* *Cerintus*, the Founder of the Heresie, called from him the *Cerinthian Heresie*, who was desirous to have

\* See B. 3. Chap. 28, Pag. 44. Note c. & d.

a creditable name prefix'd before his Forgery: *Gallienus.* For this, they say, was *Cerintus's* Opinion and Doctrine; that Christ's Kingdom should be terrestrial: And whatsoever he, being a carnal and voluptuous Man, most lusted after, in these he dream'd the Kingdom of Christ consisted; as in indulging the Belly, and the Parts beneath the Belly; I mean, in eating, drinking, and marrying; and also in Festivals, Sacrifices, and killing of Victims, by which these might with more specious pretences be acquired. I dare not indeed reject this Book, since many of the Brethren have it in great esteem. But this is the Opinion I have of it, I think the Sence or Subject thereof surpasseth my apprehension, and that there is a mysterious and admirable meaning covertly contain'd in every part of it; for though I do not understand it, yet I suppose there is a more profound meaning comprehended in the words. I do not judge of, nor fathom these things by the Line of my own Reason; but attributing much more to Faith, I esteem them more sublime than to be comprehended by me. I do not condemn those things I could not understand, but I the rather admire them because I cannot see through them." After these words, having carefully look'd into the whole Book of the *Revelation*, and demonstrated that it was impossible to be understood according to the obvious sence of the words, he goes on, saying, "But having finished his Prophecy, (as I may call it,) the Prophet pronounceth blessing upon all them who keep it, and moreover on himself too; for he saith, \* *Blessed is he that keepeth the words* \* Revel. of the Prophecy of this Book: And I am *John* c. 22. v. 7, which saw and heard these things. I do not indeed deny that his name was *John*, and that this was *John's* Book: [For I grant that it was written by some Holy and Divinely inspired Person:] But I cannot easily be brought to give my consent that this was *John* the Apostle, the Son of *Zebedee*, the Brother of *James*, the Author of the Gospel according to *John*, and of the Catholick Epistle. For I conjecture by the Genius and Nature of them both, by the form of the Stile, and the Method and (a) Disposition (as they call it) of the Book, that it is not the same Writer. For the Evangelist does no-where insert his name; neither does he make himself known either in his Epistle, or Gospel." Afterwards he thus proceeds again: "*John* no where [speaks] either as concerning himself, or as concerning another. But he that wrote the *Revelation* prefixeth his name at the very beginning; [where he says,] † *The Revelation* † Revelat. of *Jesus Christ* which he gave unto him to shew to his c. 1. v. 1. servants quickly, and he sent and signified it by his Angel unto his servant *John*, who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony [of *Jesus Christ*, and] of all things which he saw. Afterwards he writes an Epistle: \* *John* un- \* Vers. 4. to the seven Churches in Asia; Grace be unto you, and peace. Now the Evangelist has not prefix'd his name, no not before his Catholick Epistle: But, without any Circumlocution, has made his beginning from the Mystery of the Divine

(a) *Διέταξις* is a term proper to the Rhetoricians, as plainly appears by the following word *ῥητορικῆς*: I think that *Διέταξις* has the same import with *Dispositio*, or *dispositio*; for *Διέταξις*, in *Suidas* is the same as *διατάξιν*, to dispose, or handle. Or we may render it the form and manner of writing: For first he proves the *Revelation* not to be *John's* the Apostle, by the *τοῦ ἁγίου*, the Genius, or Nature of the Writer: Then by the Stile and Mode of writing, that is, by the Phrase and the Sentences. Valef.



Gallienus. Divine Revelation. \* That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes. For upon account of this kind of Revelation the Lord hath pronounced  
 \* 1 John. Peter blessed in these words, † Blessed art thou  
 c. 1. v. 1. Simon Bar-jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed  
 † Matth. it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.  
 c. 16. v. 17. But neither before the second, nor third Epistle of John which are extant, although they are very short, is John's name expressly prefix'd ; but he is namelessly intituled, the Elder. But the other [John] thought it not enough to name himself once and so to proceed in his relation, but he again repeateth his name. \* I  
 \* Rev. c. 1. v. 9. John, even your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, was in the Isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. And at the close of this Book he saith ; † Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. And I John saw these things and heard them. Therefore that it was John who wrote these things, we ought to believe, because he affirms it. But what John it was 'tis uncertain ; for he has not said that he himself was that John, who in several places of the Gospel is called the beloved disciple of the Lord ; or that he was he who lay in the Bosom of the Lord ; or that he was the Brother of James ; or that he was the person who with his own Eyes and Ears saw and heard the Lord. For certainly he would have mentioned some of these fore-mentioned [Descriptions,] if he were desirous to have made himself apparently known. But he has recorded none of these Passages in his Writings, but styles himself our Brother and Companion and Witness of Jesus, and calls himself Blessed, because he saw and heard these Revelations. I suppose there were many of the same name with John the Apostle, who thro' their love to, admiration and zealous emulation of him, and because they were desirous to be beloved of the Lord as he was, had a

We ought to take special notice of this Passage concerning the Primitive Christians custom of calling their Children, by the names of Peter and Paul, which they did both for the reverence and love they bare to those Saints, and also that their Children might be beloved and no less dear in the sight of God than those Saints were. Chrysostom in his Oration concerning St. Meletius saith, that the Antiochians had such a reverence and esteem for him, that the Parents called their Children after his name, that they might have their Houses in a manner adorned with his presence. The same Father also in his 21 Homily upon Genesis, adviseth his Auditors that they should not carelessly call their Children by their Grandfather's or Great-Grandfather's, or some noble Heroes names, but that they should rather give them the names of some Men who were famous for Virtue and Piety ; that the Children, by their Example, might be excited to an imitation of them. Valef.

\* Acts 11. 25. and 13. 5.

For 'tis said there are two Tombs at Ephesus, and both called by the name of John's Tomb.

(c) This is Dionysius's

second Argument ; by which he proves that the Gospel and Revelation

were not written by one and the same John ; for he had urged his first Argument begun at Note (a) to this place : Now here he begins a second, (viz.) to prove by the Words and Sentences, and by the placing of the Words or method, that they were two distinct persons : For I render this word *ἀντάξις*, the placing or modelling of words, according to Cicero ; though *ἀντάξις* in this place may as well comprehend the ordering and modelling of sentences, as of words. But here we may take notice what an excellent Critick Dionysius Alexandrinus was. For it is the property of a Critick to judge of the Writings of the Ancients, and to discern what is true and genuine, and what spurious and supposititious. Valef.

the disposition or placing of them, this John who wrote the Revelation, may with good reason be suspected to be a distinct person from the other John ; for there is a mutual agreement betwixt the Gospel and the Epistle, and they both begin alike. The Gospel begins thus ; In the beginning was the Word. The Epistle thus ; That which was from the beginning. The Gospel says ; And the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us ; And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten Son of the Father. The Epistle says the same with a very little variation : That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life ; for the life was manifested. For these are his Preludiums, directing his words (as in the following Passages he has declared) against those who denied that Christ came in the Flesh : Wherefore on set purpose he subjoyneth this, And what we have seen we bear witness to, and shew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you. He is constant to himself, and does not in the least wander from his subject proposed, but in the same

(d) Periods and Words he does prosecute all Points, some of which expressions we will briefly recount. He who does carefully read them, will both in his

(d) *κατάλαβεν* in this place signifies Periods or Sentences, by which an entire sense is concluded. Chapters also they may be called, the Greeks also call them *κεφάλαια*, the Latines *Capitula*. Valef.

Gospel and Epistle, very frequently meet with life ; very often with light, an avoiding of darkness ; very frequently with truth, grace, joy, the flesh and blood of our Lord, judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God towards us, the commandment of mutual love one towards another, and that we ought to keep all the Commandments. There is also contained in them

(e) the (e) condemnation of the World, of the Devil, and of Antichrist ; the promise of the Holy Ghost ; the Adoption of the sons of God ; a faith universally required

(e) *ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ πᾶν*, much I think be rendered here rather the condemnation of the World, than the reproving of the World. In the old Glossary we find *ἐν ἐμοὶ* to signify *judicium*. Valef.

of us ; mention of the Father and the Son in every place. In sum, they who note the Phrase in all things throughly, may easily discern, that the Genius and Style, both in the Gospel and the Epistle, appears to be one and the same. But the Revelation is altogether different from, and unlike to these ; it has no alliance to, nor (as I may so say) familiarity with either of these : Nor has the Revelation so much as one syllable in it which is common to these : Neither does the Epistle (for I omit the Gospel) make the least mention of the Revelation ; nor the Revelation of the Epistle : And yet Paul in his Epistles mentions something concerning his Revelations, which he did not digest into a Volume by themselves. Furthermore by the Phrase, the difference betwixt the Epistle and Gospel and the Revelation, may be easily conjectured : For those are not only written most correct-



*Gallienus.* ly\* and agreeable to the purity of the Greek Tongue, but they are also compos'd with great elegancy in the words, in the *Argumentations* and whole Contexture of the Discourse: So impossible is it for one to find any Barbarism or Solœcism, or lastly, any Idiotism in them. For [the Evangelist] 'tis apparent) had (f) both Faculties; the Lord had endow'd him with both, that is, the gift of knowledge, and the gift of speaking. As touching this other *John* I do not indeed deny that he saw the *Revelation*, and that he received the [gift of] knowledge and of prophecy. But I take notice that his Dialect and Style is not pure Greek, but he makes use of some barbarous words, yea and in some places he has Solœcisms, which it is not now necessary to give a Catalogue of. For I would have no one suppose that I have said these things in a way of derision; but only on this account, that I might explain the Dissimilitude of these Books.

(f) By both faculties he means that which the Greeks call *λόγος*, and *ῥήσις*, (i. e.) *exterior* and *interior* *sermo*, which is afterwards mentioned, *τὴν τῆς γνώσεως, τὴν τῆς οὐράνης λόγον*, the gift of knowledge and the gift of speaking; by which subsequent words the preceding are explained. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXVI.

## Concerning Dionysius's Epistles.

There are extant many more of *Dionysius's* Epistles (a) besides these. As for example, his Epistles to *Ammon* Bishop of *Berenice* against *Sabellius*; and an Epistle to *Telephorus*; also one to *Euphranor*; and again, another to *Ammon* and concerning *Euphorus*. He also wrote (b) four more Books upon the same Subject, and dedicated them to his Namesake *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*. There are also more of his Epistles besides these extant amongst us: And moreover some Books of his, which are something verbose and prolix, and are written in an Epistolary form: As for example, his Books concerning (c) *Nature*, which are dedicated to *Timotheus* a Child, concerning *Temptations*, which he dedicated to *Euphranor*: Besides these Books, in his Epistle to *Basilides* Bishop of *Pentapolis*, he says he wrote a *Comment upon the beginning of Ecclesiastes*. He has also left us several Epistles which he wrote to this (d) *Basilides*. Thus many are *Dionysius's* Works. But now after an Historical Relation of those things, we will deliver to the knowledge of Posterity an Account of our own Age.

But because these Epistles were something prolix, they were therefore called Books. *Rufinus* truly calls *Dionysius's* Epistles concerning *Baptism*, Books, and the four Books against *Sabellius* here mentioned are nothing else but a longer sort of Epistles, which *Eusebius* testifies: For he saith that all the rest of *Dionysius's* Books were written in an Epistolary form and style. *Valef.*

(b) *Dionysius Alexand.* in his Epistles against *Sabellius* seemed not to be Orthodox, as touching the Divinity of Christ, and he was accused of it before *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, by some of the Bishops of *Pentapolis*, who went to *Rome*. *Dionysius Roman.* called a Synod, heard the Accusers, and having examined some select Opinions in *Dionysius's* Epistles, he wrote to *Dionysius Alexand.* desiring him that he would more distinctly declare his Faith and Opinion concerning those matters. Upon this account *Dionysius Alexand.* wrote four Epistles to *Dionysius Roman.* which he intitled, *περὶ ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπελογίας*, (that is,) concerning the confutation of his Adversaries, and concerning his own Apology, or defence of himself. *Valef.*

(c) *Eusebius*, in his 14th Book *De Preparat.* produces an excellent piece of this Book *De Naturâ*. It was dedicated, *Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδί*; this word being dubiously taken to signify either a Son, or any other Child or Servant, 'tis some difficulty to determine who the Person was, to whom it was dedicated, some say to his Son: I have here rendred it to a Child. For I cannot think that *Dionysius* was ever married. The like difficulty occurs in Book 6. Chap. 40. *Valef.*

(d) Of these many Epistles written by *Dionysius* to this *Basilides*, only one is now extant, which *Theodorus Balsamo* has preserved for us. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXVII.

## Concerning Paul of Samosata, and the Heresie founded by him at Antioch.

*Dionysius*, Namesake to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, succeeds *Xystus*, after he had presided over the Church of *Rome* (a) eleven years. About the same time also died *Demetrianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, whom *Paul of Samosata* succeeded in his Bishoprick. This *Paul* had an abject and low Opinion of Christ, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as if he had been by nature no more than a meer Man; *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* was intreated to come to the Synod: He having complained of his Age, and also of his Infirmary of Body deferr'd his coming: But he openly declared by Letter what was his sense and opinion concerning the matter in debate. But the rest of the Pastors of the Churches from all Parts hastned to *Antioch*, and were convened there, as against the Corrupter of Christ's Flock.

*Cuspinianus* first published, and that Book is most exact in its account of the times of the Popes from *Callistus* to *Liberius*: The same also says, *Xystus* suffered Martyrdom on the eighth of the Ides of August: But our Author neither here, in his *History*, nor in his *Chronicle* mentions any thing of *Xystus's* Martyrdom, which I really admire, and should more admire, did not I certainly know that *Eusebius* is not over-sollicitous and curious in his *History* concerning what things were done in the Western parts. Moreover *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* ascribes Eight Years to *Xystus*, and he says that *Dionysius* succeeded *Xystus* in the 12th Year of *Gallienus*, and that *Maximus* succeeded *Dionysius Alexandrin.* in the 11th Year of the said *Gallienus* the Emperor. Which is most absurd, whenas 'tis evident that *Dionysius Alexand.* dedicated his four Books against *Sabellius* to *Dionysius Roman.* as our Author tells us in Chap. 26. of this 7th Book. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXVIII.

## Concerning the Eminent Bishops of those Times.

THE most Eminent of these assembled were *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* both Brothers, Bishops of the Churches of *Pontus*: Besides these there were *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, and (a) *Nichomachus* Bishop of *Iconium*: Also *Hymenæus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* upon the Confines of *Jerusalem*: Besides these, *Maximus*, who with great commendation governed the Brethren of *Bosra*. And a great many more may be reckon'd: who, together with Presbyters and Deacons, were convened in the aforesaid City at the time aforesaid, and upon the same account. But these were the most eminent of them. All these therefore being assembled in the same place together; (b) divers times and often, Disputations and Questions were rais'd in every Synod. On the one side *Paul of Samosata* endeavoured to conceal and hide his Heterodox Opinions; on the other, these Persons striving with all diligence to denude and make apparent his Heresie and Blasphemy against Christ. In the

which subscribed to the Council of Nice, *Nicomachus* Bishop of *Bosra* is named the first of the Bishops of the Province of *Arabia*: But the common MSS. read *Nichomachus*, and so we find it in the MS. of *C. Justellus*, which is of no less antiquity than the other. *Valef.*

(b) We here translate it, divers times, though some Greek Copies read only *καὶ καὶ διακόσις*. But all our MSS. read *καὶ καὶ διακόσις*. There were several Synods called against this *Paul of Samosata*: Hence follows the word [*πάλαι*] which we must in no wise suppose to be superfluous here. *Eusebius* says, *There were many Synods assembled at several times, and in every Synod there were many Sessions or Actions*. The first Synod against *Paul* was at *Antioch* in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*; of which Synod *Firmilianus* was President: Concerning which see *Barnanius*, Anno Christi 265, and 266. *Valef.*



*Gallienus*. interim *Dionysius* † dies in the twelfth year of *Gallienus's* Empire, after he had presided in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* seventeen years. *Maximus* succeedeth him. But *Gallienus*, having held the Empire fifteen years compleat, *Claudius* was constituted his Successor. He, having reigned two years, left the Government to *Aurelianus*.

## C H A P. XXIX.

† See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (f.) How *Paul* being confuted by *Malchion* a Presbyter, (who formerly had been one of the † Sophists) was deposed.

*Aurelianus*. (a) IN this Emperor's time was the last Synod convened, which consisted of a very great number of Bishops: The Author of that Heresie at *Antioch* being now convicted, and by all manifestly condemned of false Doctrine, was Excommunicated out of the Catholick Church, which is under Heaven. But one (b) *Malchion* most especially confuted and convinced him, being desirous to keep himself concealed: He was a most eloquent Man, and Master of the *Grecian Philosophy-School* at *Antioch*. And moreover, for his surpassing sincerity in the Faith of Christ, he was honour'd with a Presbytership of the Church there. Now this Man having undertaken to dispute against *Paul*, (the Notaries having written down all the Passages of that Disputation, which is at this day extant) was the only person that was able to detect and convince that crafty and deceitful Fellow.

*Aurelianus*. The Council of *Ephesus*, in pag. 228. utterly destroys this Opinion of *Baronius*: For it says that *Paul* of *Samosata* was excommunicated 160 years before that time; and if we reckon backwards we shall find, that the year of *Claudius* and *Paternus's* Consulship, that is, the year of Christ 270. is the 160 year backwards from the time that Book was written, which was, *Theodosius* 13th, and *Valentinianus* 3d being Consuls. Moreover, if *Baronius* reckon these things done in the 2d year of *Aurelianus*, he must of necessity make *Dionysius* to continue Bishop of *Rome* till that Year; but that is contrary to the Authority of the *Lib. Pontifical*. Farther, in the second year of *Aurelianus* his Reign, there was a War waged against *Zenobia*, when *Antioch* and other Cities were taken, so that 'tis impossible there should be a Synod of Bishops that year there. *Valef.*

(b) *Leontius* in his first Book against *Nestorius*, has a Fragment of this Disputation. In *Theodoret*, this *Malchion* is called *Malackion*; but tally: This Man gained such Honour in this Confutation of *Paul*, that he was thought worthy to be Canoniz'd in the *Greek Menology*, at the 25th day of *October*. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXX.

Concerning the Epistle of the Bishops against *Paul*.

THE Prelates therefore, being assembled together, by common consent writ an Epistle to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: And then sent it over all the Provinces; both manifesting their diligence to all Men; the perverse Heterodoxy of *Paul*, the Confutations and Disputes which were held against them; and also giving in a Narration of the whole Life and Morals of the Man, whose words in which Epistle, that Posterity may remember them, it will be convenient here to relate.

## The E P I S T L E.

To *Dionysius* and *Maximus*, and to all our Fellow-Ministers over the whole World, Bishops, Pres-

byters, and Deacons; and to the whole Catholick *Aurelianus*. Church under Heaven; *Helenus*, *Hymenæus*, *Theophilus*, *Theotecnus*, *Maximus*, *Proclus*, *Nicomas*, (a) *Ælianus*, *Paul*, *Bolanus*, *Protegenes*, (a) In the *Hierax*, *Eurychius*, *Theodorus*, *Malchion*, and *Alaz. Fick.* *Lucius*; and all the rest of the Bishops of the neighbour-*Al. and* ring Cities and Provinces which are with us, the *Str. MSS.* (b) Presbyters and Deacons, and the Churches of God, thus, *et* To the beloved Brethren in the Lord, health. After some words interposed, they add these following.

We have written to, and intreated many of the Bishops far remote, that they would come and assist in the Curing of this Pestiferous Doctrine: For we wrote to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, Men of blessed Memory. The first of them wrote to *Antioch*, but did not so much as vouchsafe the Author of the Heresie a Salutation; (c) neither did he write to him by name, but to the whole Church: A Copy of which Letter we have here inserted. The other, *Firmilianus* came twice, and condemn'd *Paul's* Novelties, as we who were then present do attest, and many others do also know as well as we. But when he promised to recant, *Firmilianus* believing him, and hoping that the business might be composed (d) without any reproach to our Religion, deferr'd his Sentence; being deceived by him who denied his God and Lord, and who kept not the Faith which he formerly profess'd. But *Firmilianus* was now about coming to *Antioch*: And he came as far as *Tarsus*; for he had had experience of his malicious wickedness who denied his God. But in the interim of our assembling, and whilst we were sending for him, and expecting his coming, he died. After some other Passages they describe his Morals, and what course of Life he led, in these words: But since he turn'd to forged and spirituous Opinions, departing from the (e) true Rule, it is not our concern to examine the Actions of one who is out of the Church: Neither how he, who was formerly poor and indigent, (having had no Estate from his Parents, Faith nor got any thing by any Trade or Profession) is now become incredibly rich; by his unlawful and sacrilegious dealings, (f) by extortion, and vexatiousness used towards the Brethren, and by (g) taking Bribes from

our Author *Eusebius* and Chap. 23. where we find the same use of *καὶ* exactly with this here. *Valef.*

(f) Extortion is twofold; and is committed either by the Terror of Authority, as when a Soldier, or Magistrate demands any thing; or else by Deceit and Cunning, when under pretence of favouring, or encouraging and helping a Man we get something from him. And this latter is that which the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* here mean: The Greeks call it *σέλις*; so here, *σέλις τὰς ἀδικίας*; to which the Latin word *conculio*, and *concutere* does exactly answer; in which sense they were used among the old Lawyers. We also find the word in the Gospel, where *John* gives this command to the Soldiers: (viz.) *Μὴ δέμα δ' αὐτῶν*, *Luke* Chap. 3. 14. And amongst the *Grecians*, the ancient use of the word *σέλις* is in the same sense as *calumniary*. So *Christophanes* and *Teleclides*, use the word. *Valef.*

(g) *Καταχέσθαι* is by *Langus* very well translated *premia accipere*, to take Bribes: *St. Paul* uses that term, *Colos.* 2. 18. *Valef.*



*Aurelianus* those that were injured, promising to help them to their Right, for a Reward; but he deceived them too, (b) getting Money for doing nothing through their willingness, who were entangled in Suits, to give any thing for a delivery from those Troubles: He (i) supposed godliness to be gain. Neither need we declare how proud and insolent he was, being invested with secular Dignities; and desiring to be stiled a (k) Ducenarius, rather than a Bishop: And how he walked in state through the \* Forum, reading and dictating Letters as he walked in publick, with a numerous Guard about him, some going before and some following him:

(i) This is a Scripture-Phrase, taken out of 1 Timothy chap. 6. v. 6.

(k) These Ducenarii were procurators; called ducenarii, because they were such Receivers, or Collectors of the Revenues, as had 200 sesterces paid them from the Emperor, as a yearly salary. See Dio, Lib. 53. p. 506. Valef.

\* See Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (c.)

In so much that there was an ill Opinion and an Odium brought upon the Faith through his Pride and Haughtiness. Neither [does it concern us to examine] his vain-glorious Ambition in the Ecclesiastick Conventions, which he greedily pursues, being desirous of Glory, and affected with an imaginary Pomp: With such Devices as these terrifying the Minds of the Faithful and Ignorant. Besides, he

(l) The Fathers do not here condemn Paul, because he had a Throne; for that was customary amongst Bishops, even from the times of the Apostles, as we may see in Chap. 19. Book 7. concerning the Throne of James the Brother of the Lord. But for this they condemn him, because he erected a Tribunal for himself in the Church, and built a high Throne, as Rufinus well translates the place, higher than it was before. Bishops did sit higher than the People; but they had not a Tribunal. Valef.

(m) This Secretum was only proper to Magistrates, and the Judices Majores, or Judges of Life and Death. It was the inner-part of the Court of Judgment, and was compassed about with Rails, and Curtains were drawn about it; in it the Judges sat, when they heard the Tryals of Criminals. See my Notes on Amm. Marcell. p. 87. Valef.

(n) Κελευσεν τας οδοντας, signifies to shake a Linnen-Cloth, or Handkerchief in token of applause; as the Spectators used to do in the Theater. Vopiscus says that Aurelianus was the first who gave these οδοντας, oraria, in English, Handkerchiefs, to the People of Rome, that concutiendo, by shaking them, they might signify their consent in Elections. But Aurelianus borrowed this custom from the Eastern People, who long before his time used these Oraria after the same manner. Valef.

as novel, and the Composures of modern Men. On the great Feast of Easter, he appointed Women to sing Psalms in his commendation in the Body of the Church, which whosoever heard might justly tremble at: He also privately sent the (o) Bishops of the

(o) Eusebius seems here to mean the Chorepiscopi, which some term Vicarios Episcopi, and Vicarios, Episcopos, i. e. Deputies of the Bishop, and Vicar-Bishops. They here make a distinction betwixt the Episcopi Civitatum, and Episcopi Pagorum. And these latter, the Fathers here say, sang, or repeated these Songs or Hymns in their Sermons, and Congregations. See Damasi Epist. concerning these.

the People in commendation of him. For he will not joyn in a Confession with us, that the Son of God came down from Heaven, that we may now premise some things of what we shall hereafter more at large declare in writing: Neither shall this be affirmed on our bare word, but it is evident in many places up

and down his (p) Acts which we have sent you; And most especially there where he says that Jesus Christ is of the \* Earth: But those who chaunt out his Praises, and sing his Encomiums amongst the People, do say, that this their impious Master is an Angel come down from Heaven: Nor does that haughty Fellow prohibit these Expressions, but is himself present when they are spoken. What need we here mention his and his Presbyters and Deacons (q) sub-introduced Women (as the Antiochians term them?) in whom he conceals not only this, but many other dam-

nable Crimes, (which he is conscious of, and of which he has been convicted they are guilty) that by this means he may keep them so obnoxious, as not to adventure, through a fear of their own guilt, to accuse him for his impious words and practices. Moreover, he has enrich'd them. And this is the reason he is beloved and admired by them who covet such things. But why do we write these things? We know (Beloved) that it is the duty of a Bishop, and of the whole Clergy, to be Ex-

amples of good Works to the People: Neither are we ignorant, that by introducing Women into their Society, some have wholly fell away from Goodness, and others have been suspected. Although therefore it be granted he committed nothing that was unchaste, yet the very suspicion which arises from such a thing, ought carefully to be avoided, lest it should be offensive to any one, and induce others to imitate it: For how can he reprove, or admonish another not to frequent the company of Women, and to take heed lest he fall, (as it is written,) who has now indeed sent away one, but keeps two that are young and beautiful with him? And where-ever he goes, he carries them along with him; and therefore indulges, and (r) stuffs himself with Delicacies. These are the Reasons that all People sigh and lament privately: But they so dread his Tyranny, and Authority, that they dare not accuse him; now, (as we have before said) any would call a Man, who professes the Catholick Doctrine, and is reckon'd of our Communion, to an account for these things. But from one, who has abjured the Mystery [of our Religion], and has boasted in that cursed Heresie of Artemas, (for why may we not manifest to you his Father: ) We judge it needless to require an account of these things. Afterwards in the Close of the Epistle they adjoyn these words. Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious Enemy of God; we were necessitated to Ordain another Bishop in his stead over the Catholick Church, (as we are persuaded, not without the Providence of God) [to wit,] Domnus (the Son of Demetrianus of blessed Memory, who before him was the Eminent Governour of that See) a Man adorn'd with all Accomplishments requisite to a Bishop. Which we have therefore signified to you, that you may write

(p) Τροπικα are here Gestas, or Acts, Publick Acts; such are commonly Registred; but some falsely translate them Commentaries. Now the Acts of this Synod of Antioch were nothing but the Disputations of Malchion against Paul of Samosata; which were Registred by the Notaries. Valef.

\* See Joh. 8. 23.

(q) These Subintroductæ women were neither Wives, nor Concubines, but a third sort of Women; which the Presbyters, &c. kept, not to have Children by, nor upon account of lust, but as 'twas pretended out of a desire of Piety. See John Langus's Notes on Book 6. Niceph. Eccles. Histor. Chap. 30. These sort of Women, Valefius says, were called Sisters; which he was informed of from the third Canon. Concil. Nicen. They were also termed Commantes. See Jerom's Epistle to Eustochius, where he inveys against these sort of Women.

(r) Here the Fathers accuse Paul because he kept these fair Women with him; and because [εὐπαινεταῖς] he glutted himself with all sensual delights, as, Feasts, Drinking, and the like, which are the common incentives of Lust. Valef.



*Aurelia-* to him, and receive from him (f) Communicatory  
*nus.* Letters: But as for this [Paul] let him write to  
 (f) *Artemas, if he pleases, and let the followers of Arte-*  
*mas, hold Communion with him.*

*γάρμα-*  
*τα.* The Latines call them, *Literas communicatorias, communicatory Let-*  
*ters*; the use whereof is very ancient in the Church. They were also  
 called *Formate*, as *Augustine, in Epist. 163.* attests. There were two  
 sorts of these Letters. One sort was given to the Clergy and Laity that  
 were going to travel, that they might be admitted to Communion by  
 foreign Bishops. Another sort were those, which Bishops sent to other  
 Bishops, and received from them mutually, to attest and declare their  
 mutual Communion: Concerning this latter sort the *Synod* speaks here.  
 They were usually sent by the new Bishops a little after their Ordination.  
 See *August. 162 Epist. and Cyprian's Epistle to Cornelius, p. 92. Vales.*

(t) *Baro-* (t) And let these things be here by us inserted.  
*nus* at the \* *Paul* therefore having been deposed of his Bi-  
 shoprick, and being also fallen from the Ortho-  
 dox Faith, *Domnus* (as is aforesaid) succeeded in  
 the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: But  
 (u) *Paul* being by no means willing to quit the  
 Possession of the \* Church; an Address was made  
 to *Aurelianus* the Emperor, who most justly de-  
 termined concerning this business; giving com-  
 mand that the Palace should be resign'd, to whom  
 the Bishops of the Christian Religion in *Italy*  
 and *Rome* should assign it by their Letters. Thus  
 therefore the aforesaid *Paul*, was with the  
 greatest disgrace thrust out of the Church by the  
 secular Power. Thus indeed was *Aurelian* af-  
 fected towards us at that time; but in the fol-  
 lowing part of his Empire, his Mind towards us  
 being alter'd, he was induced by the advice of  
 some Men to raise a Persecution against us. Much  
 discourse there was every-where concerning it:  
 But the Divine Vengeance assaulted him, (being  
 now ready, and, as I may say, almost subscribing  
 the Edicts against us, [repressing] his design,  
 and binding him (as it were) by the Arms; ma-  
 king it evidently apparent to all Men that the  
 readiness of the Princes of this World [to per-  
 secute us] can never prevail against the Churches  
 of Christ, unless the invincible Hand of God in  
 his Divine and Celestial Judgment, permits it to  
 be done for our chastisement and amendment, at  
 those times in which he judgeth it most seasona-  
 ble. Moreover, *Probus* succeeds *Aurelian*, having  
 Reigned six years. And after he had held the  
 Empire the like number of years, *Carus* toge-  
 ther with his Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, suc-  
 ceed him. Again, these having not lived three  
 full years, the Empire falls to *Dioclesian* and  
*Maximian*, those who were adopted with him. In whose

the Creed which was composed by the Fathers of the Council of *Anti-*  
*och*, but by them of the *Nicene* Council. For the more certain demon-  
 stration of this, See the 3d Tome of the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*,  
 pag. 378; where this Creed, which *Baronius* mentions as composed by  
 the Fathers of this Council of *Antioch*, is expressly assign'd to the Fa-  
 thers of the Council of *Nice*. Wherefore that Creed which *Baronius*,  
 and *Binius*, following his example, have placed in the *Acts* of this  
 Council of *Antioch*, must be razed out. There is also extant an Epistle  
 of this 2d Synod of *Antioch* to *Paul of Samosata* in the 11th Tome of  
 the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, which Epistle was written about the beginning  
 of the Session of this 2d Synod; but *Baronius* ascribes that Epistle to the  
 first Synod, which cannot possibly be, because of the title, and the Per-  
 sons mentioned in it, and other Circumstances. *Vales.*

(u) After the Sentence of being deposed was passed against *Paul*, he  
 kept his Church for some years; and would not obey the decree of the  
 Bishops; relying on the power of *Zenobia* an Eastern Queen. *Theo-*  
*doret* says, in his 2d Book *Hæretic. Fabul.* that *Paul* did flatter her,  
 and used all means possible to get her favour. When *Zenobia* was  
 conquered, the Christian Prelates petition'd *Aurelianus*, that this *Paul*,  
 who had conspired with *Zenobia* against the Romans, might be removed  
 from the See of *Antioch*, which was done in the third year of *Aure-*  
*lian*. *Vales.*

\* *τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἶκος* the import of which words, being literally  
 rendred, is the House of the Church: Perhaps they mean the Bishop's  
 Palace; a little after they call it *τὸν οἶκον*; which we have rendred  
 the Palace. *Valesius* renders the first Phrase *Ecclesiæ Domus*, and the se-  
 cond *Domus*.

times the Persecution against us was accomplish'd,  
 and at the same time with it was the demolish-  
 ing of the Churches: But a little before this  
 died *Dionysius*, after he had govern'd the See of  
*Rome* nine years, and *Felix* succeeded him.

## C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning the Heterodox and Corrupt Opinion of the  
 Manichees, which sprang up at this time.

A T the same time that Mad-man, (truly cal- *Dioclesian.*  
 led (a) *Manes*) who gave denomination to (a) *Euse-*  
 that furious Heresie, was arm'd with madness; *bius*, as we  
 Satan himself that Adversary of God, having pro- here see,  
 duced him for the destruction of many Men. This derives  
 person was barbarous in his whole course of life, the name  
 in his very Discourse and Manners, he was as to of this He-  
 his Disposition devilish and mad: He undertook from the  
 what was agreeable hereto, and attempted to feign Greek  
 himself to be Christ. Sometimes he declared himself word *ma-*  
 to be the \* *Paraclete*, and the very Holy Spirit, be- *nes*, a  
 ing also, besides his Madness, puff up with Pride: *Mad-man:*  
 At other times, as if he were Christ, he elected *The Lear-*  
 twelve Disciples to be Colleagues of his new- *ned Bishop*  
 form'd Opinion. Moreover, when he had patch'd *Pearson on*  
 up a Collection of false and atheistical Opinions, *the Creed,*  
 gather'd out of various Heresies which were long be a Title  
 since extinct, he pour'd them, like some deadly Poi- rather  
 son, out of *Persia* into (b) our Country. Hence than a  
 came that impious name of the (c) *Manichees*, which name, and  
 at this time abounds in many places: Such there- to be deri-  
 fore was the Original of this (d) forged Do- ved from  
 ctrine which sprang up in the times before men- the He-  
 tion'd. brew *Man*,  
 or *Man*,  
 signifying  
 an Here-

*tick*: See his Reasons for this derivation, in his marginal Notes at p. 64.  
 of his Exposition on the Creed; Edit. Lond. 1669.

\* See the Note on Chap. 14. B. 5.

(b) The Phrase in the original is *ἐπὶ τῇ κτλ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμὴν*; which  
*Valesius* renders in *Orbem Romanum, into the Roman Empire*.

(c) *Manes* was not the first Author of this Heresie, though his followers  
 were from him called *Manicheans*. Indeed *Manes* disseminated this He-  
 resie in the days of *Aurelianus*, or *Probus* the Emperor: But he had a  
 Predecessor, though not a Master, called first *Terebinthus*, afterwards  
*Buddas*: Which *Buddas* had a former Master, by name *Scythianus*, who  
 was the first Author of this Heresie, and lived about the Apostolick  
 times. See the Pedigree of this Heresie drawn at large by *Epiphanius*,  
*Advers. Manicheos*; pag. 176, &c. Edit. Petav.

(d) *ψευδὴς γνῶσις*, knowledge falsely so called. 1. Tim. 6. 20.

## C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning those Ecclesiastick Men who were famous  
 even in our Age, and which of them lived till the  
 demolishing of the Churches.

A T this time *Eutychianus* succeeded *Felix*, who  
 had been Bishop of the Church of *Rome* five  
 years. And (a) he, having not lived not full ten (a) This  
 months, leaves the dignity to *Caius*, who lived in *Eutychia-*  
 our Age: When he had presided there about fif- *nus*, late  
 teen years, *Marcellinus* was ordain'd his Successor; Bishop of  
 whom the Persecution overtook: At this time years and  
*Timæus* succeeded *Domnus* in the Government of 11 months  
 the Church of *Antioch*: After him *Cyril* succeeded as is evi-  
 in our memory. In his time we knew one dent from  
 (b) *Dorotheus*, who then had the dignity of Pres- the old book  
 of the

*Popes*; in  
 which the years of all the *Popes* from *Callistus* are very well digested by  
 the *Consuls*, under whom they began their Presidencies, and under  
 whom they died. *Eusebius* here takes away 8 years from *Eutychianus*,  
 and ascribeth them to *Xystus*. See Chap. 27. Note (a.) *Vales.*

(b) This *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, *Baronius* (in his Notes on  
 the *Roman Martyrology*) takes to be the same with that *Dorotheus*, who  
 was a Presbyter of *Tyre*: But this is a Mistake in him; which Error  
*Blondellus* undertakes to correct; but in the interim committeth one far  
 worse. For he confounds this *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, with



*Dorotheus*, *Dioclesian's Groom of the Chamber*; whose Martyrdom our Author in the 8th Book giveth us an account of: I do not in the least doubt but there were two of this name, (*viz.*) *Dorotheus's*, one was Presbyter of *Antioch*, and the other was Eunuch, Groom of the Chamber to *Dioclesian*. And this may be proved by sufficient Arguments. (1.) This *Dorotheus*, the Presbyter, was not a Martyr; for we find no mention of him as such in *Eusebius*, and certainly had he been so, *Eusebius* would not have omitted him amongst the Ecclesiasticks he reckons up Book 8. Chap. 13. who suffered Martyrdom, seeing also he was his Master. (2.) This *Dorotheus* the Presbyter was a Man nobly descended, and he bore Office before he was a Presbyter; but the other *Dorotheus* was a Man of a servile condition, an Eunuch, and Groom of the Chamber to *Dioclesian*. Besides, 'tis impossible that the same Man should be a Groom of the Chamber, and a Presbyter; for that was inconsistent with the Ecclesiastick Canon, and with reason; only Youths of great beauty were chosen to serve in the Emperor's Bed-Chamber. Lastly, we read in *Eusebius*, and others, that *Dorotheus* the Groom of the Chamber suffered Martyrdom while he had that Office. Hence arose this Confusion; both these *Dorotheus's* were Eunuchs, and both the Emperor's Favourites. *Valef.*

*Dioclesian*, byter in the Church of *Antioch*, a very learned Man: He was very studious in the Sacred Scriptures, and used so great sedulity in attaining the *Hebrew Tongue*, that he could read the Scriptures in *Hebrew* with great skilfulness. He was a person that had been (*c*) excellently well educated, and was not unexperienc'd in the *Grecian Literature*: But he was by nature an Eunuch, having been so from his very birth. The Emperor for this reason, (it being for example a thing which was wonderful,) took him into his favour, and advanced him to the Office of over-seeing the *Purple Dye-house* at *Tyre*: We have heard this person expound the Holy Scriptures in the Church indifferently well: But after *Cyrellus*, *Tyrannus* succeeded in the Bishoprick of the Church of *Antioch*; in whose time the destroying of the Churches was very violent: After *Socrates*, *Eusebius* govern'd the See of *Laodicea*, who was born at the City of *Alexandria*; the Cause of his removal [out of his own Country] was the Controversie about *Paul*: Upon which account coming into *Syria*, he was detained from returning home by those Persons who in that place diligently busied themselves about Celestial matters; he was in our memory a most amiable Ornament of Religion, as we may easily understand from the words of

(*d*) This is the same *Anatolius* (if I mistake not) that *Eunapius* mentions in the Life of *Iamblichus*; where he says that *Iamblichus* was at first the Scholar of *Anatolius*, who at that time was esteem'd the best Philosopher next to *Porphyrus*. This *Anatolius*, here spoken of by *Eusebius*, lived in the same Times *Porphyrus* did, and according to *Eusebius's* Character, he was a Man well-versed in all sorts of Learning. *Valef.*

geometry, Astronomy, Logick, Physical Contemplations, and Rhetorick. Upon which account (as report says) he was intreated by the Citizens

(*e*) The Phrase in (*e*) *Aristotelick Order* [of Philosophers:] They the Origin relate indeed many other famous Acts of his in

*Ἀριστοτελικὴ διαδοχὴ*, *Aristotelica successionis*, of the *Aristotelick Order* *Anatolius* being an excellent Philosopher was requested by the Citizens of *Alexandria* to set up an *Aristotelick School*, in imitation of the *Platonick School* long since erected at *Athens*. The Masters of *Plato's School* were called *Ἰδδοχοί*, and were promoted to that place by a publick Decree. This School had great annual Revenues, raised out of Estates, which Learned Men left as Legacies to this School, which were hence called *Ἰδδοχίαι*. In imitation of this School at *Athens*, there was afterwards founded a Philosophical School at *Alexandria*, of which that most excellent Philosopher *Hierocles* was Master. See *Damascius*, in *vita Isidor.* pag. 1058, &c. *Valef.*

the Siege of the (*f*) *Bruchium* at *Alexandria*: For *Dioclesian*, by an universal consent he was dignified with the chiefest place of pre-eminence and authority (*f*) This amongst the Magistracy of that City. But for the Siege of the *Bruchium* I will here mention only this Act of his. There being (as they say) a great scarcity of Corn in *Aurelianus's* Time, as we find asserted in the end of B. 22. of *Amm. Marcell.* *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* says it hapned on the 2d. Year of *Claudius*: For which *Scaliger* reproves and corrects *Eusebius*, relying on the authority of *Marcell.* But I had rather follow our Author's Opinion here: For that *Eusebius* mention'd in this Chap. and *Anatolius* were still at *Alexandria*, and could not possibly travel to *Antioch* till the Siege was raised. But *Eusebius*, we see, went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which, as before we proved, was in the second Year of *Claudius*. [And intending to return from *Antioch*, he was detained by the *Laodiceans*, and made Bishop of that place. But if we say that the *Bruchium* was not taken till *Aurelianus's* Reign; how could *Eusebius*, who was at the Siege go towards that Synod, and be made Bishop of *Laodicea*. *Valef.*

(*g*) Whilst *Claudius* warr'd against the Barbarians, *Zenobia* sent *Zabdas* her Captain, who, by the assistance of *Timogenes* an Egyptian, seized upon Egypt, and put a Garrison into *Alexandria*: But *Probus* the Roman-General, with some assistance of the Egyptians, who did not affect the Syrians of *Palmyra* who kept the Garrison, forced them out thence; as *Pollio* in the Life of *Claudius*, and *Zosimus* record. And this, I think, was the time when the *Bruchium* was besieged by the Romans. *Valef.* *Martinus* thinks that this *Bruchium*, here mention'd as a part of *Alexandria*, and in the Greek called *πυρρῆσιον*, was in that which the Romans called the *Forum frumentarium*, or Corn-Market; it being derived from *πυρρῆσιον*, *Annone prefectus*; and that compounded of *πυρρῆσιον* and *ἐχθρῶν*, *tritici curam habeo*, to have the charge of the Wheat: See *Martin. Lexicon. Philolog.* in the word *Bruchion*.

are superfluous, and of whom we have no use at all, to wit, old Women, Children, and old Men, and let them go whither they will: For why should we to no purpose retain them with us, who are even dying? Why do we destroy them with Famine, who are disabled and maimed in their Bodies? We ought to feed only Men, and those that are young and strong, and to (*h*) distribute necessary Corn to such as are fit to defend the City. When by such Arguments as these he had prevailed with the Senate, rising up he gave his Vote first: That all those who were not fit for service, of what Sex soever, whether Men, or Women, should quit the City; for should they continue with them, and being wholly useless carry in the City, there could be no hopes of safety, but they would be destroy'd by the Famine. All the rest of the Senate having approved of his Proposal, he saved almost all the Besieged. First, he provided that those of our Religion, then that others of all Ages throughout the City, (not those

(*h*) *Christoph.* renders the word *πυρρῆσιον*, here used, *Congerere*, to lay up Corn; but it must here be rendred quite contrary, to give out, or measure out Corn sparingly; which was customary in Famines and in Sieges.



those only to whom the Senate had given licence; but a great many others under pretence hereof) should make their escape secretly; who being disguised in Women's habit, went in the night out of the Gates by his procurement, and fled to the Roman Army; where Eusebius, receiving them all, like a Father and Physician, refreshed them, who had been afflicted with a (i) tedious Siege, with all imaginable care, and methods of cure. The Church of Laodicea was honoured with two such Pastors as these by the Divine Providence, one succeeding the other, [for] after the War afore-said was ended, they both removed from Alexandria into [Syria.] Indeed Anatolius did not write many Books: But so many [Works of his] came to our hands, that from them we may perceive both his Eloquence and his great Learning; especially from those [Canons] of his in which he gives us his Opinion concerning Easter: Out of which it may be requisite to make mention of these words in this place.

(i) These (k) Excerptions out of Anatolius's Canons concerning Easter.

ought to be separated from the Text of Eusebius, as we have here done in the Translation. For they are a Title as it were, which noteth that the Fragment following is out of another Author. Valef.

(l) You have therefore in the first year the New-moon of the first month, (which is the beginning of the Circle of nineteen years;) according to the Egyptian account on the 26 day of the month Phamenoth; but according to the Macedonian Computation of months, on the 22 day of the month Dystros; and as the Romans phrase it, before the 11 of the Calends of April: On the afore-said 26 day of the month Phamenoth, the Sun is found not only to have entered the first Segment [of the Zodiac], but is then going the fourth day in it: They usually call this Segment, the first Dodecatemorion, the Equinox, the beginning of months, the head of the Cycle, and the (m) original of the course of the Planets. The Segment next before this they commonly call the end of the months, and the twelfth segment, the last Dodecatemorion, and the term of the circuit of the Planets. Wherefore we affirm that they who place the first month in this Segment, and take the 14 day (n) from it to be the Feast of Easter, are, as it happens, in no small mistake. Neither is this our Opinion, but it was known to the ancient Jews even before Christ's [coming;] and it was also in an especial manner observ'd by them; which may be understood from the words of Philo, Josephus, and Musæus. And not from the words of these persons only, but from them who were ancients than they; to wit, from the two (o) Agathobulus's, who were first

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that, as it were from the Original and Source thereof the course of the Planets should begin. Valef. The Translation of this Canon of Anatolius's will be scarce understood by the unlearned Reader, because so many terms of Art occur in it. The Learned Reader, that is desirous of farther satisfaction herein, may consult Petavius's Notes on Epiphanius, p. 153, &c. and Aegydius Bucherius, De Doctrina Temporum, pag. 440. Edit. Amst. 1634.

(n) That is, from that segment: For although the reading in the Greek Text be *αὐτὴν*, yet it is to be corrected thus, *αὐτῇ*; understand *τῆς*, segment: So Petavius corrected it in his Notes upon Epiphanius, pag. 190. Valef.

(o) Anatolius here affirms that there were two Agathobulus's, surnamed the Doctors, or Masters. But I fear he mistakes in affirming them to be ancients than Philo and Josephus. For Eusebius in his Chronicle says, that Agathobulus the Philosopher flourished in the times of Hadrianus. Valef.

named the Masters: And also from the (p) Famous Diocletian Aristobulus, who was one of the seventy, that at the request of Ptolemæus Philadelphus and his Father, translated the Sacred and Divine Scriptures of the Hebrews, and dedicated his Expositions on Moses's Law to the same Kings. These Authors in their Solutions of the Questions upon Exodus, say that all ought to sacrifice the Passover together after the vernal Equinox, in the middle of the first month. Now this happens when the Sun goes through the first part of the Solar Circle, or (as some of them term it) the Zodiac: But Aristobulus addeth, that not only the Sun, but the Moon also must of necessity pass through the Equinoctial Segment on the Feast of the Passover: For where-as there are two Equinoctial Segments, the one called the Vernal, the other the Autumnal; and they diametrically opposite the one to the other; and whereas the Feast of the Passover is granted to be on the 14 day at evening, the Moon shall be diametrically opposite to the Sun, as we may see it is in full Moons. Wherefore the Sun will be in the vernal Equinoctial Segment; and the Moon will necessarily be in the Autumnal Equinoctial Segment. I know they have said a great deal more; (part whereof is probable, and part concluded from most certain Demonstrations;) by which they endeavour to make it evident, that the Feast of the Passover, and that of Unleavened Bread must always be celebrated after the Equinox. But I omit the requiring such abundance of Demonstrations from them, off whom the Veil of the Mosaic Law is taken: And by whom (the face being now uncover'd) may be seen as in a Glass for the future, both Christ himself, Christ's Doctrines, and his Sufferings. Now, that the first month amongst the Hebrews does begin about the Equinox, the Precepts in the (q) Book of Enoch are a sufficient evidences. The same Anatolius has left us Institutions of Arithmetick in ten entire Books, as also several other evidences of his diligence about, and great experience in, the Holy Scriptures: Theotecnus Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine first Ordain'd him Bishop by Imposition of Hands, providing him to be his Successor in his own Church. And indeed for some small time they both (r) presided over that Church together. But the Synod against Paul being convened at Antioch, amongst

the Apollies, and the ancient Fathers in imitation of them, have not been afraid to quote Apocryphal Books which seemed to confirm the truth. Georgius Synkel. in his Chronicle, quotes an excellent Fragment out of this Book of Enoch's. Valef.

\* Some Excerptions out of Anatolius's Arithmetick are yet extant. Valef.

(r) We have the like Example in Chap. 11. Book 6. Where Alexander ruled the Church of Jerusalem jointly with Narcissus. These two are the most ancient Instances of Assistant Bishops (as they are now called.) These sort of Assistants were first instituted for the ease of Aged Bishops; but afterwards they grew customary; and were chosen not out of necessity, but ambition and pride: But the Fathers of the Council of Sardis put a stop hereto. Valef.



*Diocletian* (f) he going through the City of *Laodicea* [towards that Synod] was there detained by the Brethren, *Eusebius* being then dead: After the death of *Anatolius*, *Stephen* is ordained Bishop of that Church, being the last before the Persecution. He was indeed admired by many for his Eloquence, Philosophy, and his other *Grecian Learning*: But he was not (t) so well affected towards the true Faith [of Christ,] as the time of the following Persecution afterwards demonstrated; which manifestly declared him to be a dissembler, fearful and cowardous, rather than a true Philosopher. But after this the affairs of that Church did not forthwith run to decay; for *Theodotus* (u) ordained Bishop of that Church by God himself the preserver of all things, immediately restor'd all things to their former splendour. He was a person who in deeds verifi'd his own name, and made a true representation of the Episcopal Office; he was of all men the most eminent for his skill in Physick and in curing of the Body. And there was no Man his equal for healing of Souls; for Humanity, sincerity of Mind, Commiseration, and Diligence in helping those who wanted his assistance: He was also incomparably well exercised in divine learning. Such a person was this *Theodotus*. *Agapius* succeeded *Theodotus*, who had governed the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* with great care. Who, we know, was very laborious, and most sincerely solicitous for the good of the People over whom he presided; and with a liberal hand relieved all, most especially the Indigent: In this Man's times we knew *Pamphilus* (a most Eloquent Man, and a true Philosopher in the Practices of his Life) honoured with a Presbytership of that Church. To declare what a Person this Man was, and whence descended, would be a copious Subject. But all things relating to his life, the † School he founded; the Conflicts which during the time of Persecution he underwent in several Confessions, and lastly the Crown of Martyrdom with which he was encircled, we have fully declared in a (x) peculiar Work. Indeed this *Pamphilus* was the most admirable person of all that lived here. (y) Amongst those Men

see *Photius* and *Hieronymus*. *Rufinus* does not call him *Pierius*, but *Hierius*. So does the old *Roman Martyrology*, at the fourth day of *November*. But this *Martyrology*, I think, is neither the old one, nor the *Roman*. For had it been the *Roman Martyrology*, we should have had mention of none but *Roman Martyrs*. But in it we have a Catalogue of the Martyrs of all Countrys. That I think (if any desire to know which it is) is the old *Roman Martyrology*, which *Bucherius* published with the Canon of *Vistorius Aquitanus*, although that looks more like a Calendar, than a *Martyrology*. There is indeed none which is properly the *Roman Martyrology*: For that which *Gregory the Great* mentions in his Epistle to *Eulogius*, is St. *Hierom's Martyrology*, which the *Western Church* then used, as we shall hereafter at another place demonstrate. *Valef.*

who lived nearest to our Times, we knew these *Diocletian* to be most eminent, *Pierius* one of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; and (z) *Meletius* Bishop of the Churches in *Pontus*: *Pierius* was egregiously esteemed for his [voluntary] Poverty, and his Philosophick Literature: He was also a Man singularly exercised in Contemplations upon the Scriptures, Expositions, and publick Discourses in the Church: and *Meletius* (whom the Learned called the (a) *Honey of Attica*) was such a Man as one would describe to be most accomplish'd with all sorts of Learning. The powerfulness of his Eloquence can't worthily be admired. But, should any one say that he had this Faculty by nature, [we answer,] who could excel him in his knowledge in many other Arts and Sciences, and in his various sorts of Literature? Certainly, should any person have made tryal of him, he would have affirm'd that he was a Man most acute in all Sciences which have a dependance on reason; and also most eloquent: The Virtue and Piety of his Life was also correspondent to these his Accomplishments. In the time of the Persecution we knew this Man, when he absconded for the space of seven years compleat in the Regions of *Palestine*. After *Hymenæus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, a little before mention'd, *Zambdas* entred upon the Government of that Church; who dying not long after, *Hermon*, the last of the Bishops before the Persecution in our Age, succeeded in the Apostolick Chair, (b) which is preserved there even to this day. *Theonas* succeeded *Maximus* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, who had been Bishop there eighteen years, since *Dionysius's* Death. In his days *Achillæ*, who at the same time with *Pierius* was honour'd with a Presbytership, was very famous [at *Alexandria*] who was intrusted with the care of the \* *Catechetick School*. He in his Actions exhibited a most excellent Example (inferior to none) of a more sublime Philosophy, and a genuine Pattern of an Evangelick Converse. After *Theonas* had born the Episcopal Office nineteen years, *Peter* succeeded in the Episcopate of *Alexandria*. He also was esteemed a person very eminent in his Function, which he bore twelve years compleat. Having presided over the Church almost three of those twelve years before the Persecution, he past the rest of his time in a more strict and (c) *Ascetick course of life*: but

*Arians* calls *Meletius* the Great, pag. 291. Where in his Catalogue of the Orthodox Bishops, he reckons *Meletius* Bishop of *Pontus* for one. *Philostorgius* in his first Book calls him Bishop of *Sebastopolis* in *Pontus*. He says he was at the Council of *Nice* with *Basilus* Bishop of *Amasia*, and that he sided with the *Arians*: But *Athanasius* in the place above-quoted, proves that to be false. *Valef.*

(a) Therefore the name of *Meletius* is derived *ἐκ τῆς μελιτῆς*, from *Honey*. *Gregory Nazianz.* in his *Iambicks* calls *Meletius* the Bishop of *Antioch*, *μέλις ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*. *Valef.*

(b) By these words [*ἐκείνῃ τῇ καθεδρῇ*] he means, that the Throne of *James* the Brother of our Lord, was preserved at *Jerusalem* till that time, as 'tis recorded, Chap. 29. Book 7. So also at *Alexandria*, the Chair, or Throne of Saint *Mart* the Evangelist who first founded the Church of *Alexandria*, was preserved there for a long time. *Valef.*

\* *Tis* is *ἐκείνῃ τῇ καθεδρῇ* literally, the School of the Divine Faith. (c) There is nothing more frequent in *Eusebius* than the use of these Words, *ἀσκησις*, and *φιλοσοφία*; which terms the *Christians* borrowed from the Philosophers, as I noted Chap. 17. Book 2. Note (a.) The Philosophers called

† *Ἡ σπουδαία σχολή*. Some translate these words thus, concerning the School in

which he was educated: But I understand them spoken of the School which *Pamphilus* founded at *Cæsarea*: Concerning the Library which he erected at *Cæsarea*, see *Hieronymus's Catalogue*; where he speaks concerning *Matthew*; see also his Epistle to *Marcella*. *Valef.*

(x) *Christoph.* takes these words, *ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ* to signify one Book only: But *Eusebius* wrote three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus*. Which *Hieronymus* attesteth in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*; and in his *Apology against Rufinus*. *Valef.*

(y) *Ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοις καὶ ἡμέτεροις*, &c. (that is,) as we have translated it, amongst those Men who lived nearest to our times, &c. Some will have *μέγιστοις* to be referred to *πανιστοῦς*, most eminent Men; but that I cannot approve of. *Pierius*, and *Meletius*, of whom *Eusebius* afterwards speaks, lived even till *Constantine's* time; concerning *Pierius*,



called those *δοκίμοι* who professed a stricter kind of life. Hence it is that *Artemidorus* in his fourth Book, Chap. 35. calls *Alexander* the Philosopher *ἀνδρῶν δοκίμων*. *Asctick Philosophy* is opposed to Philosophy which consists in bare words. When the *Christians* first made use of this name *Asceta*, they bestow'd it on the Clergy: A long time after that, the *Monks* laid claim to this name. But at the first it was used as was before shown: See Chap. 17. Book 2. Note (a.) Which may be proved by the instance here of *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Pierius* the Presbyter; both whom *Eusebius* in this Chapter calls *Asctas*. *Eusebius* also, Chap. 11. concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, calls *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, *Asceta*. Valef.

*Dioclesian*. continued to be apparently solicitous for the publick Utility of the Churches. Upon which account being beheaded in the ninth year of the Persecution, he was adorned with a Crown of Martyrdom. But having here terminated the History of the Succession of Bishops from our Saviour's Nativity, to the demolishing of the Churches; which [History] comprehendeth

the space of (d) three hundred and five years; in the subsequent [Books] we will record the Conflicts of those, who in our Age courageously fought for Religion, how many and how great they were, and leave them for the information of succeeding Ages.

in regard *Eusebius* here sums up the time which he hath comprehended in his *Ecclesiastick History*. He saith that from our Saviour's Birth to the demolishing of the Churches, which was in the nineteenth year of *Dioclesian*, there were 305 years. Also in *Eusebius's Chronicle* the 305 year of Christ is set opposite to the 19 year of *Dioclesian*. But in *Scaliger's* Edition, the year in which the Persecution under *Dioclesian* began, is reckoned the 304 year of Christ. Hence arises this difference; *Scaliger* in his Edition of *Eusebius's Chronicle*, reckons not that to be the first year of Christ in which he was born, but the year following. But *Eusebius* reckons that to be the first of Christ in which he was born, as I before noted Chap. 5. Book 1. Note (a.) For *Eusebius* places his birth on the 8th of the Ides of *January*. Indeed, in all the MSS. of *Eusebius's Chronicle* (which have the Years of Christ annex'd, particularly in that of *Millain*, which is ancients than any other) that is noted for the first year of Christ in which he was born in *Bethlehem of Judea*. Valef.

## THE

## EIGHTH BOOK

## Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

## The PREFACE.

HAVING comprized the Successions of the Apostles in Seven entire Books, in this Eighth we have thought it requisite to set forth the Affairs of our own Age, (which deserve no trivial Description,) being a matter most necessary to be derived down to the knowledge of Posterity. And our Relation shall take its beginning from hence.

## CHAP. I.

Concerning those things which preceded the Persecution in our days.

(a) In the most ancient Maz. MS. and in the Edition of *Rufinus*, the first Chap. is begun at these words, *How great*, &c. Valef.

(b) The Maz. and Med. MSS. retain the true reading of this place; which is [ὡς τὸ θυσιάζειν, of sacrificing:] the same reading *Gruter* found in his Copies. The Governours of Provinces were obliged to sacrifice to the Gods, and to the Emperors, and to be present at Sacrifices. Upon which account the Christians abstained from the Magistracy, and refused the Government of Provinces, offer'd them by the Emperors. Valef. The reading in *Robert Stephens* Edit. is [ὡς τὸ θυσιάζειν.]

need we mention those who were conversant in the Imperial Palaces? Or the Emperors themselves? Who permitted their Domesticks, together with their (c) Wives, Children and Servants, freely and openly to make profession of their Religion by their words and practices, even before their own faces, and in a manner suffer'd them to boast of their fearlessness and freedom in professing their Faith: Whom also they had an high esteem for, and accounted them more acceptable than the rest of their Attendants. Such a one was that (d) *Dorotheus*, a person who of all Men declar'd the heartiest affection to, and fidelity in, their Service, upon which account he was more highly valued by them than the Magistrates and most Honourable Governours of the Provinces: To whom we will add the most renowned *Gorgonius*; and as many others as arrived to the same degree of Honour with them upon account of the Word of God. The same Affection, Observancy, and eminent Favour you might see vouchsafed to the Prelates of every Church, as well by all

(c) Our Author means not the Emperors, as *Chrysostom* supposed; but the Wives of the Emperor's Domesticks. Valef.

(d) This *Dorotheus* was of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor *Dioclesian*, or *Galerius Caesar*: So *Metaphrastes* affirms, in the Acts of the Martyrs, *Indes*, and *Domna*, chap. 23. Valef.



*Diocletian* (e) Private Persons as Governours of Provinces. But now, how should any one be able to describe those numerous (f) Congregations; and the Multitudes of Assemblies thro'out every City which flock'd [to embrace the Faith of Christ;] and those famous Concourses of the People in the Churches? For which reason they were no longer contented with the old Edifices, but erected spacious Churches from the very Foundations throughout all the Cities. These [prosperous successes] increasing in process of time, and being daily augmented with a growth and greatness, no envy could put a stop to; neither was any Evil Spirit able to bewitch them; nor could the treacheries of Men prohibit them, as long as the Divine and Celestial Hand [of God] cover'd and guarded his People, continuing to be worthy of its [protection.] But, after the

(f) The term in the original is [Επισυναγωγῆς.] Which word St. Paul uses 2 Thessal. 2. 1. where our Translators render it, *our gathering together.* ὁπισυναγωγῆς does properly signify, *to collect Persons dispers'd in divers places into one place.* In this sense *Dionys. Alexandrin.* uses it B. 4. Chap. 23. of this History; where he speaks of *Quadratus Bishop of the Athenians.* Valef.

through too much liberty changed into looseness and sloth; when some began to envy and revile others, and we were in a manner at wars amongst ourselves, [wounding] one another with Words as it were with Arms and Spears; when Prelates dash'd against Prelates, and the People raised Factions against the People; and when unspeakable Hypocrisy and Dissimulation had arrived to the height of mischief; then did the Divine Vengeance, as it takes delight to do, gently begin to visit us (the Multitudes [of the Faithful]) as yet meeting in their Assemblies by degrees and with moderation; the Persecution being first begun with those Brethren who bore Arms. But when we became insensible, and entertain'd not the least thought of propitiating and appeasing the Deity: But, like some atheistical Persons supposing our Affairs to be managed regardlessly and without any inspection, we added Impieties to Impieties: When they, who seem'd our Pastors, rejecting the Sanctions of Religion, were inflam'd with mutual Contentions, studying nothing else but the augmenting of Strifes, Menaces, Emulation, Envy, and mutual Hatred, and (g) greedily challenging to themselves the preeminence, as if it were a Dominion: Then forthwith

(g) That is, whilst the Bishops were at variance amongst themselves concerning preeminence, or about the bounds of their Dioceses. Valef.

(according to the expressions utter'd by *Jeremiab*) \* Lament. 2. 1, 2. † *Psalm 89.* in his anger, and cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembred not his footstool in the day of his anger: The Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Israel, and thrown down all his strong-holds. And, as it is predicted in the *Psalms*, † He hath made void the covenant of his servant, and prophaned his sanctuary in the earth, to wit, by the destruction of the Churches. He hath broken down all his hedges; he hath made his strong-holds fear. All the multitudes of the people that pass by the way spoil him; and further, he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the edge of his sword, and hath not assisted him in the war. But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath broken his throne by casting it to the ground. The days of his life hath he shortened, and lastly cover'd him with ignominy. (which is now use,) nor with the original Hebrew; the Learned Reader, upon comparing the Texts, will see the difference; we translated our Author's Words as we found them in the Greek Copy.

## C H A P. II.

## Concerning the Ruin of the Churches.

ALL these [Predictions] were (a) fully completed in our Times, when with our own Eyes we saw both the Houses of Prayer thrown down to the Ground, even to their very Foundations, and also the Divine and Sacred Scriptures committed to the fire in the midst of the Forum. [When we beheld] some Pastors of the Churches basely hiding themselves, some in one place, some in another; others of them ignominiously apprehended and exposed to the scorn of their Enemies. When also, according to another prophetick expression \* *contempt was poured upon Princes, and he caused them to wander in the wilderness where there was no way.* But 'tis not our [design] to describe those sad Calamities which in conclusion befel them: For it is unfit for us to record their mutual Dissensions and Folly before the Persecution. Wherefore we will relate no more concerning them, than whereby we may justify the Divine Vengeance. We will not proceed therefore to mention those who were (b) try'd by the Persecution, nor those who wholly made shipwreck of their Salvation, and were voluntarily precipitated into the Gulfs of the deep: but we will in general insert such passages only into this our History, as may in the first place be profitable to our own selves, and in the next to posterity. From hence then we will begin briefly to describe the sacred Combats of those who were Martyrs for the Divine Religion. (c) It was the nineteenth

our *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*; and so also the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: with whom agrees *Idatius* (in *fastis*) whose Words are these; *Diocletiano VIII. & Maximiano VII. his Coss. persecutio Christianorum: i. e. When Diocletian was the eighth time Consul, and Maximianus the seventh, the Persecution of the Christians began.* The same may be concluded from the *Acts of Alunatius Felix* (in *Gest. apud Zenophilum Consularem Numidia*.) According to *Eusebius's* account this was the 305 Year from our Blessed Saviour's Nativity; but according to the *Dionysian Era*, which we now make use of, it was the 303. But *Baronius* (in *Annal.*) and *Petavius* (in the second part of his *Rationar. Tempor.*) affirm that the beginning of this Persecution must be placed on the 302 Year of Christ; when *Constantius IV. and Maximianus IV. Coss.* Their Opinion is grounded on one only Argument, to wit, the *Acts of the Council of Cirra* (a City in *Numidia*, afterwards called *Constantina*.) which *Council Augustine* (in *Breviculo Collat.*) affirms was convened the Year after the Persecution began, and after the Passion of the Martyrs. Now the *Acts of that Council* (which *Augustine* relates in the B. 3. against *Cresconius*) do shew, that it was convened *Diocletian VIII. and Maximianus VII. Coss.* But this Argument is easily answered. For there is a mistake in those *Acts of the Council of Cirra*; the true reading is, P. C. *Diocletiani IX. and Maximiani VIII.* This appears evidently ex *Breviculo Collat. Diei 3. cap. 17.* where we meet with these words; *Nam Gesta Martyrum quibus ostendebatur tempus persecutionis, Gesta sunt Diocletiano IX. & Maximiano VIII. pridie Idus Februarii: Gesta autem Episcopalia decreti Cirrensis, post eorundem consulatum, 3. Nonas Martias, &c.* This passage cannot be supposed to be false. For *Augustine* adds there, that the Officers being commanded by the Judge to see what distance of time there was between the Passion of the Martyrs and the Council of Cirra, were deceived, and through their Ignorance told him what was false. For whereas the *Acts of the Martyrs* were thus inscribed [*Diocletiano IX. and Maximiano VIII. pridie Idus Febr.*] and the *Acts of the Council of Cirra*, thus [*Post consulatum Diocletiani novies, & Maximiani octies, 3. Nonas Martias,*] the Officers taking [*post consulatum*] for [*consulatus*] made answer, That there was only one Month between the *Acts*, both of the Martyrs, and of the Council. But there really was 13 Months space between them, as *Augustinus* truly affirms. — There is another Argument to evince, that the Council of Cirra was not convened in the eighth Consulate of

(b) Πειραγασθῶν, *tried, experienced*; For this term is used instead of πειρασθῶν. St. Paul uses the word, *Heb. 4. 15.* where our Translation renders it *tempted*. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Ships, set upon by Pirates at Sea; as the following Words declare: These *Marine Thieves* are called *Pirates* and τῶ πειραζέειν.

(a) In the *Mar. MS.* the reading is, *ὅτι, omnino, ubi.* by or fully. In the

King's MS. and *Robert Stephens's* Edit. 'tis *ὅτι πᾶσι*. The former is the better reading. At these Words Chap. 2. begins in all our MSS. and in *Rufinus's* old Copy. Valef.

\* *Psal. 107. 40.* this quotation seems impertinent. Valef.

(c) So says our *Eusebius* in his



*Dioclesian.* For whereas that Council was assembled to Ordain a Bishop over the Church of *Cirta*, (as *Augustinus* affirms) I desire to know who was Ordained Bishop of that Church by those Bishops convened in that Council? *Silvanus* was not. For he in this very year was still *Sub-deacon* to *Paul* Bishop of *Cirta*, as 'tis apparent from the *Acts* of *Munatius Felix*. Answer perhaps will be made (as *Baronius* does) that *Paul* was made Bishop of *Cirta*. But this cannot be true, for the Persecution began under *Paul*, as 'tis evident from the *Acts*, *apud Zenophilum Consularem Numidia*, which are related in *Augustine's* third Book against *Crescens*. See the place; and also *Augustine's* 165 *Epistle*. Thus much I have said (and could have said a great deal more) to evince that the Council of *Cirta* was convened 13 Months after those *Acts* of the Martyrs of *Africa*; and therefore it could not be assembled in the eighth *Consulate* of *Dioclesian*, and the seventh of *Maximian*; in which year the Persecution began. *Valef.*

*Dioclesian.* year of *Dioclesian's* Empire, in the month (d) *Dystrus*, (which the *Romans* call *March*,) when (the Festival of the Salutiferous Passion (e) approaching) the Imperial Edicts were proposed in all places, giving command that the Churches should be totally destroyed, and the Scriptures consumed by fire; and declaring that those who were elevated to any degree of honour should be rendered infamous; and (f) those that were private persons, if they persisted in a Resolution of retaining the profession of Christianity, should be deprived of their Liberty: Such was the first Edict against us. But not long after, other Rescripts arriv'd; by which command was given, that all the Prelates of the Churches every-where should first be put into Bonds, and afterwards compelled to sacrifice by all ways imaginable.

(d) The *Alexandrian Chronicle* places the beginning of this Persecution in the same Month. But our *Eusebius* (in his B. concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, which is put as an Appendix to this 8th Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*) says it began in the Month *Xanthicus*, which the *Romans* call *April*. *Valef.*

(e) *Theodoret* (in Book 5. Chap. 38. of his *Ecclesiastical History*) affirms, that the Edict for the demolishing of the Churches was proposed on the Day of our Lord's Passion (i. e. *Good-Friday*.) The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says it came forth on *Easter-day*; which was on the 25th of *March*: But *Easter-day* could not fall on the 25th of *March* in the 19th year of *Dioclesian*, as *Scaliger* and *Petavius* have observed. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, says it came forth in *March*, *diebus paschæ*. The Greek Phrase here imports only, that *Easter* was near at hand, when the Edicts were proposed: *Ἐισελαύσεις*; *Rufinus* renders it, *dies solennis paschæ imminabat*, the solemn day of *Easter* was at hand. In the year of Christ 303 (according to the *Dionysian Æra*) *Easter* fell on the 18th day of *April*, amongst the Eastern Churches. *Valef.*

(f) *Τὰς ἐν οἰκίαις*. *Rufinus* and *Nicephorus* supposed the Servants of the Christians were hereby meant. But that cannot be the meaning of this place. For then the Imperial Edict would have been imperfect, providing only for the apprehension of those who were honoured with any degree of preferment, and of Servants, and leaving out the Rusticks and ordinary sort of People. Besides, how can Servants be said to be deprived of their liberty? *Christopherson* translates it *privatos*, private Persons. I think he means the *Actores* and *Procuratores*, who were Servants to the richer sort of Men. *Zonaras* expounds this place very well, thus, *τὰς δὲ τοῖς οἰκίαις, Persons of a private condition*. *Valef.*

### CHAP. III.

Concerning the various sorts of Combats which [the Martyrs] underwent in the time of the Persecution.

Forthwith therefore many Prelates of Churches having endured most severe Torments with great alacrity of Mind, exhibited Spectacles of most illustrious Combats. Many others being prepossessed with a faintness of Mind by reason of their Fear, were immediately discouraged at the first attack made against them. Every one of the residue had their courses in various kinds of Torments. One was scourged all over his Body with Whips; another was rack'd with Tortures, and had his Flesh scraped off with Tormenting-irons that were intolerable. Under which [Torments] some made a lamentable Conclusion of their lives; but others accomplish'd their Combat after another manner. One being forcibly thrust forward by others, and constrain'd to approach their impure

and most nefarious Sacrifices, was let go as if he had sacrificed, altho' he really he did not. Another (when he had neither approach'd [the Altar,] not touch'd any thing that was execrable, yet because others said he had sacrificed) silently bore that Calumny, and went his way. A third was taken up on their Shoulders half-dead, and cast forth as if he had been really so: A fourth lying upon the ground, was drawn a great way by the Feet, and then accounted amongst them who had done sacrifice. One cried out, and with a loud voice attested, that he denied to sacrifice: Another exclaim'd that he was a Christian, adorning himself with the confession of that salutary Apellation. A third affirm'd that he neither had, nor ever would sacrifice. But these being struck on the Mouth by the Soldiers with their Fists, (a great company of whom were placed there as a Guard) yenc'd, and (a) beaten on the Face and Cheeks, were by force thrust out. So highly did these Enemies of Piety every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! But these [Proceedings] against the Holy Martyrs did in no wise prove successful to them: Whose [admirable courage] should we undertake accurately to set forth, what Expressions would be sufficient to compose such a Narrative?

(a) I suppose he means the *plumbatae* (i. e. Instruments of torture made with lead) with which they beat the Martyrs on the Face and Cheeks. There is frequent mention of this sort of torture in the sufferings of the Martyrs. Our Author had said before, that the Martyrs were beaten with the Fists of the Soldiers. Here therefore he must mean these *Plumbatae*: Otherwise, what he says is a Tautology. *Valef.*

### CHAP. IV.

Concerning God's Illustrious Martyrs; how they filled the World with their Fame, having been adorned with divers Crowns [of Martyrdom] for Religion.

FOR who should be able to make a Relation of those infinite numbers [of Martyrs,] who demonstrated an admirable alacrity of mind for the Worship of the Supreme God; not only from that time the Persecution was raised against all the [Christians,] but long before, when the times were calm and serene? For some time since, when the [Devil,] (a) who hath received power over this World, was first roused as it were out of a profound sleep, and as yet made his attempts against the Churches in a secret and occult manner, after that interval which followed the Persecution under *Decius* and *Valerian*: (For he would not set upon us closely and with an open War; but as yet made trial only of those that were engaged in the Milice; for he supposed the rest would be easily vanquish'd, could he first overcome them: ) Then [I say] you might have seen very many of those who were Soldiers, most willingly embracing a private life, rather than they would renounce the Worship of the Creator of all things. For when the [Roman] (b) General (who he was it matters not) first set upon persecuting the Christian Soldiers, and began to take a strict view of, and purge those that belonged to the Army; permitting them freely

(a) He means the Devil, who is said in the Gospel to be the Prince of this world. *Valef.*  
(b) His name was *Veturius*; he was *Magister Militum*, the Master of the Camp, or Lieutenant-General of the Army: Concerning whom *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, at the 17th year of *Dioclesian* says thus, *Veturius Master of the Camp persecutes the Christian Soldiers; the persecution against us being from that time begun by degrees*. *Valef.*

\* *φυλοκεινῶν*. It imports his doing of the Office of a Judge amongst his Soldiers, examining the place and order of each of them. The same term occurs Book 10. Chap. 4. where see Note (u.)



*Dioclesian.* to choose, whether by obeying they would enjoy that degree of Honour they were arrived to, or on the contrary be deprived of it, if they refused to comply with the [Emperor's] commands: Innumerable Soldiers of the Kingdom of Christ, without all delay or hesitancy, preferred their Confession of him, before the apparent Glory and Prosperity they were possess'd of. Some few of which (one or two) procur'd not only the loss of their Preferment, but Death also for their pious and resolute Stedfastness: \* The Framer of the Conspiracy [against our Religion] being *Devil*, not at that time moderate, presumed to proceed to shed the Blood but of very few: The multitude of Believers ('tis likely) terrified him, and made him afraid as yet to enter into an open War against them all. But when he prepared himself more manifestly for an Engagement, it is impossible to relate how many and eminent Martyrs of Christ were visible to the Inhabitants of all Cities and Countries.

\* He means the Roman General, as *Christoph.* supposed. *Valef.*

## C H A P. V.

Concerning what was done at Nicomedia.

Immediately therefore, upon the publishing of the Edict at *Nicomedia* against the Churches, (a) one who was no obscure person, but eminently illustrious for secular Honour and Esteem, moved with a Divine Zeal, and incited by an ardent Faith, took down [the Edict,] which was fixed up in the most open and publick place [of the City,] and (b) tore it, as being impious and most detestable: [Which he did] whilst two of the Emperors made their abode in that City; one of which was seniour to the rest, and the other held the fourth place in the Empire. But this Person who was the first of the Inhabitants of that City which appear'd thus eminent and zealous, having suffer'd such Punishments, as were thought meet to be inflicted on him for such a bold act, persevered in an undisturbedness and tranquillity of Mind to his very last gasp.

(a) This person is called *John* in the *Mar-tyrology* of *Uuardus*, *Ado*, *Notker*, and in the *old Roman Mar-tyrology*, at *September 7.* *Valef.*

(b) The *Edicts* and *Rescripts* of the Emperors were written in *papyrus*. Therefore *Nilus*, in his 264 Epistle, says it was barely called *Charta*; but after it had been subscribed by the Emperor, it was called *Sacra*; which appears also from the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, and from *Justinian's Novels.* *Valef.*

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning those who were conversant in the Imperial Palaces.

BUT that time produced these Divine and Glorious Martyrs (which excelled all that ever were celebrated as admirable and famous for their Courage; both among *Grecians* and *Barbarians*;) *Dorotheus*, and the other Boys that were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors: Who although they were accounted worthy of the highest station of Honour by their Masters, and were no less beloved by them than if they had been their own Sons; yet they supposed the Reproaches and Tortures for Religion, and those various sorts of Deaths devised for them, to be really of greater value than the Glory and Pleasure of this life. We will here relate what an exit one of them made, and leave the Readers to conjecture from him what befel the rest. In the fore-mention'd City, one of 'em was publickly brought forth before the foresaid Emperors; and com-

manded to sacrifice, which when he refused to do, 'twas order'd he should be strip'd and hoisted up on high, and that his whole Body should be lacerated with stripes, until he should yield, tho' against his will, to do what he was commanded: But when he continued immoveable after his suffering such tortures as these, they mix'd Salt and Vinegar together, and pour'd it (his Bones being now laid bare) upon the putrified parts of his Body. When he had undergone these tortures also, then Fire and a Gridiron was brought forth; and the remains of his Body were laid on [and broiled,] like Flesh dress'd to be eaten; not all at one time, but by little and little, that he might not end his life too soon: Neither were those persons who laid him on the fire, permitted to leave him, till after so great [tortures,] he should give his consent to perform what he was commanded. But, having constantly persevered in his Resolution, and gotten the Victory, he expired under his very tortures. Such was the Martyrdom of one of those Boys who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors; being truly worthy of his name: For he was called (a) *Peter*.

(a) Concerning this *Peter*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and the others that were martyr'd; see the *Acts of the Suffering of Indes and Donna*, at the 26. of *December.* *Valef.*

The [Martyrdom] of the rest, although not at all inferior to this, yet shall be omitted, lest our Discourse should be too tedious. Thus much only we will relate, that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* (together with many others that were Attendants at the Imperial Palace) after various Combats, having finish'd their lives by being strangled, obtain'd the rewards of Divine Victory. At the same time *Anthimus*, the then Bishop of the Church of *Nicomedia*, was beheaded for the Testimony of Christ. With whom was joyn'd a great multitude of Martyrs. For in those days, by what accident I know not, there happen'd a

(b) There is an illustrious evidence of this Fire, which hapned at *Nicomedia* in the first year of the Persecution, in the 25. Chap. of the Emperor *Constantine's Oration*, ad *Ceterum Sanctorum.* *Valef.*

(b) Fire in the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia*: Which being laid to our charge as the Authors thereof, by a Report grounded on a false suspicion; all sorts of persons that were the Worshippers of God in that [City] were destroy'd by heaps, some with the Sword, and others by Fire. At which time, report says, both Men and Women, excited by a divine and unspeakable alacrity, leapt into the fiery Pile. The Executioners also having bound another great company in Boats, cast 'em into the Abysses of the Sea. Moreover, the Bodies of those who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors, having been interr'd with decent Funeral-Obsequies, they who were accounted their Masters, supposed it requisite to dig up again, and cast them into the Sea; lest some (as they thought) should look upon them as Gods, and worship them [in After-Ages,] should they be let alone to rest in their Graves. Such were the Exploits performed at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the Persecution. But not long after, when some attempted to possess themselves of the Empire in the Region called (c) *Melitina*, and others in (d) *Syria*: (c) See B. Chap. 5.

Note (b.) concerning *Melitina*. There was a City, and a Country called by this name in *Armenia the Less*. But I never met with any thing concerning this Tyrant, who seized the Empire in that Region. *Valef.*

(d) He means *Eugenius*, who for some little time tyrannized in *Syria*. *Libanius* (in his *Oration to Theodosius*, pag. 411. and in his *Antioch*, pag. 363.) tells the whole Story. Whereto may be annex'd a Passage of the same *Libanius's*, out of his *Oration to Theodosius*, concerning the Sedition at *Antioch*, pag. 399. There was a Tribune of *Seleucia*, by name *Eugenius*, who had the command of 500 Soldiers. These Soldiers were order'd to open the Mouth and Passage of the Haven.



Haven. When they had laboured day and night without any intermission; being much displeased at their task, they force their Commander (*Eugenius*) to take the Empire upon him; threatening him with Death unless he would give his assent. The *Tribune* being after this manner compelled, took the Purple off the Image of one of the Gods, and was saluted Emperor. He goes forthwith to *Antioch*, (which then had no Garrison in it) supposing that if he could possess himself of that City, it would much advance his Designs: He makes himself Master of that place about Sun-setting. But his Soldiers, agreeable to their usual Irregularities, destroyed the Country as they marched, and just themselves with Wine, and good Cheer. Which being perceived by the *Antiochians*, they, despising the Paucity and Drunkenness of the Soldiers, killed them all with Stones and Weapons of all sorts, (the very Women giving their assistance) and their Leader also, as he was going towards the Palace: So that about the first Watch none of them were left alive. But the Emperor, who ought to have express'd his thankfulness to the *Antiochians*, ordered the Princes of the *Antiochian* and *Seleucian* Order should be slain, when as neither of them deserved any punishment. Amongst them the Grandfather of *Libanius* (a proper comely old Man) was killed. All this I met with pag. 411 & 363. Moreover, *Libanius* (in *Orat. ad Theodosium de seditione*) tells us, the name of this *Tribune* of the *Seleucian* Soldiers was *Eugenius*; and the name of the Emperor was *Dioclesian*, whom he calls, by his true name, *Diocles*. Thus I have given you the Name and History of the Tyrant; and the time when this *Eugenius* made his attempts on the Empire, *Eusebius* here declares, to wit, when *Dioclesian* was the eighth, and *Maximian* the seventh time *Coss*. Valef.

*Dioclesian*. an Imperial Edict arrived, [commanding] that all the Governours of Churches every-where should be bound and imprison'd. The sight of what was done after that, no expressions are sufficient to describe: When infinite Multitudes were every-where committed to custody; and the Prisons in all places, which in former times had been provided for Murderers and Robbers of the Dead, were then filled with Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Exorcists: Insomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemn'd for their Crimes. Again, when (e) another Edict follow'd the former, wherein it was commanded that those who were imprison'd, if they would offer Sacrifice, should have their liberty to go whither they pleased: But if they refused should be cruciated with a thousand tortures: The multitudes of Martyrs in every Province cannot possibly be reckon'd up, especially those [who suffer'd] in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, and *Egypt*. Out of *Egypt* some went into other Cities, and Provinces, and were there adorn'd with glorious Martyrdoms.

(e) This was the third Edict of the Emperors against the Christians. By the first it was ordered, the Churches should be ruin'd and the Scriptures burnt;

and those who were honoured with any preferment (if they refused to sacrifice) should be deprived of their Dignity; the meaner sort were to lose their liberty; See Chap. 2. Another Edict soon followed this, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should be imprison'd, and by all ways compelled to sacrifice. The third Edict comprehended all sorts of Christians, as well those of the Laity, as the Clergy; which Edict was proposed (says *Eusebius* in the Chap. 3. of his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine) in the second year of the Persecution. But this seems rather to have been the fourth Edict: For the second and third concern'd the Presbyters only; by the second 'twas ordered they should be imprison'd, and by the third it was enjoyned, they should by tortures be compelled to sacrifice. Valef.

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning those Egyptians [who suffered] in Phœnicia.

Some of them, we knew, were famous [for their Martyrdoms] in *Palestine*; and others in *Tyre* a City of *Phœnicia*. Whom any one that had seen, could not but have been astonish'd at their innumerable Stripes; at the Courage and Constancy of those truly (a) admirable Champions.

(a) Ταῦτα ὡς ἀληθῆς, is the reading of the *Mar.* and *Med.* MSS. accordingly we have rendered it of those truly admirable Champions, &c. Those Champions were termed *paradoxi*, who had gained many Victories. See *Peter Faber* (in *Agonistico*) B. 3. pag. 603. Valef.

ons of Piety in suffering them; at their Combat with Wild Beasts, accusom'd to devour the Blood of Mankind, which immediately follow'd their Tortures with Scourges; at their Encounters in that Combat with Leopards, \* huge wild Bears, \* fierce wild Boars, and Bulls, which were incited against them with Fire and red-hot Iron; and lastly, at the admirable patience of those courageous [Martyrs] in enduring [the assaults] of each of those wild Beasts. We ourselves were present at the performance of these things, when we saw the Divine Power of our Saviour Jesus Christ (whom the Martyrs then bore witness of) present, and evidently manifesting itself to the Martyrs: [for] those ravenous Beasts for a long time dared not to touch or approach the Bodies of these [Martyrs] beloved by God. But they turn'd their

Fury upon others, to wit, those that were (b) Infidels, who instigated and provoked 'em: But the sacred Champions only, who stood naked, and by the motions of their Hands irritated them against themselves, (for this they were enjoyned to do,) they did not so much as touch. Sometimes indeed they assailed them; but, as it were by some Divine Power, they were stop'd, and retired back again: Which hapning for a long time together, gave occasion of no small admiration to the Spectators; so that because the first Beast perform'd not its assault, a second and a third were let loose upon one and the same Martyr: You would have admired the intrepid Stedfastness of those sacred persons at the sight of all this, and that firm and immoveable fortitude of Mind, which was in young and tender Bodies: For you might have seen a Youth, who had not yet compleated the twentieth year of his age, standing still without being bound; and (having stretch'd forth his Hands, in form of a Cross) in an undisturb'd and fearless temper of Mind, contending with the greatest earnestness in Prayers to the Divine Majesty, in no wise receding or removing from the place he stood on; when the Bears and the Leopards, breathing forth rage and death, almost touch'd his very Flesh with their Jaws. But their Mouths were (after what manner I know not) bound fast as it were by Divine and unspeakable Power, and they ran backward again. After such a manner as this, did this person behave himself. Again, you might have seen others (for they were in all five in number) cast to an enrag'd Bull, who tore some of the Infidels that approach'd him, tossing them into the air with his Horns, and leaving them to be taken up half-dead. But when he should have assail'd the sacred Martyrs only with rage and menaces, he could not approach them; but stamping on the Ground with his Feet, tossing his Horns this way and that way, and breathing forth rage and menaces by reason of his being irritated with red-hot Irons, he was notwithstanding drawn backward by the assistance of Divine Providence. When therefore none of them was at all hurt by him, they let loose other wild Beasts upon them. In fine, after these various and horrid assaults of the wild Beasts;

(b) By [ἐξωθεν] the term which here occurs, *Nicephorus* (B. 7. Chap. 7.) thought those were meant, who stood without the *Arena* of the *Amphitheatre*, and incited the wild-beasts by their Clamours. But *Rufinus* supposed that the *Arenarii* were here spoken of, whose business it was to provoke the Beasts: Thus he renders the place, *Verum bestie illos ipsos qui ad instigandum mittuntur, incredibili velocitate discerpunt*: But the Beasts stare in pieces those with an incredible swiftness, who are sent in to provoke them. *Christophorus* thought that as well the Infidels, as those who stood without the *arena*, were here meant. The same term occurs again in this Chapter; we have rendered it in both places Infidels. Valef.







*Dioclesian.* for himself; both to demonstrate what a person he was, and also to relate the Martyrdoms which in his time happened at *Alexandria*, which he will [declare] more accurately than we can, in these words:

(b) T hese (b) OUT OF PHILEAS'S EPISTLE TO THE THMUITÆ.

words should be printed in Capital Letters. In the King's MS. they are disjoin'd from the Text: In the *Med.* MS. they are placed in the Margin: But in the *Luk.* and *Savil.* MSS. they are omitted. *Valef.*

\* Phil. 2. 7, 8. All these Examples, Prescripts, and good Documents being deposited for us in the Divine and sacred Scriptures, the blessed Martyrs, who were conversant amongst us, without any delay manifestly fix'd the eye of their Mind upon the Supream God, and willingly embracing death upon account of Piety, they stedfastly adhered to their calling: For they found that our Lord *Jesus Christ* had been incarnate for us, that he might abolish all manner of Sin, and provide us with assistances for our entrance into life eternal. For *he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took the form of a servant: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the Cross.* Wherefore the Mar-

(c) *Χειροτόμοι μαρτύρες*, i. e. Martyrs full of Christ: So *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, was called *Θεοφόρος*, i. e. full of God. *Valef.*

\* John 4. 18. could be invented, not only once, but some of them a second time also. And when the Soldiers that were of the Guard endeavoured with much earnestness [to strike a terror] into them, not only by all manner of menaces in words, but by deeds, they were in no wise discouraged in mind, because *\* perfect love casteth out fear.* Whose fortitude and courage under each torture what words would be sufficient to relate? For, free leave being granted to all persons that would be injurious towards them; some beat them with Clubs, others with Rods; others some with Scourges: Again, some scourged 'em with Thongs of Leather; others with Ropes: And the spectacle of these Tortures was variously interchanged, and full of malicious cruelty. For some [of the Martyrs] having their Hands bound behind them, were hung at an

(d) *Περὶ τὸ ξύλον*. I suppose he means the *Eculeus*; on which Offenders were hung, and had their Sides torn with Iron-nails. *Valef.*

(e) *Ἀμυντήρια* (the term here) seems to signify something more than Iron-nails. For *Hesychius* interprets *ἀμυντήριον* by *ξίφος δι-σέμων*, a two-edged Sword. Note here the Cruelty of the Judges; who were not contented with Iron-nails only, but used Knives also, or Razors, with which they cut the Sides of the Martyrs. *Valef.*

\* *Ἀπὸ τῆς σοῦς* *σοῦα* signifies a *Porch*, *Gallery*, or *Walking-place* under-propp'd with Pillars; in such Philosophers taught and disputed: The *Stoicks* had their name from hence; *ἅπὸ τῆς σοῦς φιλοσοφοῦν*.

\* pain to them than all sorts of tortures. Others were bound face to face to Pillars, their Feet not touching the ground; that so their Bonds being strain'd by the heaviness of their Bodies, might with stretching be closer drawn together: And

this they endur'd not only as long as the Governor talk'd with them, and was at leisure to hear them; but almost a whole day together: For when he went away [to hear] others, he left

(f) Officers, that were empower'd by him, to be watchful over the former [Martyrs,] whether any one of them, being overcome by the sharpness of his tortures, would seem to abandon his resolution. He also commanded they should be (g) strained with Bonds without any commiseration, and afterwards when they were dead, that they should be thrown on the ground, and dragg'd up and down. For they ought not [he said] to take the least care of us; but that all persons should so think of, and behave themselves towards us, as if we were not Men. This (b) second torture (after they had beaten us with stripes)

(f) He means the Apparitors or Officers, who were under the *Præfectus Augustalis*; concerning whom *Phileas* speaks in this Epistle, and calls him *ἡγεμόνα*, the Governour. The name of the *Præfectus Augustalis* at that time was *Hierocles*, as *Epiiph.* says, in *Heref. Melitian.* *Valef.*

(g) The phrase in the Original is *τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀεσπόμενοι*; which me seems a new and uncouth Expression. *Valef.*

our Adversaries invented. There were some also, who after they had been scourged, lay in the (i) Stocks, both their Feet being stretch'd to the fourth hole; in so much that they were forced to lie in the Stocks with their Bellies upwards, being unable to stand because of their fresh wounds, caused by the stripes, which they had all over their Bodies. Others threw themselves upon the ground, where they lay by reason of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures; yielding a more miserable spectacle to those that look'd on them, than in the very time of their being tortured; and bearing in their Bodies the various and different sorts of tortures invented for them. These things being thus perform'd, some [of the Martyrs] expired under their tortures, having made the Adversary ashamed by their persevering constancy. Others, being half dead, were shut up in prison, where having been sorely afflicted with the smart of their wounds, they ended their lives not many days after. The residue having been refreshed with methods of cure, became more stout and confident by time, and their abode in prison. Therefore, when afterwards command was given, that they should choose, whether by touching the detestable Sacrifices they would free themselves from all molestation, and obtain from them an execrable liberty; or whether, refusing to sacrifice, they would receive the sentence of death: Without any delay they cheerfully proceeded forth to death. For they well knew what was before prescribed to us by the sacred Scriptures: For *\* he* (says the Word of God) *that sacrificeth to other Gods, shall be utterly destroyed.* And again, *† Thou shalt have no other Gods, but me.* Such were the expressions of [Phileas] the Martyr, (a true Philosopher, and also a sincere lover of God,) which he sent to the Brethren of his Church, before his last sentence of condemnation, being yet in prison: Whereby he inform'd them both in what condition he was; and also exhorted them stilly to retain their piety in Christ after his death, which was now approaching.

(i) See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (c.) dragging of the Bodies up and down: The first sort of torture was by Stripes and Scourges; the second was, that they were laid on the ground, dragg'd about, and so drawn into prison. *Valef.*

(k) But what need we spend many words in relating

(k) After the words *Christophorus* has inserted many Chapters out of that *Appendix*, which *Robert Stephens* has published at the latter end of this Eighth Book. But that *Appendix* is an entire Book, and separated from this Work, to wit, the *Ecclesiastick History*; in which *Eusebius* describes the sufferings of the *Palestine* Martyrs, and especially the Passion of his Friend *Pam.*



*Pamphilus*. Some studious person added this Book to the eighth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History*, because their Subjects were very like; whose Copy the Transcribers afterwards following, placed it in their Copies. In all the MSS. which I could ever yet see, this Book is extant after the end of B. 8. in such manner as *Robert Stephens* publish'd it. *Christophorus* therefore did ill, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies, to put this Book in here, as if it had been part of the Eighth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History*. *Musculus* was more prudent, who (following *Stephens*'s Edition in his Version) translated the Eighth Book as he found it in the Greek, and wholly omitted this *Appendix*: Which neither *Rufinus*, nor *Nicephorus* seem to have found in their Copies. Besides, the Titles of the Chapters of Book 8. (which, as usually, are prefix'd before it) were sufficient to have put *Christophorus* in mind, that this *Appendix* did in no wise belong to the Eighth Book. *Vales.*

*Dioclesian*. the Conflicts of the Divine Martyrs over the whole World (whose new Combats were succeeded by other Conflicts that were as new;) and especially when-as they were assaulted not in an ordinary way, but in an hostile manner?

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning what was done in Phrygia.

FOR at that time some arm'd Soldiers invested a whole City of Christians, that was very populous, in (a) *Phrygia*, and, having set it on fire, burnt the Men (together with the Women and Children) whilst they called upon Christ the Supreme God. The reason hereof was this, the whole Body of Inhabitants of that City, the (b) *Curator*, the (c) *Duumvir*, together with all the rest who were of the Magistracy, and all the common People, professing themselves to be Christians, would in no wise obey those that commanded them to sacrifice to Idols. Another person also, by name (d) *Adautus*, (a man descended from a Noble Family in Italy, that had obtain'd a Roman Dignity, a person that had passed through all degrees of Honour in the Palace of the Emperors, till he in so much that he had faithfully discharged the Office of (e) *Receiver-General*, which amongst them is called, *The (f) Master of the Private Revenue*, and that of *Rationalist*: Besides all this, he was famous for his virtuous Performances in Religion, and for his Confessions of the Christ of God,) was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom, having undergone the Conflict upon account of Religion, whilst he bore the Office of *Rationalist*.

*Epiphanius* pariter conventiculo concremavit; i. e. others were very hasty to murder [the Christians] as was one in Phrygia, who burnt all the Inhabitants, together with the place they dwelt in, at one and the same time. *Vales.*

(b) The *Curator* of the City was he who look'd after the Treasure, and what-ever else in general belonged to the Revenue of the City; this is manifest from the *Pandects of the Law*: He is also called *Logista* (from the Greek word λογιστή, which is the term here in the Original,) in *Leg. 3. Cod. de modo mulandi*. Hence [λογιστή] was used to signify the performance of the *Curator's* Office, or Place. See *Valesius's* Notes on *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 36.

(c) *Στρατηγός*, is the term in the Original; which the *Latines* called *Magistratus*, or *Duumvir*: 'Tis taken in this sense throughout the whole *Title Cod. Theod. de Decurionibus: Et in Optatus, Lib. 1, &c.* in which places (and in many others) *Magistratus* and *Duumvir* are promiscuously used. The chief Magistrate amongst the *Corinthians*, *Rhodians*, *Tarsenses*, *Ephesians*, and *Philippians*, was called *στρατηγός*; and also amongst the *Athenians* the *στρατηγός* got the predecency and chief place, the name of *ἀρχηγός* being suppressed: See *Cicero* in Book 5. *Epist. 11. ad Atticum*. Lastly, in all *Grecian* Cities it was at length customary to call the chief Magistrates *Strategi*; as 'tis manifest from the old *Coins* and *Marbles*. See *Valesius* his Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, B. 31. pag. 423, 424.

(d) In the *Mat. Med. Fik. and Savil. MSS.* this person's name is *Αδαυτῆς*, *Adautus*: So *Rufinus* and *Cedrenus* wrote his name also. This person is mentioned in the *Greek Menaeum*, on the third of *October*. There was at the same time another *Adautus*, who suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, and is mentioned at the seventh of *February*. *Vales.*

(e) He means the *Procurator*, or *Steward* of the Revenue. *Rufinus* renders this place thus; *rationes summarum partium administrans*; which is truly translated. *Vales.*

(f) Concerning these *Magistri rei privatae*, see *Leg. 2. and 4. Cod. Theod. de jure fisci*. These Officers are usually joyned with the *Rationalists* in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valesius's* Notes on *Ammian. Marcellin.* Book 15. pag. 78.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning many other Men and Women, who suffered Martyrdom in a various and different manner.

WHAT need is there now of mentioning the rest by name, or of recounting the multitude of men, or delineating the various sorts of tortures [endured by] the admirable Martyrs of Christ? Part whereof were beheaded, as it happened to those in *Arabia*; and part were [killed] by having their Legs broken, as it befel those in *Cappadocia*. Some, being hung up on high by the Feet with their Heads downwards, (a) a slow Fire having been kindled under them,) were suffocated with the Smoke that ascended from the combustible matter set on fire; so it befel those in *Mesopotamia*: Others had their *Noses*, the tips of their *Ears*, and their *Hands* cut off, and the other *Members* and *Parts* of their *Bodies* were mangled, as it happen'd at *Alexandria*. What need is there of renewing the remembrance of what was done at *Antioch*? where some were broil'd on (b) *Grid-irons* set over the Fire, not till they were killed, but that their punishment might be prolonged:

(a) Such a Fire is that, which is made of Straw and small Sprigs of Trees. It is called a *slow*, or *slack Fire*, to difference it from the *αὐξέσων πυρῆς*, the *unquenchable Fire*, which we took notice of before. This Fire was kindled at some distance, that so the Martyrs might be choak'd with the Smoke, rather than burn'd. *Pionius* the Martyr seems to have been killed by such a Fire, as his *Acts* do attest. *Seneca* (in his Third Book *De Ira*) seems to mention this sort of punishment, in these words, *Et circumdati defixis corporibus ignes*. *Vales.*

(b) *Rufinus* translates *ἐγδαρίς* which is the term here, *Grid-irons*: So also the *Old Gloss* renders this term. *Vales.*

Others were more ready to thrust their *Rights Hand*, into the Fire, than to touch the impious Sacrifices. Whereof, some avoiding the being put to the test [whether they would Sacrifice,] before they would be apprehended and fall into the hands of those that laid wait for them, threw themselves headlong from the tops of high Houses, having accounted death to be a gain, because of the maliciousness of the *Impious*. Also, a certain holy Woman (admirable for her virtuous Soul, and [her comely] Body, eminently famous, beyond all at *Antioch*, for *Riches*, *Descent*, and *Reputation*,) had educated two Daughters (Virgins that were eminent for beauty, and in the flower of their Age) in the Precepts of Religion: When many, moved thereto by envy, used all manner of industry in inquiring out the place where they absconded; and it being at length understood they lived in a foreign Country, they were with much diligence summon'd to *Antioch*: After the Woman knew, that she and her Daughters were now encompass'd with the Soldier's Nets, perceiving herself and Daughters reduc'd to an inextricable state of peril, she exhorted the Virgins, expressly declaring to 'em the mischiefs that would befall them from the Soldiers, and that of all evils, *Ravishment* was the most intolerable, the menaces whereof it was unlawful for them to endure, even to hear: moreover, having said, that to yield up their Souls to the service of Devils, was worse than all sorts of death, and all manner of destruction; there was but one way (she declared) to avoid all these evils, which was to fly to the Lord for refuge. Immediately after these words, having all agreed to embrace the same advice, they adorn'd their Bodies



*Dioclesian.* Bodies with a decent dress: When they had gone (c) half their journey, having intreated their Guard for a short recess out of the way, and that being granted them, they threw themselves into a River which ran hard by: Thus these persons [drown'd] themselves. At the same City of *Antioch*, another pair of Virgins, in all points divine, and truly sisters, eminent for descent, splendid as to estate, in the flower of their age, beautiful in Body, chaste of Mind, pious in their conversations, admirable for their industry, (as if the earth were unable to bear so great [an ornament,]) were, by the command of the worshippers of *Demons*, cast into the Sea. These things were done amongst those [at *Antioch*.] But 'tis horrid to hear the relation of what others suffer'd in *Pontus*: Some had sharp Reeds thrust up

the Fingers of both their Hands from the very tops of their Nails: Others had melted Lead poured upon their Backs, even whilst the melted metal boiled, [which ran down and] burnt the most necessary parts of their Bodies: Again, others without any commiseration endured obscene tortures (which are unfit to be related) in their Privy-Members, and Bowels, which those \* courageous and just Judges invented with much earnestness and labour, demonstrating thereby the acuteness of their Wit, as if the very power and strength of Wisdom [consisted in such cruel Inventions:] and striving continually (as if it had been for rewards in a Combat) to outdo one another in finding out new sorts of Tortures. These calamities therefore were not ended, till such time as [the Judges,] despairing of making any further addition to these miseries, wearied with slaughters, filled and fatiated with the effusion of Blood, betook themselves to the thoughts of clemency and humanity, that in future they might seem to invent no further cruelty against us. For it was unfit (they said) to pollute the Cities with the Blood of their Inhabitants, and to defame the Government of the Emperors (which was benign and gentle towards all persons) by so

\* Ironically spoken.

(c) The *Med. Max.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read [τὴν ἀνωτάτω,] Superlative. *Valef.*

authority should be extended to all persons, and that [the Christians] should not any longer be punished with death, in regard those of our Religion were exempted from such punishment by the indulgence of the Emperors. At that time

(f) *Rufinus* says an Edict of the Emperor was set forth, whereby such a sort of punishment was commanded thenceforth to be inflicted on the Christians: But I think this not to be true. For the Magistrates themselves, being overcome by the constancy of the Christians, at length betook themselves to this sort of punishment on their own accord. *Valef.*

account of this lenity used by these impious Wretches [towards us,] it is impossible to give any

further account of the Multitudes (which indeed *Dioclesian.* are altogether innumerable) both of them who had their right Eyes first thrust out with a Sword, and after they had been thus prick'd out, their [Eye-holes] were seared with a red-hot Iron; and also of those, who had their Left-legs (as far as the bending of their Knees) made useless by being seared with hot Irons: After which they were condemned to the Brazen-Mines which were in the Province, not so much for the service they could do, as upon account of the Affliction and Misery they should [endure there.] Besides all these, there were many others, who were assaulted with several sorts of Combats, which 'tis not possible to give a Catalogue of; for their courageous Exploits do surpass all relation. Therefore, the noble Martyrs of Christ, having obtain'd great renown over the whole world in these [g] Combats, did both deservedly amaze every-where the Spectators of their Courage; and also exhibit in themselves manifest tokens of the truly Divine and (b) Inexplicable Power of our Saviour. Indeed, the mention of every particular person of them by name, would be very tedious, if not a thing impossible.

just before. *Christopherson* translated these words ill, thus [at this time;] and from them began a new Chapter. *Valef.*

(b) The term here is [ἀσέπτης, secret.] It seems to be used for [ἀσέπτης, inexplicable;] in which sense *Eusebius* does frequently use it. But if any one will translate it [secret,] I shall not withstand it. *Valef.*

### C H A P. XIII.

Concerning those Prelates of the Church who demonstrated the Sincerity of the Religion they asserted by [the Effusion] of their own Blood.

NOW, of those Ecclesiastick Prelates, who suffered Martyrdom in the most eminent Cities, the first that must be commemorated in the Monuments of the Pious, may be *Anthimus*, a Witness of Christ's Kingdom, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who was beheaded in that City. But, of the (a) *Antiochian* Martyrs [we will mention] *Lucianus* a Presbyter of that Church, a person most eminent [for sanctity] throughout his whole life: He at first made a Declaration of the Celestial Kingdom of Christ in words, and by an *Apologetick Oration* at *Nicomedia*, in the presence of the Emperor; and afterwards he [asserted it] in deeds and real performances. But the most eminent Mar-

tyrs in *Phœnice* (which were most acceptable to God and Pastors of Christ's Flock) were *Tyrannio* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Zenobius* a Presbyter at *Sidon*; also *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Emesa*. This [Prelate last named] being together with some others, cast as food to the Wild-Beasts at the very City of *Emesa*, was received into the number of the Martyrs. Both the other rendered the Doctrine of the Divine Faith famous at *Antioch*, by their most patient suffering [of Tortures] until their Deaths: [Tyrannio] the Bishop was drown'd in the Depths of the Sea; and *Zenobius* (a most incomparable Physician) died courageously under the Tortures, which were applied to his sides. Amongst the Martyrs of *Palestine*, *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Gaza*,

(a) In stead of [ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιόχειας, the Martyrs at Antioch] in *Nicephorus* the Reading is [ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιόχειας, the Martyrs of Antioch,] which doubtless is truest. For *Lucianus* suffer'd not at *Antioch*, but at *Nicomedia*, as *Eusebius* attests in this place; to whom agree *Jerome* [in *Catalog.*] *Rufinus*, and *Nicephorus*. The same is confirmed by *Lucianus* himself in the Epistle he wrote to the *Antiochians*, when he was (together with some other Martyrs) in prison at *Nicomedia*. The last words of this Epistle are extant in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the first year of the Persecution. *Valef.*



*Dioclesian* was, together with nine and thirty others, be-headed at the Mines of Brass, which are in *Phæno*. Also *Peleus* and *Nilus*, Egyptian Bishops, together with some others, were burnt to death at the same place. Amongst which number we must in no wise omit the mention of *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, the most admirable person in our Age, and the greatest Ornament of the Church at *Cæsarea*: Whose Fortitude and courageous Ex-

ploits we (b) will declare at a fit and convenient opportunity. [Moreover,] of those who were persecuted by a glorious Martyrdom at *Alexandria*, throughout all *Egypt* and *Thebais*, the first to be mention'd is *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, a most divine Teacher of the Christian Religion; also, *Faustus*, (c) *Dion*, and *Ammonius* (perfect Martyrs of Christ) who were his Presbyters. Besides, *Phileas*, *Hesychius*, *Pachumius*, and *Theodorus*, Bishops of Churches in *Egypt*. Moreover, there were many other eminent [Martyrs] who have an honourable mention among the Churches that are in those places and Countries. But our [design] is not to commit to writing the Conflicts of all those who suffered for the Worship of God over the whole World, nor yet to give in an accurate relation of every accident that befel them; but of those rather, who with their own eyes beheld what was done. Moreover, those [Conflicts] ourselves were present at, we will commit to the knowledge of Posterity in (d) another Work: But in this present Book I will annex to what has been declared, a Revocation of what had been practised against us, and the accidents that hapned from the very beginning of the Persecution, which will be most useful to the Readers. Therefore, before the War [was denounced] against us, (during the time that the Emperors were friendly and peaceable towards us,) (e) how great a felicity and plenty of all that is good, the

concerning the Life of *Pamphilus* the Martyr. *Christophorson* (who had inserted that whole Appendix before this Chapter) was forced to omit these words of *Eusebius* here, lest *Eusebius* should seem to have forgot himself. I must indeed confess, that in the *Mar. Med. Fuk. and Savil. MSS.* the Reading is [*ἀπεργασάμενοι*, we have declared;] but if that Reading be true, *Eusebius* must mean his Books concerning the Life of *Pamphilus* the Martyr; which (as before we observed) he wrote before his *Ecclesiastical History*. Valef.

(c) In the *Mar. and Med. MSS.* this person is called *Dion*; in *Robert Stephens* he is named *Dilius*. Valef.

(d) He means doubtless his Book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*. For no other Book but that can be found, wherein *Eusebius* relates the Conflicts of the Martyrs which he himself had seen. The Opinion of *Christophorson* is from this passage further disproved, who supposed the Book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine* was part of this eighth Book: Upon which account, after these words [*in another Work*] he omitted some words, and inserted others, against the authority of all Copies. *Turnebus* was sensible hereof, and therefore at the Margin of his Copy, he put this Greek Scholion at these words, [*Σημειώσας ὅτι ταύτην ἔχεις τὴν γραφὴν ἐνδοῦς καὶ ἔστω τὸ βιβλίον*, i. e. Note, that you will meet with this writing immediately after this eighth Book. Valef.

(e) How great the felicity of the Roman Empire was, in the Reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, *Mamertinus* attests in his *Genealogicum*, about the latter end. Neither did the Romans ever succeed more prosperously in their Wars against the Barbarians, than at that time. The Barbarians were in every Engagement slain, and the Limits of the Roman Empire enlarged. If we read the Histories of those Times, we shall find that the Affairs of the Empire were never in a better posture; when four Princes, to wit, two *Augusti*, and as many *Cæsars*, did each of them severally repel the Barbarians. But although *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* obtain'd so many Victories over the Enemies of the Roman Empire; yet they Triumph'd but once, a little before they resign'd the Empire, as *Eutropius* and *Zonaras* do attest. The words of *Eutropius* are these; *Uterque una die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit; Nicomedia Dioclesianus, Hercules Mediolani, post triumphum inclytum, quem Romæ ex numerosis gentibus egerant, pompa seculorum illustri, &c.* *Hieronymus* (in his *Chronicon*) has placed this Triumph of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* on the eighteenth Year of *Dioclesian*. At which place *Scaliger* (in his *Animadversions*) remarks, that *Hieronymus* has committed an *Anachronism*. For he says, this Triumph was performed on the twentieth Year of *Dioclesian*, some Months before he put off his Purple. But *Scaliger* himself is mistaken rather than *Hieronymus*. For if *Dioclesian* triumph'd in the twentieth Year of his Empire, that is, some

few Months before he resigned it, it must be said he triumph'd about January, in the year of Christ 304. and put off his Purple on the Kalends of April of the same year; which time of his resignation *Idatius* declares (in *Fastis*.) Whence it follows, that he triumph'd in Winter-time, and in the depth of Winter travell'd from Rome to *Nicomedia*; neither of which is probable. For neither did the Roman Emperors usually triumph in Winter; nor was *Dioclesian* (by reason of his Age and Infirmary of Body) able to endure the trouble of so tedious a Journey. Besides, in the nineteenth year of his Empire, in March and April, *Dioclesian* was at *Nicomedia*; at which time the Persecution against the Christians began, as our *Eusebius* attests in Chap. 5. Book. 8. He was at *Nicomedia* also, when the Palace there was burn'd; (as *Constantine* witnesseth in his *Oration ad sanctorum cœtum*, Chap. 25.) which Fire happen'd some Months after the Persecution was began. Let us therefore suppose, that that happen'd in May, is it credible that *Dioclesian* could go from *Nicomedia* to Rome, triumph there, return from thence to *Nicomedia*, put off his Purple there, and retire into *Dalmatia* to lead the rest of his life in retirement there: Is it (I say) credible he could do all this within ten Months space? Besides, the Disease, by which *Dioclesian* was for some time put out of his Wits, seized him first at *Nicomedia*, a little after he rais'd the Persecution, as *Constantine* relates. Wherefore, 'tis very improbable, that *Dioclesian*, troubled with such a Distemper, undertook such a long Journey. Further, the Author of the *Panegyric* spoken to *Maximian* and *Constantine*, does expressly affirm, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd at Rome some years before the twentieth of *Dioclesian's* Empire; see his words. *Scaliger* therefore is much mistaken, in saying *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd in the twentieth year of *Dioclesian's* Empire; *Hieronymus*, more truly, placed it on the eighteenth of *Dioclesian*. In which year *Idatius* (in *Fastis*) observes, that the Emperors gave command by their Edict that Corn should be sold cheap; which seems to have been order'd by them after the Triumph, to please the People of Rome. But *Cedrenus* places this Triumph on the seventeenth year of *Dioclesian*. Valef.

Roman Empire was dignified with, what words *Dioclesian*, can be sufficient to declare? At which time those, in whose hands the Supream Power was, having compleated the tenth and twentieth year of their Empire, led their lives in a firm and continued Peace, [spending the time] with Festivities, publick Shows, most splendid Banquets, and Delights. When their Empire was after this sort enlarged without any manner of impediment, and daily augmented with an increase of greatness, on a sudden they revoked the peace with us, and rais'd a perfidious War [against us.] The (f) second year of (f) *Euseb.* this War was not compleated, when a new and unexpected accident subverted the State of Affairs almost throughout the whole [Roman] Empire. year was For, (g) he that had the precedency amongst the forefaisd Emperors, (having been visited by an unfortunate Disease, which drove him into a disorder'd and mad temper of mind,) betook himself to a private and Country life, together with that Empire, [Emperor] who was the next in dignity to him. made by These affairs were no sooner transacted after this manner, but the whole Roman Empire was (h) divided into two parts, which, as it has been re-

beginning of the second year of the Persecution, on the Kalends of April, in the year of Christ 304. the Persecution having been begun in the month of March of the foregoing year. Whereas therefore *Eusebius* says [the second year of this War was not compleated,] his meaning must be this [it was the second year current of the Persecution:] In this sense that other place of *Eusebius* (which occurs in Chap. 3. of his Book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, about the end of the Chapter) is to be taken. Valef.

(g) *Christophorson* translates these words [*πρῶτος αὐτῶν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν*] thus, *primus nostrarum arummarum auctor*, the first Author of our sorrows; which Version is not good: But he seems to have followed *Nicephorus* herein; who (in B. 7. Chap. 16.) writes out this Passage of *Eusebius*; and in stead of his words here set down, uses these [*πρῶτος αὐτῶν τῆς κακίας*, the Author of our mischief.] Valef.

(h) For *Constantius* and *Galerius* parted the Empire between themselves: Which was the first division of the Empire, as *Eusebius* here asserts. For although there had been more than one *Augustus* at the same time, yet they govern'd the Roman Empire together, without making any division of it; thus it was in the Reign of *Marcus* and *Verus*. Neither was there any division made of the Empire in the Reign of *Diocletian* and *Herculius Maximianus*; when those two *Augusti* parted neither the Provinces, nor the Legions. See *Eutropius*, B. 10. *Orosius* B. 7. Concerning this Division of the Empire (which Rome was much displeased at) *Porphyrus* (in his *Panegyric* to *Constantine*, written by him in the 15th year of *Constantine's* Reign,) speaks these words,

*Lacerata cruentis*

*Imperii pars fessa poli, divisa gemebat*

*Sceptra, & Ausonia marchabat perditia jura.*

Valef.

corded,



*Dioctian*. corded, was an accident that never happen'd before. Within some small interval of time, the Emperor *Constantius* (a person of extraordinary mildness throughout his whole life, most favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the Divine Doctrine [of our Religion,] ended his life according to the common Sanction of Nature, leaving his own Son *Constantine* Emperor and *Augustus* in his stead.

(f) The meaning of this passage is not, that *Constantius* was the first Emperor that had the honour to be Deified after his death: (For many Emperors, before *Constantius*, were by the Senate accounted amongst the number of the *Divi*.) But that, of the four Emperors who governed the Empire together (to wit, *Dioctian*, *Maximianus*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*,) *Constantius* was the first that obtained this honour; because he was the first of them four, that died. *Valef.*

And he was the (i) first that was Deified amongst the [Romans,] being after his death vouchsafed all Honours due to an Emperor. He was the mildest and most benign of all the Emperors: And moreover, the only person of those Princes in our days, that passed over the whole time of his Government suitably to his Imperial Majesty: He behav'd himself with the greatest *graciouslyness* and *candour* imaginable towards all persons, both in other Matters; and also was in no wise a Confederate in the War raised against us, but preserved those Worshippers of God, that lived under his Government, free from harm and injuries: and having neither demolish'd the fabricks of the Churches, nor attempted any other new design against us, he obtain'd an (k) honourable and thrice-happy conclusion of his life: Being the only person [of all the four Emperors] that ended his life in his Imperial Government fortunately and gloriously, [leaving] his own Son (a most prudent and pious Prince) his Successor.

(k) In the King's MS. the Reading is [παύση καὶ εὐδαίμων, a fortunate end of his life.] But in the *Mar. Med. Fuk. and Sav. MSS.* the words here are [καὶ εὐδαίμων, a fortunate end of his life.] *Valef.*

(l) In the *Mar. Med. Fuk. and Sav. MSS.* the reading is [καὶ εὐδαίμων, a fortunate end of his life.] *Valef.* (m) These words [whom we before manifested to have re-assumed the Empire after his resignation of it,] are wanting in the *Mar. and Fuk. MSS.* They are in the King's MS. and in the *Med. MS.* they are written at the Margin here, in the same hand in which that MS. is written. Moreover, altho' *Eusebius* here says, he before related, that *Maximianus Herculius* re-assumed the Imperial Dignity; yet hitherto I cannot find the place where *Eusebius* has said this. *Valef.* (n) Πρώτη δὲ τέταρτη (the expression here) is to be understood in the same sense with that we explain'd a little before in this Chapter, [ἡ πρώτη τε ἐν θεοῖς, the first that was Deified.] See Note (i.) in this thirteenth Chapter. *Valef.*

C H A P. XIV.

*Galerius.*

Concerning the Morals of those that were the Enemies of Religion.

*Maxentius* (Son to this \* Man) who had possess'd himself of the Government of *Rome*, at first hypocritically pretended [himself a Professor of] our Faith, that he might thereby please and flatter the People of *Rome*. Upon this account he commanded his Subjects to forbear persecuting the Christians, making a shew of piety, and [being desirous] to seem benign, and much more mild than the former Governours. But in his Practices he manifested himself not to be such a manner of person, as 'twas hoped he would have prov'd. But, having applied himself to [the commission of] all sorts of *impious facts*, he omitted no manner of action that was impure and libidinous. He committed Adulteries and Rapes of all sorts. He parted the Husbands [by divorce] from their lawful Wives, whom (when he had by uncleanness abused) he most dishonourably sent back again to their Husbands. Nor did he make it his business to be thus injurious towards obscure persons, and those of mean Quality, but towards them especially, who were advanced to the highest place of Honour in the *Senate of Rome*; insulting over the most eminent Personages. All persons therefore, both the Vulgar and the Magistrates, as well the honourable as the obscure, standing in great fear of him, were sorely afflicted with his intolerable *Tyranny*. And altho' they were quiet, and patiently bore the austere Servitude [they were oppress'd with;] yet none could so avoid the bloody Cruelty of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he delivered the People of *Rome* to be slain by his (a) own

Guards. And so innumerable multitudes of the *Roman* people (not *Scythians*, nor *Barbarians*, but his own Citizens) were killed with Spears and all sorts of Weapons in the midst of the City. Moreover, 'tis impossible to enumerate how many slaughters were made of those that were Senators, to the end their estates might be seiz'd; infinite numbers of 'em being put to death at several times for various crimes framed [against them.] At length, as the Complement of his Impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [exercise] the Delusions of Magick Art: Sometimes ripping up Women great with child; otherwhiles searching into the Bowels of new-born Infants; he also killed Lions, and [performed] some other horrible Rites, to call forth the *Dæmons*, and repel the approaching War. For he

(a) *Aurelius Victor* (in the *Life of Maxentius*) says the same; *Adeo seivus, uti Prætorianis eodem vulgi quondam annuerit; He was so cruel, that one time he conniv'd at his Guards for killing the common People.* *Constantine* having vanquish'd *Maxentius*, did quite put down the *Prætorian Cohorts*; (i. e. those Soldiers whose Office it was to Guard the Emperor's Body,) upon pretence of this Slaughter (here mentioned) they made among the common People; but in reality, that they should not attempt any Alterations in the Government, nor make Emperors, as they had done *Maxentius* whom they proclaimed *Augustus*. Moreover, *Zosimus* tells the same Story, (here mentioned by our *Eusebius*) but a little otherwise. For he relates, That when the Temple of the God *Genius* at *Rome* was accidentally fired, and the People flock'd together to quench the Fire; a Soldier who derided this God of the *Gentiles*, was killed by the common People; upon which there immediately happened so great an uproar amongst the Soldiers, that the whole City had been destroy'd, had not *Maxentius* intervened. *Valef.*

most undoubtedly presumed, that by these Performances he should obtain the Victory. Whilst this person therefore tyranniz'd at *Rome*, 'tis impossible to relate what mischievous Acts he perpetrated, and [how miserably] he enslaved his Subjects: infomuch that they were reduced to such extream Penury and want of necessary Sustenance, as ('tis recorded by those of our Times) never



\* *Παρασάται* is the term in the Greek; *Valesius* renders it *Clavorum suffixiones*, the being fastened with Nails; perhaps our Author means *Crucifixion*.

no Man was his Equal, exhibiting himself the Master of Debauchery both to his Princes and to his [inferiour] Subjects. He permitted his Soldiers to live effeminate lives, in all manner of *Deliciousness* and *Intemperance*: But he perswaded

(f) At the Margin of the *Mar.* and *Savil* MSS. I found this *Scholion* written, for the Explication of these words: [πῶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτ' ἔπ-  
 ἔχεται τὰς ἐσυχὰς διαχρησάμενος; καὶ τί γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κείνης,  
 ἔχ' τὰς εἰς ἐσυχὰς ταύτης διμύων ὁπιδεῖξάμενος ἐν μάρτυσιν ἀνα-  
 γράσει.



γράφει· δειλίας γὰρ μάλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας, φόβῳ κολάσας τὸν δαίμονα  
παρά τῃ ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν φοβερὰς ἐνεκα τῆς εἰς χεῖρὸν ὁμολο-  
γίας ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα περιδύμους πείχειν, ὅπως εἴη ἡ πειρὰ  
καὶ δαιμονιώδης ὁπλοισι κολάσεται ἐπαγεῖν· i. e. How does this man  
admire those women, who were the authors of their own deaths? And  
yet the judgment of the Church is, not to record them amongst the num-  
ber of the Martyrs, who have been their own Executioners. For 'tis [an  
argument] of fear, rather than courage, by death to prevent the dread of  
punishment: [But the Church looks upon those as Martyrs,] who sup-  
pose nothing to be dreadful upon account of the confession of Christ; but  
with alacrity suffer all [tortures,] that a tyrannick and devilish subtilty  
can produce [against them.] The Author of this Scholion has made a  
true remark, to wit, that the Church approves not of Self-murder;  
when Men out of a fear of death, or through desperation, lay vio-  
lent hands on themselves. But as often as they are driven to do that  
by the instinct of the Divine Spirit, which rarely happens; then the  
Church approves and admires that act: But proposes it not for imi-  
tation. See what St. Augustine thought concerning this matter, in  
his first Book, *De civitate Dei*, chap. 26. *Valef.*

*Galerius.* upon, she left indeed her Corps to those that came  
to conduct her [to the Tyrant;] but by this Act  
of hers (which refounds more than any voice)  
she has manifested to all Men that now are, and  
shall be in future Ages, that the Courage of the  
Christians is the only thing that is inexpugnable,  
and which cannot be extirpated by death. Such  
indeed and so great was the fertility of wickedness  
produced at one and the same time; the Authors  
of which were two Tyrants, who had divided the  
East and West between themselves. And now,  
what Man is he, that, making his Researches into  
the cause of these so great [Calamities,] will be du-  
bious in affirming the Persecution [raised against  
us] to have been [the Original of all these Miseries?]  
Especially, [when he considers] that these mighty  
Disturbances [in the Empire] were not termi-  
nated, before the Christians had the free and open  
profession of their Religion restored to them.

C H A P. XV.

Concerning what happen'd to the Gentiles.

*(a)* The Persecution began in the year of Christ 303; when Dioclesian was in his 8th, and Maximian in his 7th, Con-  
sulate. It ended in the year of Christ 312; then, when Constan-  
tine, having conquer'd Maxenti-  
us, sent Letters to Maximian-  
us Emperor of the East, to procure Liberty for the Christians; as our  
Eusebius relates in B. 9. Therefore the Persecution lasted ten years, as  
'tis here affirmed. And so the years are noted in the MS. Copies of Eu-  
sebius's *Chronicon*, as Ponticus has observed. Epiphanius therefore is mi-  
staken; who (in his Book *De Ponder. & Mensur.*) says this Persecution  
lasted twelve years: See the following Chapter, where our Author re-  
lates, that the Persecution ceased on the tenth year. *Valef.*

C H A P. XVI.

Concerning the Change of Affairs to a better posture.

*(b)* At the words the 16th  
*(a)* Such were the Preparations during the whole  
time of the Persecution; which by the Grace  
of God wholly ceased in the tenth year; begin-

ning to be somewhat remiss, after the eighth year. *Galerius.*  
For, after the Divine and Celestial Grace demon-  
strated [itself] in a benign and propitious inspec-  
tion over us, then the Governours in our times, agreeable  
to the  
even those very Princes who had formerly waged Wars against those of our Religion; having most  
and Fik.  
miraculously alter'd their minds, founded a re-  
MSS. But  
treat; and extinguish'd the most ardent Flame of  
in the  
the Persecution by Rescripts favourable towards us, (which  
and by most mild Edicts. But, neither was any  
Rob. Ste-  
human cause, nor (which some one might conje-  
lows, in  
cture) was the Clemency or Humanity of the Em-  
the distin-  
perors, the occasion hereof; no, 'twas far from  
tion of  
that. For, from the beginning of the Persecution  
the Chap-  
unto that very time, they daily invented more  
ters )  
and more grievous Cruelties against us, renewing  
there is no  
the tortures [used] towards us by divers Machines  
new Chap-  
[made use of] successively, and in a various man-  
ter be-  
ner. But the apparent inspection of the Divine  
gan here.  
Providence itself, which was now reconciled to  
*Valef.*  
its people, pursued the Author of these Miseries,  
(b) He  
and was angry at the Ring-leader of the Wic-  
means  
kedness [committed] during the whole Persecu-  
Maximian-  
tion. For altho' these things ought to have come  
us Gale-  
to pass, agreeable to the Judgment of the Divine  
rius, as  
[Will,] yet \* *Wo* (says the Scripture) to that Man  
'tis appa-  
by whom the offence cometh. Therefore, a punishment  
rent from  
sent from God seiz'd him; which having made  
the fol-  
its beginning at his very Flesh, proceeded even  
lowing  
to his Soul. For on a sudden an Impostume arose  
words :  
upon him (c) about the midst of the Privy Parts  
for he was  
of his Body; after that, a (d) *Fistula in ano*; both  
the Au-  
these Diseases spread incurably, and did eat into  
thor of  
his inmost Bowels. From them bred an unspeak-  
the perfe-  
able multitude of Worms, and a most noisome  
ction rais-  
Stench proceeded therefrom; [for,] before this  
ed against  
Disease, the whole Mass of Flesh upon his Body  
the Chri-  
was (by reason of the abundance of Food he de-  
stians. Ru-  
vour'd) grown to an immense fatness: Which  
sinus in  
being then putrified, became an intolerable and  
the 15th  
most horrid Spectacle to those that approach'd  
Chap. of  
him. Wherefore some of his Physicians, being  
this Book  
altogether unable to endure the exceeding noi-  
speak thus  
someness of the Stink [that came from him,]  
concer-  
were killed: Others of them, when they could  
ning Gale-  
administer no Remedy, (the whole Fabrick of  
rius; *Ille*  
his Body being swell'd, and past all hopes of a  
*verò, què*  
Recovery,) were cruelly slain. *ensecundus*  
*in honore,*  
*postmo-*  
*dum eti-*  
*am in pri-*  
*mis succes-*  
*for fuit,*  
*qui & in-*

centor ac signifer nostræ persecutionis extiterat, &c. i. e. But he, who was  
the next in honour to him, afterwards succeeded him in the first and chief-  
est place; who also was the Incendiary and first Beginner of our Persecuti-  
on, &c. Cedrenus attests the same. *Valef.* \* Matth. 18. 7.  
(c) Πεδὶ τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ σπέρματος. He means his Genitals; which  
Victor (in his Epitome) does confirm: Galerius Maximianus (says he)  
consumptis Genitalibus defecit.  
(d) The phrase in the Greek is, ἐλκεῖ ἐν βάθει σπυγγώδες; which,  
being literally rendred, imports thus much; an Ulcer in the Fundament  
full of holes like a Sponge.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the Retraction of the Emperors.

Moreover, whilst he was struggling with  
these many and great Miseries, he began to  
be sensible of the villainous Acts he had perform'd  
towards the Worshippers of God: \* Having there-  
fore seriously recollected himself, first he made his  
Confession to the Supream God. Then, having cal-  
\* Συμμε-  
τῶν δ' ἐν  
εἰς εὐαν-  
τὴν τῆν  
διδόσαν·  
This expression *Musculus* renders thus; ad semetipsum reversionem, being  
come to himself: Christophorus thus, mentem igitur recolligens, & tan-  
quam rediens ad se, recollecting therefore his mind, and returning as it  
were to himself: *Valef.* thus, Totâ mentis acie in semetipsum conver-  
sâ, the whole sharpness of his mind being turned upon himself.



Galerius led together the (a) Chief Officers of his Palace, he order'd them without any delay to inhibit the Persecution of the Christians, and by his Decree and Imperial Edict commanded that their Churches should with all expedition be rebuilt, wherein they might perform their usual very [Solemnities,] and make Supplications [to God] well thus: for the \*Emperor. Therefore, what he had given order for in words, being immediately follow'd by an actual performance, the Imperial Edicts were set forth in every City, containing a Revocative; having on of the [Persecution] against us, according to this Form following.

those who served in any publick Office. Eusebius usually means, by this phrase, the Grandees of the Palace, whom Amm. Marcellinus does commonly term *aule summates*, & *Imperatoris proximos*, the Chief Court-Officers, and those nearest to the Emperor. Valef.

\* In the original 'tis *ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ*, for the Imperial Palace: But Nicephorus reads *βασιλεῖος*, for the Emperor. Valef.

EMPEROR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAICUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS the Fifth time; (b) PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS the Second time, ARMENICUS MAXIMUS the Sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, (c) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX. (d) EMPEROR XIX. CONSUL VIII. FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, (e) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, (f) PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS; TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.

(b) We find that the Persecutions were but once conquered by Galerius, which was in the Year of Christ 297; as 'tis affirm'd in *Fasti Idatii*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. The same is confirm'd by *Licinius*, in his Oration intitled *Βασίλειος*, where he relates that the Persians,

after that great Defeat they received from the Romans under the conduct of Galerius, spent forty years in Preparations to make amends for that Overthrow; and that, a little before the death of Constantine the Great, they entred upon a War with the Romans. Indeed from that Year of Christ we mentioned (i. e. Anno 297.) to the Year wherein Constantine died, there are forty years. Therefore, Eusebius's Chronicle must be corrected, in which this Persian Victory is placed on the seventeenth Year of Dioclesian; whereas it should be placed on his thirteenth Year; as it is in the Edition of Arnaldus Pontacus. Seeing therefore we can find no other Victory that Maximianus obtained over the Persians, this place ought to be pointed (as it is in Nicephorus, and as we have done in our Translation) after this manner: *σαρματικὸς πέμπτῃ καὶ περσικὸς δευτέρῃ καὶ ἀρμενικὸς τρίτῃ καὶ ἰνδικὸς τετάρτῃ καὶ ἰσχυρικὸς πέμπτῃ*. Sarmaticus Maximus the fifth time; Persicus Maximus. In Rufinus's old Copy, there is at this place no distinction by Points; but 'tis thus, *Sarmaticus quinquies Persicus bis Carpicus Sexies Armenicus Medorum & Adiabenorum Victor*.

(c) Rufinus renders this Passage thus, *Tribunicie potestatis vicies*, having been Tribune of the People twenty times. This is the Reading in the MSS. From this place we may perceive, that Galerius was made Cæsar, and Colleague in the Tribunician Power (or, Tribune of the People) at the same time; since in this Edict he accounts the years of his Tribunician Power from that time when he was proclaimed Cæsar. Now, he was made Cæsar in the Year of Christ 291, on the Calends of March. Moreover, he put forth this Edict in favour of the Christians, in the Year of Christ 311, in his eighth Consulate, as the Inscription of the Edict declares: Whence it follows, that this Edict was written before the Calends of March. For from that time Galerius began his Tribunician Power. Valef.

(d) *Ἀυτοκράτωρ ἐννεακαισέκτον*; i. e. Emperor the nineteenth time:

For that's the Reading in the most ancient Copy of Rufinus. Christopher-son translated this term ill, thus, *Dilector*. He knew not what was the import of the word *Imperator*. *Imperator* signifies one thing in the Titles of the Emperors, when 'tis put in the first place like a Pronoun; but it imports another thing, when 'tis subjoyn'd to the rest of the Titles. For the word [Emperor] put in the second place, denotes the Victory of the Emperors, and shews how often they were stiled Emperors by the Army, after they had obtained a Victory; so Dio informs us. Valef.

(e) In all Copies, there is an omission of the number of times that Constantine had born the Office of Tribune of the People, when this Edict came forth. I have added the Figure [V] which denotes the fifth time of his bearing the Tribuneship: Which addition is grounded upon a most certain conjecture. Valef.

(f) After this word [Proconsul,] (in the *Max. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil MSS.* and in Nicephorus) there are these following words; [And, Emperor Cæsar Valerius Licinianus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus; Tribune of the People IV. Emperor III. Consul, Father of his Country, Proconsul: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.] Which Passage, although it occurs not in Rufinus, yet is of good authority. And first, as to Licinius's Tribunician Power, the same must be thought of that which was of Galerius's, to wit, that it is to be begun from the time of his being made Cæsar. Now, Licinius was made Cæsar in the Year of Christ 308, on the third of the Ides of November, as it appears in the *Fasti of Idatii*. Therefore the 4th year of Licinius's Tribunician Power began in the Year of Christ 311, on the 3d of the Ides of November. But this disagrees with what we noted before, when we treated concerning the Tribunician Power of Galerius. Wherefore one of these places must necessarily be false. For if it were then the fourth Year of Licinius's Tribunician Power, it was the twenty-first of Galerius's. On the contrary, if this were the twentieth year of Galerius's being Tribune of the People, it was but the third year of Licinius's bearing that Dignity. As to the Consulate of Licinius, there is mention thereof in the *Fasti of Prosperus, Cassiodorus, and Victorius*; where he is placed Consul with Maximianus Augustus Cof. VIII. In my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus, I had remarked, that Licinius was made Augustus by Galerius, a little before Galerius's death; which I collected from hence, because in this Edict we now speak of, Galerius had made no mention of Licinius's being his Colleague: But since in our MSS. and in Nicephorus, Licinius is stiled Augustus in this Edict of Galerius, that Conjecture of ours is wholly destroy'd. Valef.

Amongst other things which we have constituted Galerius, for the Profit and Utility of the Republick, it was our desire in the first place, that all things should be redress'd according to the Ancient *Laws*, and Publick Ordinances of the Romans. And we earnestly endeavour'd to effect this, that the Christians, who had relinquish'd the Rites and Usages of their Parents, should be reduced to a good Mind and Intention. For, so great an (g) Arrogancy and Unadvisedness has (by a Considerateness as it were) possess'd and invaded them, that they would not follow those Sanctions of their Ancestors, which even their Parents 'tis likely had before Ratified: But according to their own Arbitrement, and as each Person had a desire, so they would make Laws, and observe them, and assemble various Multitudes, of different Factions and Dissenting about their Opinions. Therefore, when we had published such an Edict, as should [oblige] them to return to the Rites and Ordinances of their Ancestors; many of them having been exposed to imminent Dangers, and many having been terrified [with the Menaces of Punishment,] underwent various sorts of Death. But, when many persisted in this Madneß, and we perceived they did neither exhibit a due Worship to the Immortal God's, nor yet to the God of the Christians; having a respect to our Humanity, and that continued usage by which we have been accusom'd to bestow Pardon on all sorts of Men: We have thought good that our Indulgence should most readily be extended in this matter also; that the Christians should again be [tolerated,] and that they may [have licence] to rebuild the Houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, that

(g) In the *Fuk. Savil, Max. and Med. MSS.* the Reading is *πλεονεξία καὶ ἀνέσκετος καὶ ἀνέσκετος*, So great an arrogancy and unadvisedness--- has possess'd and invaded them. Valef.

*Πλεονεξία* (which Valef. here renders arrogancy, arrogancy) is by *Democritus* (in his *Γραμ.*) defined to be speaking all, and not enduring to hear any Body else. Dr. Hammond has given a large Account of the Signification of this Word, in his Note on *Rom. i. Ver. 29.*



respects be continued in an entire and safe posture, and they themselves live undisturbed in their own Habitations. These words (which we have, according to our ability, translated out of the Roman into the Greek Language,) are thus: Now therefore it is an opportune time to take a prospect of what follow'd hereupon.

*Dioclesia-*  
*nus.*

\* *Id est,*  
*Galerius.*  
See the E-  
dict, Ch.  
17. B. 8.

(a) Those four were *Diocletianus*, *Maximianus*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (e.)

13. Note (e.)  
(b) That is, *Dioclesianus* and *Maximianus*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (e.)

(1) *Diocle-*  
*sianus.*

(c) *Maximianus*.

beginning of the Persecution, manifested. And, having spent part of their time in a prison, they concluded their manner: The (d) one, who in Honour took place of all men by a lasting and most noble Body: The (e) other, who in Honour, put an end to himself; undergoing which was agreeable to the Prediction concerning those many Villanies he had perpetrated. Of the re-

maining two, the (f) last, (who, as we (g) have (f) Gale said, was the Author of the whole Persecution,) *rius*. underwent those [Miseries,] which we (b) have (g) See related before. But he who in Dignity preceded Chap. 16. this Man, [I mean] that most favourable and Book 8. merciful Emperor *Constantius*, who during the Note (b.) whole time of his Government behaved him- (b) See self in such sort as befitted an Emperor ; who Chap. 16. both in other matters represented himself to be Book 8. most courteous and beneficent, and also was unconcerned in the Persecution raised against us ; who preserved the Worshippers of God living under his Government from all manner of Injuries and Molestations, who neither demolished the Edifices of the Churches, nor attempted any other new Design against us : This Emperor (i) These [Constantius I say] obtain'd a (i) fortunate and following words are truly thrice happy Conclusion of his Life: Being taken out of Chap. the only person that ended his Life peaceably 13. B. 8. and gloriously during his swaying the Imperial *Valef.* Sceptre, and left his own Son (in all respects a most sober and pious Prince,) his Successor in the (k) Con- Empire. (k) He, being from the very beginning *stantine the Great.* forthwith proclaimed Supream Emperor and *Au-* (l) \*Επι *gustus* by the Soldiers, declared himself to λαιπών . So Rob. be an Emulator of his Fathers reverend regard *Stephens :* towards our Religion. Such was the Con- *Valefius, &* clusion of their Lives, which happened to the *τι λαιπών.* forementioned four Emperors, at \*different \**Galerius.* times. (l) Moreover, of them \*he only (whom (m) Chap. we mentioned a little before ) (m) made the 17. B. 8. foresaid Confession, and (together with (n) (n) Who were *Con-* those who were afterwards taken in to be *stantinus,* Colleagues with him in the Empire ) made it and *Lici-* publicly known to all Men by an Edict pro- *nus* or *Licini-* posed in writing. *anus : See*

(i) These following words are taken out of Chap. 13. B. 8. *Valef.*

(k) Con-  
stantine  
the Great.

(1) Ἔτι  
λοιπὸν •  
So Rob.

Stephens :  
Valesius, ἔ-  
τι λιπών.

\**Galerius*.  
(m) Chap.  
17. B. 8.  
(n) M.H.

(n) Who  
were Con-  
stantinus,  
and Ixi

and *Licinius* or *Licini-*  
*anus*: See

Chap. 17.  
Book 8.



Dioclesian. **EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S BOOK** Dioclesian.

Concerning the

**MARTYRS of PALESTINE.**

(a) Before I had looked into any of the MSS. I thought these words were added by Rob. Str. who in some Copies had found these two Supplements of the 8th Book. But when I had perceived that the same words occur'd in all the MSS. I was easily induc'd to offer Sacrifice.

(a) In one Copy, we also found these following Chapters at the End of the Eighth Book.

**I**T was the Nineteenth Year of Dioclesian's Empire, the Month Xanthicus, which the Romans call April; (Flavianus being Governour of the Province of Palestine;) in which Year, [to wit, when the Feast of the Salutary Passion was at hand, the Edicts on a sudden were everywhere set forth, commanding the Churches to be pulled down to the Ground, and the Scriptures to be consumed with Fire; and ordering, that such as were promoted to Honours should be Degraded; and that the ordinary sort of the 8th People, if they persisted in a Resolution of retaining the Profession of Christianity, should be deprived of their Liberty. Such was the Vehemency of the first Edict against us. But not long after, other Rescripts were brought, wherein order was given, that all Prelates of the Churches every-where, should first be put into Bonds; and afterwards compelled by all ways imaginable to induce to offer Sacrifice.

that all those MSS. were transcribed from one and the same Copy. Moreover, this Second Supplement is nothing else but Eusebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine; which appears from the words at the end of this Supplement. For in the Maz. and Med. MSS. these words occur there; *Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παλαιστίνου καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ μαρτυρούντων τὰ ἄλλα* i. e. the End of Eusebius Pamphilus's [Book] concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. Valef.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Procopius, Alphaeus, and Zacchaeus, Martyrs.

(a) The same Relation is in a Confined in Prison, was (c) immediately upon his very first arrival brought before the President's Seat of Judicature: And being commanded to offer Sacrifice to those [by the Gentiles,] Martyrs, which begin thus, *The first of the Martyrs that appeared in Palestine was Procopius, &c.* From whence 'tis evident, that those Acts were translated out of the Greek Copy of Eusebius into Latin. To make this more manifestly apparent, it will in no wise be unuseful, to insert here the entire Acts. For many things worth our knowledge are contained in them, which neither Baronius nor Molanus happened to have a sight of. We have transcribed them from a most ancient MS. belonging to the Masiacensis Monastery, which is now in the Hands of that Learned Person Claudius Joly, Canon of the Church at Paris. Their Contents are these:

*The Passion of S. Procopius the Martyr, who suffered under Fabianus the President, on the fourth of the Nones of August.*

*The first of the Martyrs that appeared in Palestine was Procopius: A Person [full] of Celestial Grace, who before his Martyrdom ordered his Life so, as that from his very Childhood he applied his Mind to Chastity, and a perpetual Converse. He so macerated his Body, that 'twas, judg'd to be al-*

most dead. But he comforted his Mind with such Divine Words, that he infused Strength and Courage into his Body, by this Refection of his Mind. Bread and Water was his Food and Drink: He fed only on these; which he would forsake for two, or three, sometimes for seven days together, and then return to that his Food again. Also, a Meditation on Divine Expressions had bound up his Mind so fast, that he continued indefatigable in it Night and Day. He made himself an high Example of Courtesie and Meekness, looking on himself to be inferior to others, so great was his Studiousness in Divine Matters: He had also attained to competency in external Accomplishments. His original Extract he had at Elia [i. e. Jerusalem;] But by Converse and Habitation he was a Scythopolitan. He served in three Offices in that Church; one was that of a Reader, another consisted in his Interpretation of the Syrian Tongue; and the third was an Imposition of Hands, to cast out Devils. And when he (together with his Companions) was sent from Scythopolis to Caesarea, he was led from the very Gates to the President; and before he had experienced the Miseries of Imprisonment and Bonds, he was upon his very first arrival commanded by Flavianus the President, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. But with a loud voice he attested that there was not a Multiplicity of Gods, but One Maker and Framer of all things. The President, smitten with that Expression of his, and being wounded in his own Conscience, assented to what he said. And, betaking himself to other Arguments, [persuaded him] to Sacrifice at least but to the Emperors. But the Holy Martyr of God, despising what he said, repeated that Passage of Homer——It is not good [to have] many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King. Which words being heard, it being supposed that he spoke something that was of ill consequence to the Emperors, by the President's command he was led to Execution; and being Beheaded, had an entrance into a Celestial Life, or found a compendious way into Heaven, on the seventh day of Julius, that, is the Month July, which amongst the Romans is called the Nones of July, in the first Year of the Persecution against us. This was the first Martyrdom that was consummated in Caesarea, our Lord Jesus Christ Reigning, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever, Amen. These Acts are also extant in two MSS. belonging to the Library of St. Germans. Valef.

(b) The foregoing Acts of the Passion of St. Procopius renders this Passage almost word for word, thus; *Priusquam carceris vel vinculorum experiretur angustias, before he had experienced the miseries of Imprisonment and Bonds:* By which words the Cruelty of the Judge is signified. For the Roman Presidents were wont first to imprison those Offenders that were apprehended and brought before them, and to interrogate them afterwards at their leisure. Valef.

(c) The foregoing Acts word this Passage thus; *In ipso ingressu suo à Judice Flaviano ut Diis sacrificaret impellitur;* i. e. He was upon his very first arrival, commanded by Flavianus the President, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. Many things are here omitted in the Greek Text of Eusebius, which must be made perfect by those Acts in Latin (the Translation whereof we have before inserted.) For when Eusebius had here said expressly, that Procopius upon his first arrival was brought before the Judge, he adds nothing concerning the place from whence he came, where he was apprehended, or to what place he was brought: Nothing of which ought to have been omitted. Besides, Eusebius does accurately relate the Descent and Country of other Martyrs mentioned in this Book; and if any of them had attained any degree of Ecclesiastick Honour, he does usually take notice of that also. But of this Person (who was the Chief, and Leader of all the Palestine Martyrs) we see no such Remarks made. This, 'tis probable, was not the fault of Eusebius, but of his Exscribers. For, in the Latin Acts, which, as we before evidenced, were translated out of Eusebius, all these Circumstances are manifestly declared. See the Translation of the Latin Acts, in Note (a.) in this Chapter. Valef.

filed Gods, he said that he knew but one only God, to whom Sacrifice was to be offer'd, according to that manner which he himself had appointed. But when he was bidden to Sacrifice to the four Emperors, having utter'd a Sentence which was in no wise pleasing to them (that which he said, wasthese words of the Poet [Homer;] *It is not good [to have] many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King*) he was



*Dioclesian*. was forthwith beheaded, (d) on the eighth day of the month (e) *Desius*, that is (as the Romans stile

(d) The it) before the seventh of the Ides of June, on Latin Copies of these *Acts* do vary a little here: In *Claudius Joly's* Copy (the Translation of which you have in Note (a.) in this Chapter,) the words are, *Desii Septima Julii mensis, quæ nonas Julias dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. on the seventh day of *Desius*, [that is the] month *July*, which amongst the Romans is called the *Nones of July*: In the two MS. Copies belonging to the Library of St. Germans, the Reading is thus, *Dies erat Septima Julii mensis, quæ 7. Idus Julii dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. It was the seventh day of the Month *July*, which amongst the Romans is called the seventh of the Ides of *July*. In the Greek Text of our *Eusebius* here; the words are these, *Δεσίου μηνός ἑβδόμη, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἡμέραν ἰουλίαν λέγουσι*, on the eighth day of the month *Desius*, that is (as the Romans stile it) before the seventh of the Ides of *June*. By these words in the Latin Copies of the MSS. in St. German's Library, the Title before *Claudius Joly's* Copy of these *Acts* is to be amended, where 'tis said *Procopius* suffer'd on the fourth of the *Nones of August*. Notwithstanding, in all the *Martyrologies*, the Martyrdom of *Procopius* is set on the eighth of the Ides of *July*. The Greeks also celebrate the Memory of the Great Martyr *Procopius* on the same day, as may be seen in their *Menaion*. But that *Procopius* is a different person from ours, although he was born at *Jerusalem*, and suffer'd at the same time almost; and in the same City, that our *Procopius* did. For our *Procopius* was a Reader, and an Exorcist, as *Eusebius* attests: But the other was a Captain of *Egypt*. The first *Procopius* was a Christian from his Childhood; the second was at first a Worshipper of *Dæmons*. Our *Procopius* was beheaded, having suffered no Tortures, and so obtained the Crown of Martyrdom by a most compendious and easie kind of death. The other *Procopius* suffer'd a tedious and most cruel Martyrdom, having undergone most horrid tortures under two Presidents of *Palestine*, *Iustus* and *Flavianus*. Upon which account he is reckon'd by the Greeks amongst the *Μεγαλομάρτυρες*. Great-Martyrs: See Book 6. Chap. 32. Note (b.) Lastly, our *Procopius* was taken at *Scythopolis*, brought to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and there beheaded. The other was apprehended in *Egypt*, and Martyr'd in *Cæsarea*, a City of *Phœnicia* (which was also called *Panæus*) if we may believe *Simeon Metaphrastes*. Valef.

(e) It is, I perceive, taken for granted amongst all Men, that the Months of the *Syro-Macedonian* were wholly the same with the *Julian* Months, from that time when *Julius Cæsar* publish'd his Year. For *Saliger* and our *Petavius* do in many places affirm this; and the only difference (as they say) was, that the *Syro-Macedonians* began their Year from *October*. But there are many things which make me dissent from their Opinion. For first, *Bede*, (in his *Ephemeris*, and in his Book *De ratione Temporum*) says, that the Months of the Greeks began from *Apellæus*, which answers to *December*. But *Marcus* (in his *Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza*) attests, that those of *Gaza* began their Year from the Month *Dius*. For these are his words at pag. 1390. *Primo mense qui ab eis vocatur Dios, deinde etiam secundo, qui dicitur Apellæus*, i. e. In the first month which they call *Dius*, then also in the second which is termed *Apellæus*. The Emperor *Julianus* (in *Antiochica*) confirms this, where he expressly says that *Lous* was the tenth month amongst the *Syrians*. Now, if they began their Year from *October*, then *Lous* (which answers to *August*) would not have been the tenth, but the eleventh month. The same is manifest by *Julianus* (in *Alisopogone*, pag. 70.) in these words, *ἡ σύρων ἡμέρα νεομηνία, καὶ ἡ Κεῖρη αὐτῆς εἰς οἰλίαν διός· ἂν τὰ ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς ἑορτὴν, καὶ ὁ Κεῖρη αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται τέταρτος· ἐπὶ τὴν δὲ τὴν νεομηνίαν, τὴν εἰς οἰλίαν τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ τὰ πάτρια*. i. e. The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philus* again. Then came the Calends of *January*. (For, in my Notes on Book 23. of *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 253, I have shown that the *παγκοινὸς ἑορτὴ* was the same with the Calends of *January*,) and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of the God *Genius*. (Concerning the Temple of this God *Genius* at *Antioch*, see *Evagrius's* Hist. Book 1. Chap. 16.) Then passing by the ominous day, he renews his vows in the Temple of *Jupiter Philus* according to the custom of his Ancestors. Seeing therefore *Julianus* attests, that the New-Moon of the *Syrians* Year did a little precede the Calends of *January*; it is manifest that the beginning of the *Roman* and *Syrian* Year was not the same. But, it may be plainly collected from the same place of *Julian*, that *Dius* was the first Month of the Year amongst the *Antiochians*: For *Julian* says, that on the Calends of the first Month of the *Syrians*, he went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, to sacrifice, because their first Month was sacred to *Jupiter*, and received its name from him. For it was called *Dius ἀπὸ τοῦ Διός*, from *Jupiter*: And the first Month was rightly called after his name, who was thought to be the principal cause, and origine of all things. Now if *October* were the first Month of the *Syrian* Year, that passage in *Julian* would have been impertinent. For, when the *Antiochians* would deride *Julian*, for his assiduity in worshipping the Gods, they produce this example thereof; [The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philus* again: Then came the Calends of *January*, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of the God *Genius*.] There must therefore necessarily be some little space of time between the Calends of the *Syrians*, and the *Romans*, that so *Julian* might deservedly be derided by the *Antiochians* for his too frequent offering of Sacrifice. It is therefore necessary, that either *Apellæus* must have been the first Month amongst the *Syrians*, (which is *Bede's* Opinion,) or else *Dius*. Thus far concerning the beginning

of the *Syro-Macedonian* Year; which we have demonstrated to be different from the beginning of the *Julian* Year. We will now enquire into the *Syro-Macedonian* Months, and see whether they began and ended at the same time that the *Roman* Months did. Indeed, this place in *Eusebius* does plainly shew, that the beginning of the Months amongst the *Syrians* and *Romans* was not the same: For it makes the eighth Day of the Month *Desius* to be the same with the seventh of the Month *June*. Therefore the *Syrian* Month *Desius* began one Day before the *Roman* Month *June*. Moreover, *Marcus* (in the *Life of Porphyrius*) affirms, that the Months of the Inhabitants of *Gaza* preceded the *Roman* Months five Days. His words are these, *Pluit autem Dominus, &c. Our Lord sent a continued Rain from the eighth day of the Month Audynæus to the tenth. Now Audynæus amongst the Romans is January. For their Months precede the Roman Months five Days. But on the eleventh day we celebrated the Feast of the Epiphany, praising God. From which words 'tis apparent, that the beginning of the Months amongst those of *Gaza* was almost the same with the beginning of them amongst the *Egyptians*. Further, *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De Ponderib.* Chap. 20.) makes the sixteenth day of *May* the same with the twenty-third of the *Grecian* Month *Artemisius*. The Form for the Months amongst the *Tyrians* was different from this; they made use of the *Macedonian* Account of the Months. For, in the *Acts* at *Tyre* (which are related in the Ninth *Action* of the Council of *Chalcedon*) the tenth Day of the Month *Peritius* is confounded with the twenty-fifth of *February*: And in the fifth *Action* Council. *Constantinop.* sub. *Alena*, the twenty-eighth Day of the *Tyrian* Month *Lous* is said to have been the sixteenth Day of the *Roman* Month *September*. From all this it may be concluded, that the Account of the whole Year, and of the Months, was not of one and the same form amongst the *Syrians*. For those of *Gaza* computed them after one way, those of *Tyre* after another, and those of *Cæsarea* after a third manner. But, I am fully persuaded, that the *Cæsareans* used Months, wholly composed according to the *Julian* Form. For, in all places of this Book of *Eusebius's* concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, wherever mention is made of the *Macedonian* Months amongst the *Cæsareans*, (the mention whereof does frequently occur in it;) the Days of those Months do always agree with the Days of the *Roman* Months; excepting this only place in this first Chapter. Therefore, I think, that the Reading in the Text of *Eusebius* here should be thus, *Δεσίου μηνός ἑβδόμη, on the seventh Day of the Month Desius*. Valef.*

the (f) fourth Day of the Week. This was the *Dioclesian*. \* first Martyrdom that was consummated at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*: But after him, very many Pre-<sup>(f) Hui-</sup>lates of Churches in that Province, having at the <sup>εα. πρῶτῃ</sup> same City cheerfully undergone most grievous <sup>δι. οὐβῆδ-</sup>τortures, exhibited to the Spectators a relation of is, on the illustrious Combats. But others, dispirited by <sup>τῆς</sup> reason of their fear, were immediately discouraged at the very first attack made against them. <sup>fourth fe-</sup>Every one of the rest underwent various and inter-<sup>ria, or,</sup>changeable sorts of tortures: One was scourged <sup>(to render</sup>with innumerable stripes, another was rack'd, had <sup>it word)</sup>the Flesh of his Sides scrap'd off with Iron Nails, <sup>on the 4th</sup>and was loaded with an insupportable burthen of <sup>Sabbath,</sup> <sup>day of the</sup> <sup>or of the</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>ancient</sup>

Christians having received a set Account of the seven Days of the Week from the *Jews*, named them as they did. Therefore they called them the first of the Sabbath, the second of the Sabbath, &c. <sup>in his Book De jejunio.</sup> Sometimes they called them *Feria*: *Feria* is the same with Sabbath. Therefore, as the *Jews* termed the Week-days the first, the second, the third of the Sabbath; and so on to the Seventh-day, which they called the Sabbath; so the ancient Christians termed them the first, second, and third *Feria*, &c. making an alteration only in this, that they did not keep the Sabbath-day holy, as did the *Jews*; but observ'd their Sabbath on the first day of the Sabbath, which they also called Sunday, or the Lord's-Day. So *Isidorus* in his Book, *De Natura Rerum*, Chap. 3. *Bede* (in his Book *De Ratione Temporum*) says the Week-days were called *Feria*, because the Clergymen, by the Decree of Pope *Sylvester*, were ordered to keep every day holy. But this Opinion cannot be true; for the Days of the Week were called *Feria* long before Pope *Sylvester's* time, as *Tertullian* informs us. Moreover, not only the Christians, but the Gentiles also received the Computation of the Week from the *Jews*, as *Josephus* informs us, in the Close of his second Book against *Apion*. But the Gentiles called the Days of the Week by the names of the seven Planets; which names continue still in use amongst most Nations, being as it were certain Reliques of the ancient Error of the Gentiles: See *Tertullian* in his Book *Ad Nationes*. Valef. The Ecclesiastical Year of old began at *Easter*, the first Week whereof was all Holyday, the Days being distinguished by *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*, &c. added unto *Feria*. From thence the Days of any other Week began to be called *Feria prima*, *secunda*, &c. See Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of Oxford, in his Tract *De Annis & Epochis*, Chap. 5. The Original of the Names, which we in England give to the Days of the Week, may be seen in *Versteegan's Antiquities*, pag. 68, &c. Edit. Antwerp. 1605.

\* *Πρῶτον σμύκετον*, we render *primum Martyrium*, the first Martyrdom: So the Latin *Acts* render it; whence it appears, the Translator thereof did read *μαρτυρίαι*. Valef.



*Dioclesian.* Bonds, by reason of which some happen'd to have [the Sinews] of their Hands weakened and made feeble. Nevertheless they all endured whatever befel them agreeable to the secret Judgment of God. For one being taken by the Hand by some others, who led him to the Altar, and thrust the impure and detestable Sacrifice into his Right Hand, was dismiss'd, as if he had Sacrificed. Another, who had not in any wise touch'd [the Sacrifice,] yet when others affirmed that he had sacrificed, went silently away. A third, taken up half-dead, was cast forth as if he had been so really; and being loosed from his Bonds, was computed amongst their number who had offer'd Sacrifice. A fourth, crying out, and making protestation that he would not perform what he was enjoyn'd by them to do, was stricken on the Mouth, and being silenc'd by a great company of persons purposely appointed upon that account, was forcibly thrust out, altho' he had not sacrificed. \* So highly did they every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! Of all these therefore, who were so numerous, only *Alphæus* and

\* See B. 8. Chap. 3.

(g) He was a Deacon of the Church of *Gadara*; Concerning whom we have this passage in the *Menology* at the 18th of November: The commemoration of the Holy Martyr *Michæus*, *Zacchæus*, Deacon of *Gadara*, and *Alphæus*. The Blessed *Zacchæus* was led before the Tribunal, having an heavy Iron-Chain about his Neck. *Valef.*

(g) *Zacchæus* obtain'd the Crown of Holy Martyrdom: Who, after they were scourged, and had their Flesh scraped off with Torturing-Irons, when they had endured most grievous Bonds and cruciating Pains therein, after various other tortures they were put into the Stocks, where for four and twenty hours space their feet were distended to the fourth hole, and having confess'd that there was but one only God, and one King Jesus Christ, as if they had utter'd something that was blasphemous and impious, they underwent the same sort of punishment with the first Martyr [*Procopius*,] and were beheaded on the seventeenth day of the Month *Dius*, which day amongst the *Romans* is before the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *December*.

*Zacchæus*, Deacon of *Gadara*, and *Alphæus*. The Blessed *Zacchæus* was led before the Tribunal, having an heavy Iron-Chain about his Neck. *Valef.*

## C H A P. II.

### Concerning *Romanus* the Martyr.

(a) The *Greeks*, in their *Ale-neum*, make mention of two *Romanus*'s both Martyrs; the one, they say, was condemned by *Afepiades* the *Præfekt* at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Galerius*: The other was a Deacon of *Cæsarea* (concerning whom *Eusebius* here speaks) who, as they affirm, suffered under *Dioclesian*. But, in as much as they confess, that both of them suffered on one and the same day, (for they affirm that both of them had their Tongues cut out, that they both spoke after they were cut out, and that both of them were afterwards strangled in prison,) 'tis plain, that the *Greeks* mistake in their making of them two distinct Martyrs. I wonder that this Opinion of theirs should please *Baronius* in his *Notes on the Martyrology*. If there were two Martyrs called by the same name, to wit, *Romanus*, and if they both suffered Martyrdom on the same day at *Antioch*, why does *Eusebius* mention but one here? It will perhaps be answered, that *Eusebius* was resolv'd to speak of the Martyrs of *Palestine* only in this Book, and therefore that he only mentioned *Romanus* the Deacon, because he was a *Palestinian*. But *Eusebius* has made mention of this Martyr in another place, to wit, in his second Book concerning the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, where he acknowledges but one *Romanus* who was Martyr'd at *Antioch*. *Valef.*

(b) Amongst the Primitive Christians, especially in the smaller Towns, because the Clergy were few in number, one and the same Clergy-man performed two or three Offices. Hence 'tis, that in the *Acts of Procopius* the Martyr, (which we related before) *Procopius* is said to have born three Offices at the same time in the Church of *Scythopolis*, to wit, the Office of a Reader, of an Interpreter, and of an Exorcist. After the same manner therefore *Romanus* was both a Deacon, and also an Exorcist in the Church of *Cæsarea*. See *Vetus Author Question. Vetur. & Novæ Testamenti*, Chap. 101. *Valef.*

(c) Exorcist in the Church of *Cæsarea*: Coming to *Antioch* at that very time when the Churches were demolished; and having seen many (c) Men, Women, and Children flocking in Crowds to the Temples of the Idols, and offering Sacrifice, he judg'd the sight thereof to be a thing intolerable, and being incited by a Zeal for the Divine Worship, he drew near; and crying out with a loud voice, [began] to rebuke them. Being forthwith apprehended upon account of this his boldness, he demonstrated himself (if ever any other person did) to be a most courageous Witness of the Truth. For, when the Judge had condemn'd him to be burnt to death, having gladly received his sentence of Condemnation with a cheerful Countenance and a Mind most courageously disposed, he was led to execution. Then being bound to the Stake, and the combustible matter being laid together, whilst the Officers, that were about to kindle the Fire, waited for the Determination of the (e) Emperor who was then present, he cried out, where is the Fire [provided] for me? When he had said this, he was by command brought before the Emperor, in order to his being punished with a new sort of Punishment, [to wit,] the cutting out of his Tongue. Having most courageously endured this punishment, he gave a real Demonstration to all Men, that the Divine Power is always present with those who undergo any sort of Torture whatsoever for Religion, which does mitigate their Pains, and corroborate them with an alacrity of Mind. This courageous person therefore being sensible of the newness of his punishment, was in no wise terrified, but willingly put forth his Tongue, and with a most ready alacrity produced it to those who cut it out. After which punishment he was put into Bonds, and being for a long time afflicted in prison, in conclusion (when the (f) twentieth year

(d) Many of those persons had renounced Christ, as *Eusebius* declares in his second Sermon concerning the Resurrection; where he speaks of the Tortures inflicted on *Romanus*, which he mentions not here. *Valef.*

(e) I suppose he means *Galerius Cæsar*; For *Dioclesian* made his abode then at *Nicomedia*. The *Cæsars*, like Apparitors and Officers, went all over the Bounds of their own District. Indeed, in that Year when the Persecution begun, *Dioclesian* lived (together with *Galerius*) at *Nicomedia*, in April, as *Eusebius* attests in his eighth Book. Also, a little after the Persecution began, when the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia* was burnt by Lightning, *Dioclesian* was at that City, as *Constantine* informs us in his Oration *Ad Cæsum Sanctorum*. Wherefore he could not be at *Antioch*, when *Romanus* was condemned to be burnt; which happened about the beginning of the Persecution. For *Romanus* was strangled on the 15th of the *Calends* of *December*, after he had lain in prison some Months, as *Eusebius* here attests. *Valef.*

(f) This place is in an especial manner to be taken notice of, because it most evidently declares the Year wherein *Dioclesian*'s Persecution began. For *Eusebius* says, that in the first year of the Persecution the Emperor's *Vicennalia* (i. e. the Festivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Reign) were kept; which can only fall on that year, wherein *Dioclesian* was the eighth time Consul, and *Maximian* the seventh. For, in this year (which was the year of Christ 303.) *Dioclesian*'s twentieth year was begun at the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *October*; that being the first of *Dioclesian*'s Reign, *Carinus* II. and *Numerianus* Coll. in the year of Christ 284; as 'tis set forth in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But, there arises no small difficulty from what *Eusebius* here says, to wit, that *Romanus* suffered Martyrdom on the seventeenth day of November, when *Dioclesian*'s *Vicennalia* were kept. Whence it seems to follow, that the first day of *Dioclesian*'s Reign must have been in the month of November, and not in September, as the *Alexandrian Chronicle* attests. Wherefore, 'tis necessary, that either in our *Eusebius*, or else in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, the name of the month should be mistaken. Unless we say, that *Dioclesian*'s *Vicennalia* were kept at *Antioch* not on the same day which was the first of his Empire, but a little later. *Eusebius* indeed says (in his *Chronicon*) that *Constantine*'s *Vicennalia* were kept at *Nicomedia*, and in the following year celebrated at *Rome*.



*Dioclesian.* of the Emperor's Reign was come, wherein, (g) according to the usual indulgence, liberty was publickly proclaim'd to all persons in all places that were in bonds, he only, lying in the Stocks, and having both his Feet distended to the distance of five holes, was strangled, and (according to his desire) was adorn'd with [the Crown of] Martyrdom. This person being a *Palestinian*, altho' he suffered [Martyrdom] without the limits of his own Country, yet deserves to be reckon'd amongst the Martyrs of *Palestine*. These things were after this manner performed in the first year of the Persecution, when it raged against the Prelates only of the Church.

Crimes should be discharged from their imprisonment; the Emperor's Edict being set forth for that purpose, which they called an *Indulgence*. See the *Cod. Theodos. tit. de indulgentiis criminum*. Valef.

### C H A P. III.

Concerning Timotheus, Agapius, Thecla, and Eight other Martyrs.

Afterwards, in the second Year, when the rage of the Persecution against us was become more violent and sharp, *Urbanus* being at that time Governour of the Province, the Imperial Edicts having been then first brought, wherein it was by a general command order'd, that all persons in all places and Cities whatsoever should publickly offer Sacrifice and Incense to the Idols; *Timotheus* underwent innumerable tortures at *Gaza*, a City of *Palestine*: After all which he was consumed by a remiss and slow Fire, and having exhibited a most genuine proof of his sincere Piety towards God, by a patient sufferance under all his torments, he obtain'd the Crown belonging to the sacred and victorious Champions of Religion. *Agapius* also, and that *Thecla* (a) who lived in our times, having (together with the fore-said *Timotheus*) given a demonstration of their most undaunted Courage and Stedfastness of Mind, were condemn'd to be devoured by Wild-Beasts. Who is he that would not have wondred at the sight of what follow'd hereupon, or that would not have been astonish'd at the hearing a relation thereof? For when the Heathens celebrated their publick Festivals, and [exhibited] their usual Shows; there was a great report, that (b) together with those others whom they had a mighty esteem for, the [Christians] also, lately condemn'd, were to be exposed to a Combat with the Wild-Beasts [in the Amphitheatre.] This report therefore being increased and spread

(a) These words [ἡ καὶ ἡμεῖς, who lived in our times] are, not without reason, added by *Eusebius*. For by them it was his intent to manifest, that this *Thecla* should be distinguished from the other *Thecla*, who was Companion to *St. Paul* the Apostle. In the *Menum*, at the 19th of *August*, this *Thecla* is called, ἡ Βυζαντινὴ, *Byzantiensis*; the meaning whereof I know not. For this *Thecla* here spoken of was a *Palestinian*, not born at *Byzua* a City of *Thrace*. Yet, it may be, this *Thecla* was a *Thracian*; for neither were all those, whose Martyrdoms *Eusebius* here relates, *Palestinians*; nor does he in this Book, treat of the Martyrs of *Palestine*, but of those who suffered Martyrdom in *Palestine*. Valef.

(b) The reading here is, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι οὗτοι ἀνδραγαθῶν; our Rendition whereof is, together with those others whom they had a great esteem for. *Christophorus* read οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι, but took it in the neuter gender; for thus he has rendred it; inter alia quæ magnopere ipsis in operibus erant ad contemplandum, amongst other things, which they had a great desire to be spectators of. I suppose it to be spoken in the masculine gender; and that he means those more eminent *Bestiarii*, who amongst the *Grecians* were termed ἀνδραγαδοί, i.e. the stoutest and strongest sort of Men, who let themselves out to combat with the Wild Beasts before the People in the Amphitheatre. Such a one was he, whom the People in the Amphitheatre at *Constantinople* called for, in these Words, εἰς τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀνδραγαθῶν μάχεσθαι; which Words *Cassiodorus* (*Histor. Tripart. Lib. 2.*) thus renders, crudeli bestie artifex parabolus componatur. Valef.

every-where, six Youths, whereof one was born *Dioclesian.* in *Pontus*, by name *Timolus*, another born at *Trapolis* a City of *Phœnicia*, whose name was *Dionysius*, the third was Sub-Deacon of the *Diospolitane* Church; his name *Romulus*; besides the two *Egyptians*, (c) *Paulus* and *Alexander*; and another *Alexander*, Namesake to the former, born at *Gaza*: *Mar.* and [these six young Men, I say,] having first bound their Hands together, that they might thereby manifest their great readiness and alacrity to [undergo] Martyrdom, ran in great haste to *Urbanus*, as he was going to the Amphitheatre, and confessed themselves to be Christians: And, by their being prepared to [endure] all sorts of tortures, they demonstrated, that they who make their boast in the Worship of the supreme God, can in no wise be terrified at the furious assaults of the Wild-Beasts. The President himself, and those who stood round him, having been forthwith struck with no small amazement, [these Confessors] were [order'd to be] shut up in prison. Not many days after two others being added to their number, (one whereof, by name *Agapius*, having before them undergone horrid and various sorts of tortures, had formerly been [signalized] for several Confessions: The other ministered bodily necessities to them, his name *Dionysius*) all these, being now made up eight in number, were beheaded on one and the same day at *Cæsarea*, [to wit,] on the twenty fourth Day of the Month *Dysistrus*, which precedes the ninth of the *Calends* of *April*. At the same time happen'd a change of the Emperors, he that had the precedency of all the rest and the next to him in place, [having left off their Imperial attire] put themselves into a private habit: And the Affairs of the Empire began to be in an ill posture. The *Roman* Empire being soon after divided, there brake out an implacable War between [the *Romans*] themselves: Neither could the Divisions, and (which were the Consequences thereof) the tumults be made up and appeased, before the *Christians* throughout the whole *Roman* Empire had a Peace ratified and firm'd to them. For, as soon as that Peace (like Light after a cloudy and most darksome Night,) darted forth its Rays upon all Men, the publick Affairs of the *Roman* Empire were again restored to their pristine Stability, Amity, and Peaceableness; all persons recovering that mutual Friendliness which had been derived down to'em from their Ancestors. But we will give an exacter account of these matters at a more opportune place and time. Now we are to prosecute the subsequent Series of our Narration.

(c) In the *Med. MSS* his name is *Paulus*. In the *Greek Menology*, (which *Canisius* published) at the 5th of *March*, instead of *Paulus*, he is called *Publius*. Valef.

### C H A P. IV.

Concerning Apphianus the Martyr.

*Maximinus* *Cæsar*, (a) from the very time of his coming to the Empire, (as if he would demonstrate to all Men the tokens of his innate hatred against God, and of his own Impiety,) attempted a more violent Persecution against those of our Religion, than the preceding Emperors this place ill; thus he translates it, *Maximinus* *Cæsar*, who by his own power and strength had possess'd himself of the Empire: As if οὐρανός, which is the Greek term here, signified, by his own power and strength. Indeed, *Maximinus* proclaimed himself *Augustus*, as our *Eusebius* relates in Chap. 13. Book 8. But he was made *Cæsar* by *Galerius* *Maximianus*. Moreover, *Eusebius* speaks here of *Maximinus*, whilst he was only *Cæsar*, and of the time when he had that title first conferred on him, to wit, in the second year current of the persecution, immediately after the resignation of *Diocletianus*, and *Herculius*. The import therefore of *Eusebius's* words

*Maximinus*. (a) *Christophorus* has rendred this place ill; thus



words is this, that *Maximinus*, as soon as he was made *Cæsar*, shewed a proof of his impiety, by a most cruel Persecution of the Christians. Wherefore [*ἐκ τούτου*] must be rendred [from the very time.] Now, *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 304, on the Calends of April, as *Idatius* (*in fastis*) declares: Which agrees very well with the account here given by our *Eusebius*. For he relates that *Maximinus* (after the Relinquation of *Dioclesian*) was created *Cæsar* in the second year of the Persecution; immediately after which promotion (that he might shew his Power) he renewed the Persecution against the Christians. But this must not be understood of that very year, wherein *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar*: For during that year (Affairs being then in Confusion, and *Galerius* scarce well settled in the Empire) *Maximinus* was quiet. Therefore *Eusebius* mentions no Martyrdoms in *Palestine* during that year. But in the year following, which was the third of the Persecution, *Maximinus* set forth his Edicts against the Christians, and renewed the Persecution, as *Eusebius* expressly relates in this Chapter. *Valef.*

[had done.] When therefore no small Iniquitude was impendent on all persons, and they were dispersed some in one place some in another, every one making it his chief business to avoid the danger, and all the Provinces were involved in a most terrible commotion, what expressions can be sufficient for us deservedly to set forth the divine love, and the bold and free confession of God, made by that blessed and truly innocent Lamb, *Apphianus* the Martyr, who exhibited an admirable example of Piety towards the only God, in the sight of all the Inhabitants of *Cæsarea*, (b) before the Gates of that City, when he had not fully completed the twentieth year of his age? Indeed, whilst he resided at *Berytus*, where he had formerly spent much time upon account of [furnishing himself with] (c) secular Literature, (for he had his descent from very rich Parents:) 'Tis wonderful to relate how, during his continuance in that City, he subdued youthful Lusts: And having in no wise been debauch'd in his Morals, either by the vigour and youthfulness of his Body, or the society of his young Companions, he became a lover of temperance; leading an orderly, chaste, and religious life, according to the (d) Precepts of Christianity, and framing his Converse [agreeable thereto.] If it be [supposed] convenient that we should mention his Country, and commend it, because it produced so courageous a Champion of Piety; we will most readily do it. If any one therefore knows (e) *Pagæ*, a City of no mean note in *Lycia*; there this young man was born. After his return from his Studies at *Berytus*, (his Father being promoted to the chiefest place of Honour in his own Country, he was unable to endure the converse of his Father, and those that were his Relations, because the sea, swim to the children shore, and by the Gates of the City. *Valef.*

(a) He means the Greek Language, and the Latin Tongue, the knowledge whereof was necessary for the entrance into the Magistracy. At *Berytus* there was a school of the Law, where many have taken notice from *Gregory Nazianzenus*, *Jerome*, *Nicetas*, and others. Hence 'tis, that *Eusebius* adds the term *secularis*, that is, secular, or mundane Literature. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* (*ad cæciliam*, *Nicholi ad filium*) calls *Berytus* *βηρυττον*, the City of the Phœnicians. In the *Menology* of the Greeks, at the Record of *St. Apphianus*, with his Brother *Elefius*, is mentioned to have been instructed in the Christian Religion by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, at *Berytus*. *Valef.*

(d) *κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐντολὰς*; which we have rendred, according to the precepts of Christianity: *ἀρετῶν* seems to be put for *ἀρετῶν*, commendation, or agreeable: Which way of expression is frequently used by *Eusebius*. *Valef.*

(e) In the *Act. MS.* this City is called *Αραγίς*; in the *Mar. MS.* *Αραγίς*; in the *Ill. MS.* *Αραγίς*; but in the Margin notice is given that it should be *Αραγίς*, with an *α*. I never met with any thing concerning *Αραγίς*, a City of *Lycia*; *Αραξ*, a City of *Lycia* is mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. And, in the *Constantinopolitan Council*, amongst the Bishops of the Province of *Lycia*, who subscribed to that Synod, the last that is recounted is *Theophilus*, *Araxenus*: Also in the Synod of *Chalcedon* there is mention of *Leontius* Bishop of the *Araxi*. In the *Menology* of the Greeks, *Amphianus* is said to have been born in *Lycia*. *Valef.*

cause they refused to live according to the Sanctions of Religion: But having been inspired as it were by a Divine Spirit, and (by reason of his innate desire after Philosophy, or rather after the divine and true Wisdom) making small account of the reputed Glory of this Life, and contemning the Delights of the Body, he secretly withdrew himself from his Relations: And being not at all sollicitous about a daily provision for his subsistence, because of his hope and faith in God, he was led by the Hand [as it were] to the City of *Cæsarea*, by the Divine Spirit, where the Crown of Martyrdom for Religion awaited him. Being (f) conversant there with

us, having in a short time made a great proficiency by reading the sacred Scriptures, and furnish'd himself with courage of Mind by congruous exercises of a strict and severe abstinence; at length he made such a glorious conclusion of his life, as who ever saw could not but be astonish'd thereat; and he that shall hear the bare relation of it, cannot but deservedly admire his confidence, his fearlessness, his continued earnestness and constancy of Mind, and above all the boldness of his attempt, which (g) contains most evident signs of a zeal for Religion, and of a Spirit more than human. For when *Maximinus* renew'd the Insolencies practiced towards us, in the third year of our Persecution [under *Dioclesian*,] and when the Tyrant's Edicts were first sent abroad over all the Provinces, [ordering] the Governours to make it their chief care and business, that all the Inhabitants in every City should publicly offer sacrifice; and when the Criers had

made proclamation over all the City *Cæsarea*, that the Men, together with the Women and Children, should by the Governour's order go to the Temples of the Idols; and moreover when the *Tribunes* of the Soldiers had summon'd every particular person by name out of a written Roll; (all the [Christians] every-where being put into confusion by this unspeakable storm of Afflictions) this foresaid person, (having communicated to no body what he was about to do, it being unknown to us who lived in the same House with him, and even to the whole military Guard that stood round the Governour,) fearlessly approach'd *Urbanus*, as he was offering Sacrifice; and having with an intrepid Mind catch'd hold on his right Hand, stop'd him immediately from sacrificing. Then, with a divine gravity and confidence of Mind he prudently advised and exhorted him to desist from that erroneous way [of worship.] For 'tis absurd [said he] to relinquish [the Worship] of the one and only true God, and offer sacrifice to Idols and Demons. This the young Man attempted, induced thereto ('tis very probable) by a Divine power, which openly proclaimed

(f) *Symeon Metaphrastes*, who professes he transcribed the Martyrdom of *Apphianus* (or, as he calls him, *Amphianus*) out of *Eusebius*, has altered this passage, thus, *And having been conversant with us in divine Studies, and instructed in the sacred Scriptures by the great Martyr Pamphilus, he obtained no mean habit of virtue; by which he opened a passage for himself, whereby he procured the Crown of Martyrdom.* But *Eusebius* attests here, that *Apphianus* was not instructed in the sacred Scriptures by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, but by himself: Which, as I judge, is the truest account. For our *Eusebius* was a Person much learner than *Pamphilus*. But the *Mena* of the Greeks, and the *Menology* set forth by *Canisius*, agree with *Symeon Metaphrastes*: Excepting only in this, which *Metaphrastes* relates, that *Apphianus* (after he was returned from his studies at *Berytus*,) when he came to *Cæsarea*, was there instructed by *Pamphilus*. But in the *Mena*, and in the *Menology*, *Apphianus* (with his Brother *Elefius*) is said to have been instructed by *Pamphilus* at *Berytus*; no mention being made of *Eusebius*. So careful were the latter Grecians, that the blessed Martyr should not be said to have been instructed by *Eusebius* *Pamphilus*, who, as they persuaded themselves, was an Heretick. *Valef.*

(g) The reading I judge, should be [*περιέχον τὰ τεκμήρια*, which contains most evident signs: For it refers to the foregoing Word [*ἐπιχείρημα*, attempt.] *Valef.*



Maxim-  
nus.

claim'd as it were by this fact, that the Christians (to wit, those that are truly such) are so far from being withdrawn from the worship of the supream God, which they have once imbib'd, that they are not only above menaces and (which are the consequences thereof) tortures, but also become more confident and fearless in their Confessions, with a courageous and intrepid voice freely set forth the truth, and (if it were possible) perswade their Persecutors to relinquish their ignorance, and acknowledge him who is the only true God. After this, the young man, of whom we speak, was immediately (as it was likely [to happen]) torn by the President's Guards, in such sort as if they had been savage Beasts, because of the audacious fact he had committed; and having most courageously endured an infinite number of stripes all over his body, was forthwith committed to prison. Where after he had lain a night and a day with both his feet distended in the Stocks, on the day following he was brought before the Judge. Then being compelled to offer sacrifice, he demonstrated an invincible constancy of Mind in undergoing all sorts of pains and horrid tortures; his sides being not once nor twice, but many times furrow'd to his very bones and entrails: And he received so many blows in his face and neck, that they who before had been very well acquainted with him, did not now know him, because his face was so much swell'd. But, when he yielded not at [the suffering of] so many and great tortures, the Tormentors by the [President's] order wrapt up his feet in Flax wetted in Oyl, and kindled a fire under them. The pains which the blessed [Martyr] was put to thereby, are in my judgment inexpressible. For the fire, having consumed his flesh, penetrated to his very bones: In so much that the whole moisture of his body being melted like Wax, was distill'd, and descended by drops. But being not overcome even by these tortures, (altho' the Adversaries were vanquish'd, and in a manner wearied out, because of his miraculous fortitude,) he was again put into bonds. On the third day after he was brought before the Judge, and having professed [that he continued in] the same Resolution of Mind, altho' he was already half dead, yet he was drown'd in the depths of the Sea. What happen'd immediately hereupon, if we relate it, will by those that saw it not, be disbelieved as incredible. But although we know assuredly this will so fall out, yet we can in no wise forbear to deliver a full narration hereof to posterity, because all the Inhabitants of Cæsarea in a manner were witnesses of what came to pass. Indeed there there was no person [of Cæsarea] of what age soever, that was not present at this stupendious Spectacle. After therefore they had cast this truly sacred and thrice blessed person into the most unfathomable Abysses (as they supposed) which were in the midst of the Sea, on a sudden there happened an unusual noise and shaking, which made the Sea and (b) Air about the Earth tremble in such a manner, that the very Earth and City were shaken by that motion. And at that very moment wherein this wonderful and sudden Earthquake happen'd, the dead body of the Divine Martyr was cast up by the Sea (as being unable to contain it) before the Gates of the City. Such was the Exit, which the admirable Apphianus made on Friday the second day of the month Xanthicus, which is before the fourth of the Nones of April.

(b) To  
ἀέρον  
ἀπ' αὐτῆς  
is  
the phrase  
in the ori-  
ginal;  
Metaphra-  
ses  
thought  
the shore  
was meant  
by these  
words;  
and there-  
fore renders it *circumstans litus*. But the Greeks by this expression do usually mean the Air that surrounds the Earth. Valef.

C H A P. V.

Concerning Ulpianus and Edeſius, Martyrs.

Maximi-  
nus.

AT the same time, and almost on the same days, a young man in the City of Tyre, by name Ulpianus, after he had been cruelly scourged and endured most grievous stripes, \* was sewn up in the raw Hide of an Ox, together with a Dog and a venomous Serpent, and cast into the Sea: (a) Wherefore we thought it agreeable to make mention of this person at [this place wherein we have related] the Martyrdom of Apphianus. Some small time after this, Edeſius, Brother (not only in respect of God, but by a bodily affinity also,) by the (b) Father's side to Apphianus, after [he had made] very many Confessions, and for a long time had been cruciated in Bonds; after he had been condemned to the Mines in Palestine by the President's sentence; and after he had, under all these [tortures,] led a life continually like a Philosopher, in a Philosophick habit; (for he had acquired far more learning than his Brother, in that he had applied his mind wholly to Philosophick Literature.) At length, when, at the City of Alexandria, he saw the Judge (who was then examining the Christians) most extravagantly insulting over, and enraged against them; one while putting various and most reproachful abuses upon grave Men; at another, delivering Women most eminent for their chastity, and (c) Virgins that had devoted themselves to God, to Panders, that they might be defiled with all sorts of obscenity: He attempted the same fact that his Brother had done. For, because what was thus performed seem'd to him intolerable, with a valiant boldness he approach'd the (d) Judge, and having by his words and deeds surrounded him with shame and ignominy, and after that, came, then sewn up after this manner. See Cal. Rhod. B. 11. Chap. 21. The Grecians had a way of putting Criminals to death, by drowning them in the Sea, which they termed *καταπνιγνάν*; but they made use of a leaden Vessel only, into which they put the Malefactor; as appears from Athenæus, B. 14. his words are these, *Πατριάρχης ἐν ὁτὶ ἀπολεμεῖται σπῆλινος ἐν καὶνῳ τῇ νύκτι, λαβὼν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐς μόλυβδον κεκαμμένον ἐμβάλλον, καὶ ἀναρῶν εἰς τὸ πῆλα κατεπνίγη*, Patroclus therefore, Ptolemie's Governour in the Isle Cæmus, took him, and put him into a Leaden Vessel, and carried him to the Sea, and drowned him. Neither was this accounted amongst the heaviest sorts of punishment by the Grecians, as appears from Polybius, B. 2.

(a) *Δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖς*, &c. that is, Although Ulpianus suffered not in Palestine, but in Phœnicia, yet because he suffered Martyrdom at the same time, and died by the same sort of punishment that Apphianus had inflicted on him, we judged it not unfit to make mention of him here. It is therefore apparent from these words, that Eusebius in this Book design'd to give an account of the Martyrs of the Province of Palestine only. Valef.

(b) In the Greek Menæum, at the second day of April, Edeſius is killed Apphianus's Brother by the Mother's side. Valef.

(c) In the Med. Fuk. and Maz. MSS. the term is *αὐτοπαρθένης*, one entire word; which, in my judgment is the better reading. Eusebius does usually call those Christian Virgins by this name, who spontaneously had devoted their Virginity to God. Such Persons the Latins called *devote*. For so Ausonius and others term them. Valef.

(d) The explication of this place is to be had from the Menæum of the Greeks; where Edeſius is said to have struck Hierocles Prefect of Egypt (in the interim of his raging against the Christians) with his Fist. The words there are these; *Ὁ δὲ ἀδελφεὸς, ἐν ἀλεξάνδρῃ τῇ κατ' αἰγυπτὸν τοῖς τῷ χαλκῷ καὶ μολύβδῳ τὰς αὐτοπαρθένας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀρῶντα ἐρεσκεν ἐκ πωρομένην τὰς χρεῖστας ἐδεάσθη, ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀποχρίσας τὸν ἀρῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ*; i.e. But Edeſius, who was [condemned] to work in the mines of Brass, having seen (at Alexandria in Egypt) Hierocles the President punishing the Christians, he accounted him a despicable Person, and struck the President with his own hand. Wherefore, in this place of Eusebius, the term *ἀρτίμια* denotes the blows given to the President; and *ἀποχρῶν* imports the reproachful language which Edeſius gave him. Both which are intimated by Eusebius in these words, *λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις*, by his words and deeds. Epiphanius and Lactantius mention th is Hierocles, Prefect of Egypt, who was famous for the great slaughter he made amongst the Christians. This was the Hierocles, against whom our Eusebius wrote a Book. Valef.



*Maximianus.* most courageously endured various sorts of tortures, he was thrown into the Sea, and ended his life after the same manner that his Brother did. These things happened thus to *Adesius*, altho' (as I said before) some small time after.

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Martyr Agapius.

**M**oreover, in the fourth year of the Persecution against us, on the twentieth day of the month *Dius*, (which is before the twelfth of the *Calends* of *December*,) being *Friday*, such [a Martyrdom] was performed in the same City of *Cæsarea*, as worthily deserves to be recorded in writing, *Maximinus* the Tyrant being himself present, and exhibiting publick Shows to the People because of his Birth-day. Whereas it was an ancient custom, that (if at any time) in the presence of the Emperors, splendid Shows and such as were more pleasing to the Mind should be exhibited to the Spectators, (new and strange Spectacles, such as were different from the usual Sights [being at such a time procured, which consisted] partly of Beasts brought out of *India*, *Aethiopia*, or some other place; and partly of Men, who, having before accustomed themselves

(a) He means the *Pantomimi*, *Mimicks* that used antick, filthy, and obscene gestures; the *Pegmatarii*, those that managed the Machines and Images in their Plays; the *Contigeri*, Pole-carriers; and *Funambuli*, Rope-dancers; and such other Artists, which were made use of by those that were at the charge to exhibit shews to the People. See *Claudianus* in his Book, *De Consulatu Theodori*. *Vales.*

those Sights. What therefore was this? A Martyr of our Religion was brought forth, to combat for the only true

(b) At first I thought the reading here should be *ἀντιπαρ' ἑταίρων*, in the second year: For so *Eusebius* had said above in Chap. 3. But the vulgar reading [to wit, *ὁ ἀντιπαρ' αὐτοῦ*, the second of that name] is best, for he is called *Agapius* the Second, to distinguish him from the former *Agapius*, who had suffered two years before; concerning whom *Eusebius* speaks in the said third Chapter. *Vales.*

(c) This place is corrupted, and imperfect. *Christophorson* reads, [*ἀσφαλιστὴς ἐξαχθεὶς*, brought out of Prison,] which reading is not amiss. But I think there is a whole line omitted here; which I thus make up, *ἀσφαλιστὴς ἐξαχθεὶς, ἐν ᾧ κατέχευτο ἡτοῖμα τὸ τεῖχος*, [Brought] out of Prison [wherein he had been confined now three years.] *Agapius* was cast into Prison at the beginning of the second year of the Persecution. Therefore, this was the third year of his confinement. *Vales.*

(d) Concerning this custom of leading the Criminals about the *Stadium*, see Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (3.)

by his Divine knowledge he foretold his Disciples) might be accomplished in him, that they should be brought before Kings for their testimony of him. He is therefore brought

into the midst of the *Stadium*; together with a certain Criminal; who was said to be guilty of murdering his Master. After this, he who had killed his Master, being exposed to the Wild-Beasts, obtain'd mercy and compassion [from the Emperor,] almost after the same manner that *Barabbas* did in our Saviour's time. At this, the whole *Amphitheatre* resounded with shouts and acclamations of joy, because the Emperor had out of his compassion saved a bloody Murderer, and vouchsafed him Honour and Liberty. But this Champion of Religion is first called for by the Tyrant; after which, having, with the promise of Liberty, desired him to renounce the profession [of Christianity,] he professed with a loud voice, That (not for any crime, but) upon account of the Worship of the Framer of all things, with alacrity and pleasure, he would courageously undergo what [Punishments] soever should be inflicted on him. And, having said thus, he annexed Deeds to his Words, ran to meet a Bear which was let loose against him, and most willingly offer'd himself to be devoured by that Beast. After the Beast had torn him, having some Breath left in him, he was carried back to Prison; where, after he had lived one day, on that following, Stones were hang'd at his Feet, and he was drown'd in the midst of the Sea. Such was the Martyrdom of *Agapius*.

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Virgin Theodosia, and concerning Domnius, and Auxentius, Martyrs.

**M**oreover, the fifth year of the Persecution being now current on the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the *Nones* of *April*, (a) on the very Lord's-day, the day of our Saviour's Resurrection, and also at *Cæsarea*, *Theodosia* a Virgin born at *Tyre*, one that was a Believer and a most modest Maid, not eighteen years old compleat, approach'd some Prisoners, (who were Confessors of the Kingdom of Christ,

and sat before the (b) *Prætorium*,) both to salute them amicably, and also (as 'tis probable) to request them that they would be mindful of her when they came to the Lord. Having done this, as if she had committed some nefarious and impious fact, the Soldiers lay hold of her, and carry her before the President. He, in regard he was a furious person, and one of a most cruel temper of Mind, [ordered] that she

(a) In the MS. *As* of the passion of *Theodosia*, she is said to have suffered not on Easter-day, but only, on a Sunday. *Vales.*

(b) *πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον*; so the Greek words it. *Christophorson* renders it, *Ante tribunal confitentibus*, *sate before the tribunal*: Which Version I do not approve of. I have rendred it, *before the Prætorium*; i. e. before the palace of the President. For those Prisoners stood before his Palace, waiting, until the President (before whom they were to be brought) came forth to the Tribunal. This rendition is confirmed by the following Words. *Vales.*

should be cruciated with sharp and most horrid tortures, and that her Sides and Breasts [should be furrow'd] to her very Bones; [after this] Breath being still left in her, having with a pleasant and chearful countenance undergone all these tortures, by the President's command she was drown'd in the Sea. After he had done with her, he went upon [the Examination of] the other Confessors, all whom he condemn'd to the Brazen Mines at *Phenos* in *Palestine*. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the month *Dius*, that is (according to the Roman account) on the *Nones* of *November*, in the same City, to wit, *Cæsarea*, the said President condemn'd *Silvanus* (who then was a Presbyter and a Confessor, but some small time after

was



*Maximianus.* was honour'd with a Bishoprick, and happen'd to finish his life by Martyrdom) and some others that were his Companions (after they had given demonstration of a most resolute courage and constancy in behalf of Religion) to labour in the same Mines of Brass; having first given order, that the *Flexures* of their Feet † should be fear'd with a red-hot Iron, and so rendred infirm and useless. At the same time that this sentence was pronounced against 'em, he condemn'd *Domninus* (a Man very famous for innumerable other Confessions, who for his singular freedom [in speaking out *Palestine*]) to be burnt alive. After he [had been thus punished,] the same Judge, (a crafty Inventer of mischief, and one that studied new Devices and Designs [to extirpate] the Doctrine of Christ,) found out such sorts of punishments for the Worshipers of God, as were never heard of before. He condemn'd three [and compelled them] to (c) fight with one another in such a sort as the Champions usually did: *Auxentius*, a venerable and holy old Man, was by him condemn'd to be devoured by the Wild-Beasts. Again, he [gave order] that some, who were arrived to the compleat age and stature of Men, should be cut and made Eunuchs, and then condemn'd them to the same Mines. He shut up others in prison, after they had undergone the sharpest Tortures. Amongst which number was *Pamphilus*, my dearest Companion, a person that was the most eminent of all the Martyrs in our age for his singular Virtue and Piety: *Urbanus* first made tryal of his skill in Rhetorick and Philosophick Literature, after that he compelled him to offer sacrifice; which when the Martyr refused to do, and [*Urbanus*] perceived that he despised his menaces, he was exceedingly exasperated, and gave order that he should be tormented with the acutest sorts of torture. Moreover, this most enraged \* Man, (being in a manner satiated with the flesh of the Martyrs sides, which he [had caused to be torn off] with torturing-irons, whereof he made a continued and reiterated use, pertinaciously desiring thereby to get the Victory [over the Martyr] having after all these tortures, procured nothing but shame and ignominy for himself,) at length order'd him to be cast into prison amongst the other Confessors therein confined. But, what sort of punishment this person (who after so fierce a manner insulted over the Martyrs of Christ,) was to expect, would be inflicted on him at the Divine Tribunal, for his cruelty towards the Saints, is easily known from those beginnings [thereof which he underwent] in this life. Immediately after those audacious Cruelties which he had practised towards *Pamphilus*, the Divine Vengeance forthwith seiz'd him, whilst he was as yet possess'd of the Government. Which on a sudden, in one night's space, strip'd him (who but the day before sat as Judge upon a lofty Tribunal, was attended with a military Guard, govern'd the whole Province of *Palestine*; who also was Companion to the Tyrant himself, for he was his chief Favourite, and did usually eat at the same Table with him) of all these great places and preferments, and reduc'd him to a disconsolate and helpless condition; clouded him with ignominy and shame in the sight of those very persons, who had formerly admired him as their Governour; propos'd

† Τὸν πο-  
δὲν τὰς  
ἁλῶνας,  
flexures of  
their feet;  
that's the  
import of  
the Greek:  
*Valesius*  
renders it,  
pedum  
punilurae,  
the joints  
of their  
feet.

(c) See the following Chapter; from whence we are informed, that those who were condemned to such Combats, were delivered to the Procurators of *Casar*, who caused them to practise and exercise daily, that so at last they might be fit to engage in a Combat. *Vales.*

\* *Urbanus.*

him to the whole Nation, over which he had been Ruler, as a miserable and dispirited Wretch, pouring forth effeminate Intreaties and Supplications; and lastly, constituted *Maximinus* himself (of whose favour he had in former times bragg'd and boasted, having been dearly beloved by him by reason of the Cruelties he practised towards us Christians) his inexorable and most severe Judge in the very City of *Casarea*. For, after many reproaches, which he suffer'd upon account of those crimes, of which he was convict, the Emperor himself pronounc'd sentence of death against him. But thus much we have said by the by. There may happen a seasonable opportunity, wherein we shall be more at leisure to relate the Exits and calamitous Deaths, by which those impious Wretches (especially *Maximinus* and those about him who were his advisers) that were the greatest Sticklers in the Persecution against us, finish'd their lives.

*Maximianus.*

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning other Confessors, and concerning the Martyrdom of *Valentina* and *Paul*.

WHEN the Storm [of Persecution] had now without any intermission raged against us until the sixth year, [there was] a very great number that were Confessors of the Divine Religion, who (a) heretofore had liv'd in *Thebais*, at *Porphyrites*, a place that had its appellation from the name of the Marble dug out there: Of which [company] an hundred Men, (wanting three,) together with their Wives and very small Children, were sent to the President of *Palestine*. Concerning all which persons, after they had made their confession of God [the Framer] of all things, and of Christ, *Firmilianus* the President (who was sent thither as Successor to *Urbanus*,) gave order, agreeable to the Emperors command, that they should have those very Sinews of their left Legs, by which they bent their Knees, fear'd into two with red-hot Irons; and that their right Eyes, together with the Membranes and Balls thereof should be first cut out with Swords, and after that [their Eye-holes] fear'd even to the very bottom with red-hot Irons: After which, he order'd they should be sent to work in the Mines that were in the Province, that they might be worn out there with labours and miseries. Nor did we behold these persons only undergoing such punishments, but those *Palestinians* also; (who, as we manifested a little before, were condemned to practise the Champions exercises, in order to their being made fit to engage in the *Gladiators* Combats;) because they would not endure, either to receive those Provisions which were allow'd them out of the Imperial Treasury, or to practise such exercises as were necessary to render them accomplish'd Combatants. For which reason they were brought not only before the (b) Procurators, but *Maximinus* himself: And, having given a demonstration of their means, as I judge, the Procurators of the company of the *Gladiators*, and of the Morning Exercises; of whom there is frequent mention in the old Inscriptions. For the *Gladiators*, that were maintained by stipends paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, were committed to their care, and they gave them their allowances out of the Treasury. *Vales.*

(a) πρὸ τῆς, heretofore, must be referred to the Verb ἔζη, lived; not to the term [παλαιο-  
πορφυρι-  
της, had its Appellation] as *Christophorus* thought; who renders this place thus; in loco Porphyrite appellato, qui jam antea ex venâ lapidis quæ ibi nascitur, nomen duxerat; i. e. in a place called *Porphyrites*, which had before, gotten its name from a vein of stone, which is there dug out. *Vales.*

(b) He

I judge,



*Maxim- nus.* invincible constancy in the confession [of Christ,] and of their courageousness in enduring Famine and Scourges, they suffer'd the same punishments with the foremention'd persons: some other Confessors in the City of *Cæsarea* being added to their number. Soon after these, others were taken at

(c) *Christophorson* supposed these persons to be Priests and Deacons, who had convened the People to hear the sacred Scriptures read: Which at that time they were compelled to do in private Houses. For, their Churches and Oratories being then demolished, the Christians had only Private-houses to assemble themselves in. *Valef.*

the City *Gaza*, (c) who were assembled to hear the sacred Scriptures read, some of whom suffer'd the same tortures in their Feet and Eyes with the forementioned persons; but others of them underwent more acute and horrid torments in the sides of their Bodies. One

of which number, as to her Sex a Woman, but a person of a masculine and courageous temper of Mind, unable to endure the menaces of Ravishment; having utter'd some expressions against the Tyrant, (because he committed the Government [of Provinces] to such cruel Judges,) was first scourged: Then, being hung up a great height on [an Engine of] Wood, she was tortured in the sides of her Body. But when the Officers, appointed for that purpose, did, by the Judges order, apply their tortures to her with a most continued and exquisite vehemency, another Woman, who (like the former) had taken upon her the vow of Virginity, (as to the composure of her Body she was indeed no very taking object, and her aspect was despicable, but she was endow'd with a courageous temper of Mind, and was corroborated with a valour above her Sex, and far excell'd those Championeesses amongst the *Grecians*, so much famed for their freedom in speaking;) being unable to endure the sight of those merciless, cruel, and inhuman practices, cried out with a loud voice to the Judge, out of the midst of the crowd, *How long will you thus unmercifully torture my Sister?* The Judge, highly exasperated by that expression, forthwith gave command the Woman should be laid hold on.

\* That is, having acknowledged herself to be a Christian. She was then haled forth before him; and \* having assumed to herself our Saviour's venerable appellation, first she was solicited by kind words to offer sacrifice: Which when she refused to do, they drew her by force before the Altar: But she, behaving herself like herself, retain'd her former alacrity of Mind, with an intrepid and undaunted Foot trampled upon the Altar, and overturn'd

(d) He means the *Frankincense*, &c. *Valef.* that, together with (d) what lay upon it. Upon which account the Judge, enraged like a Savage Beast, first gave order, that she should suffer more and greater tortures in her sides, than any one had before undergone: [For] he seem'd in a manner desirous to gorge himself with her raw flesh. But when his rage was satiated, he order'd they should both (namely this last with her whom she called Sister) be fastned together, and condemned them to be burn'd to death; the (e) former

(e) This Virgin's name is wanting here: But we will supply this defect, from the *Grecian Menology*; where this passage occurs, at the 15th of *July*: *On the same day, the Holy Martyrs, Valentina and Thea, which were Egyptians, being brought to the City Dio Cæsarea before Firmilianus the Judge, made confession of Christ's Name, who is our God; after which, their left feet being burnt, and their right eyes pulled out, they were killed with a sword, and their bodies burnt.* But this account disagrees with our *Eusebius's* relation here. For he says, the one was born at *Gaza*, the other at *Cæsarea*: And he makes no mention of the burning of their feet, or of the pulling out their Eyes. *Valef.*

that Martyrdom (which follow'd immediately hereupon,) wherewith the thrice-blessed *Paul* was adorned? This person, having had sentence of death pronounced against him at that very interim these Virgins were condemn'd, when he was to be put to death, entreated the Executioner (who stood ready to cut off his Head) to allow him a short space of time. Having obtain'd his request, with a clear and audible voice he first pray'd for all those who were Professors of the Christian Religion, beseeching God, that he would be reconciled to them, and quickly bestow on them liberty and security: Then he supplicated for the *Jews* access to God by [the Faith of] Christ: After this, he proceeded in an orderly method, putting up the same petitions even for the *Samaritans*; and besought God for the *Heathens*, that they, now entangled in error and an ignorance of God, might arrive to an acknowledgment of him, and undertake the [profession of] the true Religion; neither did he [in his petitions] omit to mention the promiscuous crowd that surrounded him. After all these (O the great and ineffable patience and mildness of his Mind!) He besought the Supreme God for the very Judge by whom he had been condemned to die, for the Emperors, and also for the Executioner (who stood ready to strike off his Head,) both in the hearing of him himself, and of all those also that were present, beseeching [God] that the sin they committed [by taking away his life] might not be imputed to them. Having with a loud voice made these petitions, and melted almost all that were present into compassion and tears, because he was unjustly put to death; (f) nevertheless he made himself ready, and, yielding his naked Neck to be cut asunder by the Sword, he was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, on the twenty fifth day of the Month *Panemus*, that is, before the eighth of the *Calends* of *August*. Such was the Exit of these [Martyrs]. Not long after, an hundred and thirty Champions, of the same Country, to wit, *Egypt*, admirable for the confession of Christ, having by *Maximinus's* order undergone the same calamitous [tortures] in their Eyes and Feet, with those formerly mention'd who suffered in *Egypt*, were condemned and sent away, part of them to the forementioned Mines in *Palestine*, and part to those in the Province of *Cilicia*.

judgment, is not to be despised. Mention is made of this *Paul's* Martyrdom, in the *Menology*, at the 15th of *July*. *Valef.*

## C H A P. IX.

*That the Persecution was afresh renewed: And concerning Antoninus, Zebina, Germanus, and other Martyrs.*

**N**OW, after such valiant Exploits as these, perform'd by Christ's Noble Martyrs; when the Flame of Persecution was somewhat abated, and, as it were, extinguish'd by their sacred Blood; when those in *Thebais* (condemn'd for [their Confession of] Christ to labour in the Mines there,) were permitted to enjoy rest and liberty; and when we hoped to see some few calm and serene days; then did \* He (who \* The Devil. had gotten the power of persecuting) re-afume his Rage against the Christians, upon what account, or by what impulse, I know not. For, on a sudden, *Maximinus's* Edicts against us were sent to all places throughout every Province:



Province: And the Presidents and (a) *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* by Injunctions, Letters, and publick Orders excited the \* *Curators* in every City, the *Magistrates* and (b) *Tabularii* to put in execution the Imperial Edict, (c) which contained an Order, That the decay'd Idol-Temple should with all diligence be repaired; that all persons, Men, Women, Servants, and young Children should be compell'd to do Sacrifice, and by all means imaginable forced to eat part of the Flesh which had been offer'd; that the Provisions expos'd to sale in the Markets should be defiled with such things as had been sacrificed; and that some should be order'd to sit and watch before the [publick] Baths, to the end they might pollute such as came to cleanse themselves therein, with the execrable Sacrifices. Whilst these things were after this manner put in execution, the Anxieties of the Christians, as it was likely, were renew'd and increased: Yea, the *Gentiles* that were Unbelievers [look'd upon] what was done to be intolerable, and condemned these Barbarities, as absurd and too outrageous: For, even to them such Actions seem'd abominable and odious. When [therefore] such a fierce Storm [of Persecution] was impendent on all persons every-where, the Divine Power of our Saviour did again infuse so great a courage and confidence into his Champions, that, when nobody induced or urged them to it, they contemned these high Menaces of their Adversaries. Wherefore, three Believers with a joynt consent rush in upon the President then offering Sacrifice to Idols, and call out to him to desist from his error: For there is [said they] no other God, but he that is the Framer and Maker of all things. Being hereupon ask'd who they were, they boldly profess'd themselves to be Christians: At which *Firmilianus* was highly exasperated, and pass'd sentence of death upon them, (d) without inflicting on them any previous tortures. One of these was a Presbyter, by name (e) *Antoninus*; the name of the second was *Zebinas*, by Country an *Eleutheropolitan*; the

See Book 9. Chap. 1. & 9. where *Eusebius* speaks of *Sabinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin*.

\* See Book. Chap. 11. Note (b.)

(b) These Officers had in their custody the publick Tables, or Rolls of the Cities, and look'd after the accounts of the Tribute. They were first call'd *Numerarii*: Afterwards *Valens* made a Law, that they should be call'd *Tabularii*. See *Valesius's* Notes on *Amm. Marcell.* Book 28. pag. 348.

(c) In Read of [περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς,] as it is in *Robert Stephens's* Copy; in the *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil MSS.* the reading is [κατεσκευασμένης,] which contained an Order that, &c.] which is the better reading: For *Eusebius* here relates the Contents of *Maximin's* Edict. *Vales.*

(d) *Eusebius* notes this, as a thing new, and unusual; not that he design'd to praise *Firmilianus* the President's Clemency, because he did not torture the Martyrs; but he would hereby shew the Precipitancy and Rage of the Man; in regard he commanded, the Martyrs (who had provoked and confuted him) should be immediately led away to be put to death, without suffering any tortures before their execution; as the common usage was. For the *Roman* Judges did usually torture the Christian Martyrs before they dispatch'd them, to the end those valiant Champions might not finish their lives by too easie a death. Nor was this usually done to the Martyrs only; but generally as often as any heinous Offenders were brought to examination, they were first tortured. And although the guilty Person confess'd the fact, yet did not the Judge presently order him to be releas'd from his tortures; but continued to inquire out the Consequences: For example, how often he had done the fact, with what weapons, and in what places: Then he questioned him about his Companions and Accomplices. See *Tertullian*, in his Book *Ad Nationes*; and in his *Apologetic*, Chap. 2. *Vales.*

(e) In the *Greeks Menology*, this Man is called *Antonius*, where (besides *Zebinus* and *Germanus*) there is a fourth Companion of theirs named, to wit, *Nicephorus*. For the 12th day of *November* this passage occurs: The birth-day of the holy Martyrs *Antonius* and his fellows, who were [put to death] in the times of *Maximinus*. *Antonius* was an old Man; *Nicephorus*, *Zebinas*, and *Germanus* were in the flower of their age. They were taken at *Cæsarea*, and after they had boldly confessed *Christ*, were slain. Here you see, the Author of the *Menology* has rendred *πρεσβύτερος* an old Man, not a Presbyter. *Vales.*

third was called *Germanus*. On the thirteenth day of the Month *Dius*, that is on the *Ides* of *November*, all this was done to these persons. On the same day they had a Fellow-traveller added to their

number, a Woman of *Scythopolis*, by name (f) *Ennathas*, who was adorn'd with the (g) Badge of Virginity. She had not indeed done what the former [three] did, but was carried by force and

(f) In the *Greek Menology* she is called *Manathos*. *Vales.*

(g) *Eusebius* means a little Mitre of purple-coloured-wool; which was the badge of profess'd Virginity, as *Optatus* informs us, in his sixth Book. *Vales.*

set before the Judge. Therefore, after she had been scourged and most grossly abused; (all which injurious usages were audaciously perpetrated, without any order from the superior Magistracy, by one of the *Tribunes* in the neighbourhood, call'd *Maxys*, a Man worse than his name, one indeed that was stout and of an undaunted courage, but as to his Morals, in all respects very impious, of a cruel disposition, and odious to all his Acquaintance. This Fellow stripp'd the Blessed Virgin stark naked, (in such a manner that she was cover'd only from her Loins down to her Feet, but the rest of her Body was bare;) led her round the City *Cæsarea*, and look'd upon it as a piece of Gallantry to dragg her through all the Market-places in the City, and scourge her;) after [I say] she had endured so many stripes, having given a demonstration of her most undaunted courage and constancy of Mind before the Presidents Tribunal, the Judge commanded she should be burnt alive. This \* Man improved his Inhumanity and Rage, shewn towards God's Worshippers, to the height, and transgress'd even the Laws of nature; for he was not ashamed of denying burial to the dead Bodies of those sacred persons. Upon which account he gave order, that the dead bodies (which were expos'd in the open Air, to be devoured by Wild-Beasts,) should be carefully guarded Night and Day: And you might have seen for many days together no small number of Men, busily obeying this beastly and barbarous order: Some of whom (as if this had been a matter of high concern and moment) watch'd on a Tower, that the Dead might not be stoln away. Also, the Wild-Beasts, Dogs, and Fowls that prey'd on flesh, scatter'd here and there pieces of Men's Bodies: And the whole City was strew'd all over with Men's Bowels and Bones. So that, nothing did ever seem more cruel and horrid, even to those who before had been our Enemies; all persons bemoaning not so much their calamitous condition towards whom these things were done, as the abuse that was put upon themselves, and on Mankind in general. For, even to the very Gates [of the City] such a Spectacle was propos'd to publick view, as surpass'd all the bounds of expression, and exceeded any the most tragical relation; [to wit] the flesh of Men's Bodies, which were devour'd not in one place, but lay scatter'd every-where. Yea, some affirm'd they saw Limbs of Men, whole Bodies, and pieces of Bowels even within the City. After these [horrid Butcheries] had been practis'd for many days together, there happen'd this Miracle. The Weather was fair, the Air clear, and the whole Face of Heaven most serene and bright; when, on a sudden, from all the Columns which under-propp'd the publick Galleries throughout the City, there fell many drops, in the form of Tears: And the Market-place and Streets, (no moisture having falln from the Air,) were wet and besprinkled with Water which came from an unknown place. In so much that a report was immediately spread

\* The President.



Maximianus.

amongst all people, that the Earth, unable to bear the horrid Impieties then committed, did shed Tears in an inexplicable manner; and that the Stones and senseless matter wept at what was done, to reprove the barbarous and unmerciful Dispositions of Men. This thing will, I doubt not, be look'd upon as fabulous and a ridiculous story by succeeding Generations: But they did not account it such, who had the certainty thereof confirmed to them by the authority of those times in which it happened.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Peter the Asceta, Asclepius the Marcionite, and other Martyrs.

ON the fourteenth Day of the following Month, called *Appellæus*, which is before the nineteenth of the *Calends* of *January*, some other *Egyptians*, (going to minister to the Confessors in *Cilicia*) were apprehended by those persons, that were set at the Gates [of the City] to examine such as passed by: Part of whom received the same sentence with those they were going to minister to, having their Eyes and Feet rendred useless. But three of them were put into bonds at the City *Ascalon*, where after they had given an admirable demonstration of their Courage, they finish'd their lives by a different sort of Martyrdom. One of them, by name *Ares*, was burnt to death: The other two, whose names were (a) *Probus* and *Elias*, were beheaded. On the eleventh day of the month *Audynæus*, which is before the third of the *Ides* of *January*, (b) *Peter* the *Asceta*, called also *Apselamus*, (who came from *Aneas* a Village that lies near to *Eleutheropolis*,) being refined by Fire like the purest Gold, exhibited an illustrious proof of his Faith in God's Christ, at the City *Cæsarea*. For when the Judge and those about him intreated him earnestly to be compassionate towards himself, and take pity upon his own youthfulness and vigour; he contemned [their Exhortations,] and preferred his confidence in the supream God before all things, yea, even Life itself. Together with this person [suffered] one *Asclepius*, (reported to have been a Bishop of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, out of a zeal to Piety, (as he thought,) but such an one as was not according to knowledge,) and finished his life in the same fiery Pile. These things were performed after this manner.

(a) In the Greek this Man's name is *Promus*: But, I suppose, it should be *Probus*. For I never met with such a proper name as *Promus*. This mistake arose from hence; in ancient MSS. *Be-tai* is usually written like *Aij*. In the *Fuk* and *Sav*. MSS. 'tis *Probus*. Valef.

(b) Mention is made of this Person in the *Greek Meneæ*, at the 14th of *October*; although *Eusebius* says he suffered on the 3d of the *Ides* of *January*. In the *Meneum* he is called *Aufselamus*: But, in the *Menology* *Anselamus* is, by a mistake, put for *Aufselamus*, or *Abselamus*: The import of the passage there is this; *On the same day is the Commemoration of the holy Martyr Petrus Anselamus of Eleutheropolis, who being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous mind, behaved himself most admirably in the conflicts he underwent for Religion; and, having despised earthly things, was by fire offered up as a victim well-pleasing to God, in the sixth year of Dioclesian's and Maximian's Empire. In which passage, this is observable, that the sixth year of Dioclesian's Empire is put for the sixth year of the Persecution.* Valef.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Pamphilus, and twelve other Martyrs.

(a) Symeon (a) THE time now calls upon me to record that great and famous Spectacle, which they [exhibited] who were perfected by Martyrdom

(a) Symeon Metaphra- ses has transcri-

together with *Pamphilus*, [a person] whose name and memory I have a great honour and high esteem for. They were in all twelve, being vouchsafed a (b) Prophetick, or rather Apostolick Grace, and equal to 'em in number; *Pamphilus* was their Principal, the only person amongst them that was adorn'd with the honour of a Presbytership in the Church at *Cæsarea*: (c) A man eminent for all manner of Virtue, even throughout his whole life; [whether we consider] his renunciation and contempt of the World, or the liberal contributions [he made] of his Goods to those that were necessitous; or his disregard of worldly preferments and expectations; or, lastly, his Philosophick, severe, and *Ascetick* course of life. But, he was most especially eminent, even beyond all men in our times, for his earnest and unwearied studies in the sacred Scriptures, for his indefatigable assiduity about

those things he proposed to himself to do, and for the good offices he did to his Relations and all other persons that made their addresses to him. This person's other virtues and egregious performances, which require a larger relation, we have already comprized in *three Books*, being a peculiar Work which we wrote concerning his life. If therefore any are desirous of knowing these things more fully, we remit them thither; at present (d) let us prosecute our subsequent Narration concerning the Martyrs. The second person, after *Pamphilus*, that entered the combat, was *Valens*, a Deacon of *Ælia*, honourable for his holy gray Hairs, and as to his aspect a venerable old Man; better skill'd in the sacred Scriptures than any of the rest. For he had imprinted them in his memory so perfectly, (f) that no difference could be discerned between his reading out of a Book, and repeating by heart, whole pages of any part of sacred Writ. The third person, famous amongst them, was *Paul*, born at the City *Jamnia*, a man very fervent and zealous in acting, and filled with a warmth and ardour of Spirit. Before his Martyrdom he had been engaged in the Combat of Confession, having endured the scaring [of his flesh] with red-hot Irons. After these persons had spent two years time in prison, the arrival of some other *Egyptians* Brethren was

after his Books Concerning *Pamphilus's* Life, and after his *Ecclesiastick Hist.* Valef.

(e) There may be a double meaning given of these Words. For the import of them may be, either that *Ælia* was *Valens's* Country, or that he was a Deacon of the Church of *Ælia*. *Symeon Metaphra- ses* followed this latter sense, as appears from his Words. The like ambiguity I took notice of before, Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (a) where we spoke concerning *Sanctus* a Deacon of *Vienna*. Valef.

(f) 'Tis easily discernable, that the Greek Text is here corrupted; I suppose it may be thus amended; *ὡς μὴ ἐνδεῖν τῆς διὰ χειρὸς ἀπομνημονεύσεως, τὸ ἥς ποτε αὐτὸς ἀπὸ λαλοῦντος διασέθεν αὐτὸν ἀπομνημονεύσαι διὰ τοῦ στόματος* which reading we have followed in our Version; and it agrees with *Symeon Metaphra- ses's* interpretation, as 'tis evident from *Gentianus Hervetus's* Translation in *Lipomanus's* Edition at the month of *February*; see Note (a) in this Chapter. But *Hervetus* has rendred *ἀπομνημονεύσαι*, to get by heart; whereas that term signifies, to recite by heart, as we observed before. Valef.

bed this whole Relation of the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus* and his Companions, out of our *Eusebius*; adding some things, and altering others, as he usually does. But he seems to have been furnished with more perfect Copies of *Eusebius*, than those we now have, which will manifestly appear to the Reader; who may meet with *Metaphra- ses's* account hereof in that Latin Version of him; which *Lipomanus* and *Surius* put forth; Tome the third, at the first of June; pag. 139. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581. Valef.

(b) He means the *Minor Prophets*, who were twelve in number: This passage is more clearly exprest in *Metaphra- ses*, thus: *It is worth our while to admire the number of the Men, which represents a certain Prophetick and Apostolick Grace. For, it happened that they were in all twelve; of the same number with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, as we are informed.* Valef.

(c) This passage also is more perfect in *Metaphra- ses*, after this manner: *He was Pamphilus, a Man truly pious, loving and friendly towards all Men, really demonstrating the truth of his name; [the import of Pamphilus, is, friend to all men:] the ornament of the Church at Cæsarea, &c. See Lipomanus and Surius's Version of Metaphra- ses at the fore-cited place.* Valef.

(d) In the *Mar. Mel.* and *Fuk.* MSS. 'tis *ἐχθροῦ*, let us prosecute. (e) In the *Imperative* Mood. (f) Moreover hence we may make this manifest collection, to wit, that this Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine was written after his



**Maximianus.** the occasion of their Martyrdom, who also suffer'd with them. These Egyptians had accompanied the Confessors sent into Cilicia, to the Mines there. As they were returning to their own Country, at the entrance of the Gates of Casarea they were examin'd (in the same manner with those before-mention'd) by the Guard (men of a barbarous disposition) who they were, and whence they came; and, having concealed nothing of the truth, as if they had been Malefactors taken in the very act, they were put into bonds. They were five in number; and when they were brought before the Tyrant, and had spoken boldly and freely in his presence, they were forthwith committed to prison. The next day (which was the 19th of the month Peritius, according to the Roman account before the 14th of the Calends of March,) order was given, that they, together with Pamphilus and his foremention'd Companions, should be brought before the Judge. In the first place, he made tryal of the Egyptians invincible

(f) *Εὐσεβίου* (the term here used) seems to be taken passively, for *εὐσεβισμός*. For Eusebius's meaning is, that Firmilianus the Judge was well versed in passing such sentences, and in extracting examinations by tortures. But because the same term is taken in an active sense hereafter in this chapter, it ought also to be taken so here. By the term [*ῥάβδος*] Eusebius means, the scourges and tortures. Valef.

(h) These selves by names different from those given them by their Parents, which were perhaps the names of Idols; therefore you might have heard them name themselves Elias, Jeremiab, Isaiab, Samuel, or Daniel, representing not only by their actions, but by their proper names also, the true and genuine Israel (h) of God, which [consists] of those that are (i) inwardly Jews.) After, [I say,] Firmilianus had heard the Martyr give himself such a name, being wholly unacquainted with the powerful import thereof, in the second place he enquir'd, what Countryman he was: The Martyr express'd himself in this his second reply agreeable to his former answer, and said, Jerusalem was his Country; meaning that Jerusalem, of which Paul speaks—\*But Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all: And [in another place,]

(i) Eusebius alludes to that passage in St. Paul, (Rom. 2. 28, 29.) where the Apostle makes two sorts of Jews: Some that were Jews *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς*, outwardly; others that were such *ἐν καρδίᾳ*, inwardly: The former, as he affirms, are not truly Jews, because they observed the bodily Ceremonies only of the Law: The latter are really Jews; whose Circumcision is that of the Heart in the Spirit, and not in the Letter. See Origen, Chap. 1. Philocal. Valef.

\* Galat. 4. 26. † Heb. 12. 22.

the heavenly Jerusalem: The Martyr meant this [Jerusalem.] But the Judge, having his mind depressed with low and terrene thoughts, was extraordinarily inquisitive what City this was, and in what Country it lay. Then he applied tortures, that he might [force him thereby to] confess the truth. But he, having both his hands wrested behind his back, and his Feet broken with certain new Engines [of torture,] stiffly affirm'd, that he spoke true. Again, being after this often asked, what City that he spoke of was, and where it lay, he replied, that that was their Country only, who were God's Worshipers: For none but they should enter it; and it was situate Eastward, and towards the rising Sun. After this manner did the Martyr Philosophize again, agreeable to his own sentiments,

wholly disregarding those that on all sides were tormenting of him: But, as if he had had neither Flesh nor Body, seem'd to be altogether insensible of his tortures. But the Judge, doubtful and perplexed in his Mind, was in a great rage, supposing that the Christians were about erecting a City that would be an Enemy, and in an hostile manner oppose the Romans. Upon which account he was very diligent in his enquiries about it, and in searching out that Country in the East spoken of [by the Martyr.] But when he perceived that the young man (after he had torn him with innumerable stripes, and inflicted on him tortures of all sorts,) was immutable and firmly persisted in what he had said before, he pass'd sentence of death upon him. Thus were the tragick [Cruelties,] used towards this Martyr, concluded: And when he had practised the like Preface of Tortures upon the rest, he destroy'd them by the same sort of death. Being then wearied out, and perceiving that he did in vain inflict tortures upon these

men, (k) when his desires were satiated, he pass'd to Pamphilus and his Companions. And [although] he had by experience found, that in defence of their Faith they had before demonstrated an acuity of mind not to be vanquish'd by tortures; [yet] he again asked them, whether they would now be obedient to the Imperial commands; and when he could get nothing out of any one of them, besides that last confession which is made in Martyrdom, he condemn'd them to undergo the same punishment with the foremention'd Martyrs. These things being finished, a Youth, (l) one that belong'd to Pamphilus's Family, (in regard he had been educated under the genuine discipline and converse of so eminent a person;) as soon as he understood that sentence [was pronounc'd] against his Master, called aloud out of the midst of the crowd, and requested that their dead-bodies might be interr'd. But [the Judge, (who deserves not to be called a Man] but a wild Beast, or any Creature else [that can be thought] more

fierce than a wild Beast) shew'd no compassion towards his youthful years; and, having found, upon his bare asking the young man that he confess'd himself a Christian; swell'd with rage as if he had been wounded by some Dart, order'd the Torturers to make use of their utmost force against him. But after he saw, that he refused to be obedient to his commands in offering sacrifice, he order'd that his flesh (as if it had not been the body of a Man, but either Stones, or Wood, or some such senseless thing) should without any intermission be torn even to his very bones and inmost recesses of his Bowels. Which being performed for a long time together, the Judge perceived his attempts were vain; [for although] his Body was mangled all over with the tortures, [yet] he

(k) Eusebius seems to mean Firmilianus's desire of knowing from the Egyptian Martyrs, where that Jerusalem was, which they called their Country. Whence we may make this remark by the by, that 'tis sufficiently evident, (as we observed before, Book 4. Chap. 6. Note (e)) there was no City upon Earth at that time called Jerusalem. Otherwise Firmilianus President of Palestine, would never have been so earnest in his enquiries of the Martyrs, where Jerusalem was situated. But, the Greek term [*ἱερουσόλα*] cannot, I think, be taken in that sense I have mentioned. Indeed, this place is obscure, and (if I mistake not) faulty. Therefore Symeon Metaphrastes, when he transcribed this passage from Eusebius, on set purpose omitted these words. Valef.

(l) At this place Symeon Metaphrastes adds some words, which deserve to be set down here. *Nondum autem dictum, &c.* [The Judge] had scarce made an end of speaking, when a young Man, belonging to Pamphilus's family, called out at some distance; and, coming out of the midst of the crowd into the presence of those who sat round in the place of Judicature, requested that their Bodies might be interr'd. This was the Blessed Porphyrius, one of Pamphilus's own breeding, not full eighteen years old, [a Youth] well-skilled in the Art of Writing; but one that concealed these praises by his modest behaviour, in regard he had been educated under so eminent a person. Valef.



*Maximus.* he continued silent, and was as insensible of pain, as if he had in a manner been lifeless. [Nevertheless] the Judge, still persevering in his merciless and inhuman cruelty, immediately condemned him to be burnt (in the same habit he was

(m) In stead of [*μακρὸν πυρ*], a fire at a distance] *Christopherson* seems to have read [*μαλακῶ πυρ*], a flow, or remiss fire: See his Translation. *Hervetus* also has rendred it thus, *Pronuntiat sententiam ut tradatur molli & lento igni*, he pronounc'd sentence upon him, that he should be set into [and consumed by] a soft and gentle fire. The same is confirmed by *Eusebius's* following Words: For he says, that *Porphyrius* was fastened to a Stake, and that the Pile, which lay round him, but at some distance, was kindled; that so the Martyr might be consumed by a slack fire. We read of the same sort of punishment in the passion of *Pionius*, and of other Martyrs. *Eusebius* uses [*μακρὸν πυρ*] in the same sense hereafter, where he mentions *Julianus*. Further, we must take notice that both *Porphyrius* and *Julianus* were *Catechumens*; as *Metaphrastes* informs us. *Valef.*

confidence: He was most truly filled with the Divine Spirit; and, being clad in a \* Philosopher's habit, (having only a Garment wrapt about him, in fashion like unto a (n) Cloak, with a calm and sedate Mind he gave commands to those of his acquaintance, and dispatch'd whatever he had a mind to do; retaining the serenity of his Countenance, even when he was at the very Stake. Moreover, when the Pile, which lay at a sufficient distance, was kindled round about him, with his Mouth he attracted the flame on every side of him: And after this one expression, which he uttered when the flame began to touch him, [to wit,] *invoking Jesus the Son of God to be his helper*, he most courageously continued silent even to the very last gasp. Such was *Porphyrius's* combat: Whole Confirmation *Seleucus* a Confessor that had formerly been a Soldier, having related to *Pamphilus*; as being the conveyer of such a message, he was immediately vouchsafed to be joyned in the same lot with the Martyrs: For he had no sooner related *Porphyrius's* death, and saluted one of the Martyrs with a kiss, but some of the Soldiers seize him, and carry him before the President. Who, as if he resolved to hasten *Seleucus*, that he might be *Porphyrius's* Companion in his journey to Heaven, forthwith order'd he should undergo a capital punishment. This [*Seleucus*] was born in *Cappadocia*, but had attained no mean degree of honour amongst the choicest young men that belong'd to the *Roman Milice*.

(e) *ἡλικία* is the term in the original; it peculiarly imports that Age, which is fit for warfare; which *Livy* styles *militarem aetatem*, the military Age; beginning from the seventeenth year of a Man's age, says *Plutarch* (in *Graccho*.)

shape of his whole body greatly admired, upon account both of his stature and comeliness. About the beginning of the Persecution, he was eminently famous for his enduring stripes in the combat of Confession: But after he had left off his military course of life, he became a zealous Emula-

tor of those that were (p) *Ascetæ* in their Studies, and Exercises of Piety; and, like a Father, and a Patron, demonstrated himself to be an Overseer as it were, and an helper of desolate Orphans and Widows that were destitute of assistance, and of those that were reduced to poverty and sickness. Wherefore, by God (who is more delighted with such [performances] as these, than with the smoke and blood of Sacrifices) he was deservedly accounted worthy of that admirable and high calling, [to wit,] *Martyrdom*. This was the tenth Champion, who, after the others before-mention'd, ended his life on the very same day; whereon (as it is probable) the great Gate of Heaven was open'd by the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, (suitable to the worth of that person) which gave both him, and his Companions, an easie entrance into the Celestial Kingdom. Also, *Theodulus* (a venerable and pious old man, belonging to the President's own Family, for whom *Firmilianus* had a greater esteem than for all his other Domesticks; partly upon account of his age, having seen his Children to the third Generation; and partly in respect of the singular affection and conscionable fidelity, which he had continually retain'd towards him;) having follow'd *Seleucus's* steps, and performed the same things that he did, was brought before his Master, against whom he was more exasperated than against any of the former [Martyrs;] and being forthwith put upon a Cross, he underwent the same sort of Martyrdom our Saviour suffered. Moreover, one being yet wanting, who might render the number of the foresaid Martyrs compleatly twelve, *Julianus* intervned to make up their number. At that very interim he was coming from a remote Country, and had not entred the City; but, being informed [of the slaughter] of the Martyrs, ran immediately (in the same habit he had on) out of the road, to see that spectacle. When he saw the dead Bodies of those holy persons lying upon the ground, being filled with an extraordinary joy, he embraced every one of them, and kissed them all. Whilst he was doing this, the [Soldiers] that were the Instruments to commit those Murders, apprehend him, and bring him to *Firmilianus*. He, doing herein what was agreeable to his [usual cruelty,] order'd that this person also should be consumed by a flow fire. Thus was *Julianus* also accounted worthy [to receive] the Crown of Martyrdom, leaping for joy, and being exceeding glad; and with a loud voice giving great thanks to the Lord, who had vouchsafed him so great an honour. This *Julianus* was by Country a *Cappadocian*; as to his Morals, he was eminently pious and circumspect, and famous for his most genuine and sincere Faith: He was very active and diligent in all things, being inspired by the Holy Ghost. Such was the File [of Martyrs,] who were vouchsafed to arrive at Martyrdom in company with *Pamphilus*. The holy, and truly sacred Bodies of these persons were, by the impious President's order, watch'd for the space of four days, and as many nights, and exposed to be devour'd by

amils, in that he supposed by the term [*ἀσκητῶν*] Monks were meant. For, at that time there were no Monks; or, if there were any they differed much from the *Ascetæ*. For Monks (as their name, *Μοναχὶ*, denotes) affected solitude: But the *Ascetæ* did converse publicly in the Cities. Whoever therefore lived a more strict and severe course of life according to the Precepts of the Gospel, and left all they had, upon God's account, were termed *Ascetæ*: Thus one *Peter* is called *Asceta*, and a Virgin is termed *Ascetria*, before in this Book of *Eusebius*: Should any one term these Monks, doubtless he would be much mistaken. *St. Jerom* says expressly, that there was no Monk in *Palestine* before *Hilarion*. But *Peter*, the *Asceta*, lived in *Palestine* long before *Hilarion's* time. *Valef.*



by Beasts that prey on Flesh. But when (as it miraculously happen'd) no Wild-Beast, or Fowl, or Dog approach'd them [during that time,] at last (Divine Providence so ordering the matter,) they were taken away whole and untorn; and, having been allow'd such Funeral Rites as befitted them, received the usual Interment. Whilst the discourse concerning the [President's] furious rage against these persons was yet rife in all Mens mouths, *Adrianus* and *Eubulus* (arriving, from that Country called *Manganau*, at *Cæsarea*, to give a visit to the rest of the Confessors,) were examined also at the Gate of the City, for what reason they came thither. And, having confessed the truth, they were brought before *Firmilianus*: He (as he had usually done before) was in no wise dilatory in his Proceedings towards them also; but after he had furrow'd their Sides with many tortures, condemned them to be devour'd by Wild-Beasts. Therefore, after two days space, on the fifth of the month *Dystrus*, (that is, before the third of the *Nones* of *March*, the day whereon the nativity of the *Genius* (as the Heathens account it) is celebrated at *Cæsarea*, *Adrianus* was cast to a Lyon; after which a Sword was thrust through his Body, and so he ended his life. On the next day after save one, that is, on the very *Nones* of *March*, which is the seventh of the month *Dystrus*, *Eubulus* (after the Judge had entreated him with much earnestness, that by offering Sacrifice he would procure for himself that which they account liberty,) preferring a glorious Death for his Religion before this transitory Life, (when he had been exposed to the Wild-Beasts, and been made a Sacrifice after the same manner with the former Martyr,) was the last that closed up the Combats of the Martyrs at *Cæsarea*. Moreover, it will be worthy our recording here, how Divine Providence soon after punished these impious Presidents, together with the Tyrants themselves. For *Firmilianus*, who had been so reproachfully outrageous against Christ's Martyrs, having with some others been adjudg'd to undergo a capital punishment, was beheaded. And these were the Martyrdoms, accomplish'd at *Cæsarea*, during the whole time of the Persecution.

on lately published by the Learned *Leo Allatius*. Also the Temple of the *Genius* at *Antiochia* is mentioned by *Julian* in *Misopog.* which passage we cited before. The *Genius* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* had its Temple; concerning which see *Gregor. Naz. in his first Invektive against Julian*, pag. 91. and in his 19th *Oration*, pag. 309. The *Genius* was a tutelar God, that (as the Heathens thought) had undertaken the particular protection of any City, or Town. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XII.

### Concerning the Prelates of the Churches.

**B**UT, what happen'd to be done in relation to the Prelates of Churches (a) during this interval of time, and afterwards; how, instead of being continued Pastors of Christ's Rational Flock, which they had not rightly and duly governed, Divine Justice, judging them as it were they were to be understood concerning the time of the Persecution; I am not of his mind. For *Eusebius* speaks concerning what happened, when the fury of the Persecution was in some measure abated. Therefore [*ἐν τέραις*] signifies *postea*, afterwards; according to *Eusebius's* usual way of expressing himself, both in other places, and also hereafter in this Chapter. The following Words [*ἡ δὲ πᾶσι ἐν μέσῳ χρόνῳ*] denote the whole interval of time from the beginning of the Persecution to its seventh year, as *Eusebius* informs us in the following Chapter. *Vales.*

fit for such Offices, condemn'd them to be employ'd in looking after (b) Camels, a brutish sort of Creatures, whose Bodies are naturally crooked and mis-shapen; and how it adjudged them to be Keepers of the Emperor's Horses; also, what and how great Injuries, Dishonours, and Tortures they suffered from such, as during those times were the Emperor's *Procurators*, and Governours of Provinces, upon account of the sacred Vessels and Treasures belonging to the Church; moreover, the ambitious desires of many, the inconsiderate and illegal Ordinations, and the Schisms amongst the (c) Confessors themselves; besides, what those modern raisers of Disturbances with much earnestness attempted against the remains of the Church, introducing innovations successively one after another, being without intermission Authors of Evils even in the midst of the Calamities caused by the Persecution, and heaping Mischiefs upon Mischiefs: All this [I say] I think fit to omit, a relation hereof being in my judgment inconvenient, and which (as I said in the (d) beginning of this Book) I do altogether dislike, and am resolved to avoid. Supposing it therefore to be most accommodate for an History concerning the admirable Martyrs, to speak, write, and instil into the Ears of Believers what ever is of importance to, and commendable in, our Religion, and those passages which are virtuous and praise-worthy; I thought good to adorn the close of this Book with [a Relation of] that Peace, which afterwards appeared to us from Heaven.

Altho' in that place of the *Pandects*, the Emperor's Camels are not spoken of, but those Camels are meant belonging to every City, which were used to fetch Wood and other burthens; as appears from the 18th *Law*, in the said *Title*. But *Eusebius* does here speak of the Emperor's Horses and Camels, to the feeding whereof some Bishops were condemned. Now, there is a great difference between these two Offices. For the former was a civil Office, to which the *Decurions* of the *white Order* were promoted, as 'tis said in the fore-quoted *Law*. But the latter was a penal servitude, to which Criminals were condemned, as may be collected from *Eusebius's* words here. Moreover, these *Camelarii* (keepers of Camels) were under his care and dispose, that was the *Comes rei private*, (i. e. the *Treasurer of the Privy-purse to the Emperor*; see *Vales. Notes on Ann. Marcell.* book 22. pag. 207.) under whom were the *Masters of the Flocks*, and of the *Stables*; as appears from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. See the *Acts of Marcellus* the Pope. *Vales.*

(c) He means the Schism between *Aletheus Lycopolitanus* and *Peter* Bilop of *Alexandria*; concerning which see *Athanadius* and *Epiphanius*. He means also *Donatus's* Schism in *Africa*, against *Cecilianus* the Bishop. *Vales.*

(d) The place *Eusebius* here speaks of is not to be found in this Book. Whence 'tis apparent, that this Book, concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, is imperfect. Any body may perceive that the beginning of it is wanting. But this defect may be made up from Chap. 2. Book 8. of the *Ecclesiastick History*, where *Eusebius* says that, which he mentions here, as spoken of before by himself. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XIII.

### Concerning Silvanus, John, and Thirty nine other Martyrs.

**T**HE seventh Year of the Persecution against us was now compleated; and our Affairs, (having by little and little obtain'd some thing of a tendency towards a quiet posture by an abatement of their Heats who had been our malicious Detractors,) proceeded on to the eighth year, when no small number of Confessors were gather'd together about the *Bras Mines* in *Palestine*, and enjoy'd their liberty to such a degree, that they erected Buildings to make Churches of: [But] the Governour of the Province (a cruel and wicked person, as he manifested himself to be, upon account of what he did against the Martyrs) making a journey thither, and being inform'd of their



Maximi-  
nus.

their way of living in that place, acquainted the Emperor therewith, writing what he judged suitable to calumniate them. Afterwards, the Governour of the Mines came thither, and (as if he had had an Imperial Order so to do,) having separated that Company of Confessors, allotted Cyprus to be the place of habitation for some of them, and Libanus for others. He dispersed others of them in several places throughout Palestine, and gave order they should all be wearied out with various sorts of laborious Employments. Then he pick'd out four, which seem'd to be the most eminent persons amongst them, and sent them to the Commander in Chief of the Military Forces in those parts. Two of these were Egyptian Bishops, by name Pelus and

(a) His name was Helius; who together with Paternuthius, was burnt to death; as 'tis recorded in the Greek *Menaea*, at the 17th of September. Photius mentions Paternuthius, in his *Biblioth.* Chap. 118; where he speaks of the Books written by Pamphilus the Martyr, during his imprisonment, in defence of Origen. Valef.

Nilus; the third was a (a) Presbyter; and the fourth was Paternuthius, a person signally renown'd amongst all men upon account of his sedulity in doing all men good offices. This Commander, having ask'd these men to renounce their Religion, and not ob-

(b) By these Words Eusebius seems to declare, that this Silvanus was not Bishop of Gaza: For Eusebius only says that Silvanus was born at Gaza, and made Bishop over those Christians that wrought in the Mines in Palestine. The Greeks (in their *Menaea*, at the 14th of October) seem to have taken these Words of Eusebius in this sense. For they say that Silvanus was Presbyter of the Church at Gaza: And after he had suffered most acere tortures at Gaza, was condemned to the Mines, where the Office of a Bishop was conferred on him by the Christians. So the *Menaea*. But Eusebius (in Book 9, Chap. 13.) does expressly call him Bishop of Gaza. Valef.

\* This John is mentioned in the *Menaeum*, at the twentieth of September. Valef.

tain his request, order'd they should be burnt to death. Again, there were others at the same place, (who were allotted a particular Country to inhabit in by themselves,) to wit, such of the Confessors, as either by reason of their age, or the mangling of their Members, or because of other bodily Infirmities, were freed from doing service in those laborious employments. The principal among these was Silvanus, (b) a Bishop born at Gaza, a person that demonstrated himself to be a truly religious and most genuine Example of the Christian Profession. This man after he had been signally eminent in all sorts of conflicts [undergone upon account] of Confession, from the very first day (as I may say) of the Persecution, and during the whole time it lasted, was reserved for this opportunity, that he might in the last place seal up as it were all the Combats [of the Martyrs] in Palestine. Many Egyptians were with him; amongst whom there was one \* John, who for strength of Memory far surpass'd all Men of our age. This Man had been deprived of his Eye-sight before. Nevertheless, in the conflicts of Confession (wherein he got great renown) when one of his Feet (after the same manner that others were served) was rendred useless by being seared with red-hot Irons; his Eyes also (altho' he could not then see) were burnt out with Searing-irons: To such an height of cruelty and inhumanity had the merciless and incompassionate Executioners then arrived in their carriage [towards the Christians!]. 'Tis needless to extol this Man for his Morals, and the Philosophick Life he led, especially since he was not so admirable upon that account, as for his strength of Memory; [for] he had whole Books of the sacred Scriptures written (not on Tables of Stone, as the Divine Apostle says, nor on Parchments, or Paper, which are devoured by Moths and time, but) on the fleshy Tables of his Heart, that is,

on his bright Soul, [which were legible] to the most clear Eye of his Mind. In so much that, whenever he pleased, he could produce out of his Mouth, as it were out of a Treasury of Learning, sometimes the Books of the Law and those of the Prophets, another while the Historical parts of Scripture, and again at other times the Evangelick and Apostolick Writings. I was, I confess, amazed, when I first saw this Man standing in the midst of a numerous Ecclesiastick Congregation, and repeating some parts of the Divine Scripture. For as long as I could only hear his voice, I supposed him to have read what is usually rehearsed in such Assemblies. But when I approach'd very near, and saw plainly what was done, to wit, all the rest [in the Assembly] standing round, and having their Eye-sight clear and perfect, and him making use of the Eyes of his Understanding only, in reality delivering Oracles like some Prophet, and far surpassing those that were sound and healthy in body; I could not forbear praising and glorifying of God. And I thought that I really beheld a firm and most evident instance to perswade me to believe, that he is to be accounted truly a Man, (not who appears so to be by the external shape of his Body, but) who is such in respect of his Mind and Understanding. For altho' this person had a mangled and deformed Body, yet he demonstrated the strength of his internal Faculties to be great and most powerful. Moreover, God himself vouchsafed to allot these forementioned persons (who, living in a place apart by themselves, spent their time according to the usual manner in Prayers, Fastings, and in the performance of other severe exercises of Religion,) a blessed and salutary death; reaching out to them his propitious Right Hand. \* But that malicious Enemy \* The Devil of all Goodness, unable to endure them any longer, in regard they were carefully arm'd against him with their continual Prayers to God, resolv'd to have them killed and removed from off the Earth, as being troublesome to him. Which God permitted him to attempt and perform; both that he should not be hindred from doing mischief, agreeable to his own mind and purpose; and that they might at length receive the Rewards of their various Combats. Thus therefore nine and thirty persons were beheaded on one and the same day, by an Order from the most impious Maximin. These were the Martyrdoms perpetrated in Palestine during the space of ten years, and such was the Persecution in our days; wherein the Churches were demolished, was much increased in the times succeeding by the Governour's Insolencies. Amidst which, their various and different Combats who were Religious Champions, made an innumerable company of Martyrs throughout every Province; to wit, in Libya, and throughout all Egypt, Syria, and all those Provinces, which reach from the East round to the Country of Illyricum. For those Regions situate beyond these now mentioned, that is, all Italy, Sicily, France, and those which lie towards the Sun-setting, Spain, Mauritania, and Africa, having not indured the rage of the Persecution full out the space of the two first years, were vouchsafed a sudden visitation from God, and [obtain'd] peace: Divine Providence taking compassion on the Simplicity and Faith of those Men. Further, an accident (a parallel to which the Records from the very first beginning of the Roman Empire cannot shew) happened now first in



*Maximianus.* in these our days, contrary to all expectation. For, during the Persecution in our times, the Empire was divided into two parts. Those Brethren which were Inhabitants of the one part, that just now mentioned, enjoy'd peace: But such as dwelt in the other part of the Empire, endured innumerable Conflicts [renew'd against them] successively. But when Divine Grace gave some Indications of its candid and compassionate Visitation of us, then those very Governours of ours (who before had been raisers of the Wars waged against us in our days,) having most miraculously altered their minds, founded a Retreat; extinguishing the flame of Persecution kindled against us, by Rescripts published in favour to us, and by mild Edicts. (c) 'Tis requisite, that we record their Retraction. *Maximianus.*

(c) The conclusion of this Book is wanting; to wit, the Retraction, of the Emperors, or *Galerius Maximianus's* Edict, ordering a stop to be put to the Persecution. But this defect may be easily made up from the last Chapter of the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

The End of *Eusebius Pamphilus's* Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine.

T H E  
N I N T H B O O K  
Of the Ecclesiastical History  
O F  
E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S.

C H A P. I.

*Concerning the counterfeited Cessation [of the Persecution.]*

**T**HIS Revocation contained in the Imperial Edict (a) mentioned before, was published in all parts of Asia, and throughout the adjacent Provinces. After which Publications thus made, *Maximin* the Eastern Tyrant, a person as impious as ever breathed, and a most deadly Enemy to the Worship of the supream God;) being in no wise pleased with these Rescripts, instead of the fore-mentioned Edict, issues out a verbal Order only to those Governours within his Jurisdiction, that they should stop the Persecution against us. For, in regard he durst not in any wise oppose the Decree of his Superiors, \* having concealed the foremention'd Edict, and taken such care, as that it should not be publicly proposed in the Provinces under his Jurisdiction; he gives order by word of mouth only to those Governours under him, that they should put a stop to the Persecution against us; of which Order they inform (b) By the words [τὰς ἀμφοτέρων ἐπαρχίας] *Christoph.* understands all the Provinces of Asia; but *Rufinus* thinks *Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia* and the rest of the Provinces bordering on every side are meant, which were under the Emperor *Galerius's* Government; excepting only the Eastern Provinces, over which *Maximinus Caesar* was Ruler. Valef.

\* *Ἐν ἀδελφύσῳ θείῳ*, we have translated *having concealed*: The Phrase is borrowed from the Attick Lawyers; ἀδελφύσῳ with them signifies that Court where Matters of small importance were adjusted, to wit, not exceeding one drachm. The Judges of this Court were the Undecemviri; This Court stood in an obscure place of the City, and hence ἐν ἀδελφύσῳ is in *Demosthenes*, and here also in our Author, us'd metaphorically, for privacy.

one another by Letters. For *Sabinus*, who was then honoured with the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* (the chiefest Office (c) among them) in a Latin Epistle to the Governours of the Provinces declared the (d) Emperor's Pleasure; *(c)* Instead of [παρ' αὐτοῖς,] with them] the reading in *Nicephorus* is [παρ' αὐτῷ,] with him, shewing that *Sabinus* was *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin*. But our Copies do all agree in the former reading, that is [with them,] in the plural number; which is the truest. For, although *Sabinus* bore the *Præfekt*ure of the *Prætorium* (which we may call the Office of Lord Chief Justice, or of Lieutenant General under the Emperor, to govern Provinces in Civil Causes; See *Panciroli* in *Notitiam Imper. Orient.* cap. 5.) under *Maximinus Caesar* in the East; yet because he was made *Præfekt* by *Galerius*, therefore he is stiled the *Præfekt* of the Emperors, meaning *Galerius* and *Maximinus*. For the *Cæsars* had not the power of creating *Præfekts*; but they were made by the *Augusti*, as may be shewn from many places in *Amm. Marcellinus*. Hence 'tis, that *Sabinus* in his Edict (which *Eusebius* does here insert) always speaks of the Emperors in the plural number, to let the Governours of particular Provinces understand, that that was the Command of the Emperors, to wit, *Galerius, Constantinus, Licinius, and Maximinus*. Also, by these words [παρ' αὐτοῖς,] may be meant the Governours of those Provinces which were under *Maximin's* jurisdiction: For *Eusebius* speaks of them in the foregoing Sentence. Indeed, this exposition seems most natural to me; but then we must render [παρ' αὐτοῖς,] not with, but amongst them; which Rendition the Greek will bear. Valef.

(d) *Rufinus* translates this place thus; *Sed Sabinus, &c. But Sabinus, who at that time was chief of the Provinces; and inserted the fore-mentioned Imperial Edict, thereby manifesting to all Men that which Maximin had attempted to conceal.* But *Rufinus* has not expressed *Eusebius's* meaning in this Rendition of his words. For *Sabinus* did not set *Galerius* the Emperor's Decree before his own Order, as it was usual for the *Præfekts* of the *Prætorium* to do; in regard *Maximin* had made it his business, that that Imperial Constitution should be concealed from those Provinces under his Government. For he was highly displeased at *Galerius's* Rescript; both in regard the Christians (whom he had hitherto most barbarously persecuted,) were delivered from his butcheries; and also because his name was not prefix'd before the fore-said Decree. For, after *Galerius's* and *Constantine's* name, *Licinius's* was set before the Rescript: But *Maximin's* name, (he being as yet but *Cæsar* only) was not there. Therefore, partly for shame, partly out of indignation, *Maximin* suppressed that Edict. But *Sabinus*



(in this Epistle of his to the Presidents of the Provinces) makes very little mention of this Constitution, because he would not displease *Maximin*. Further, by the word [Emperor] *Christophorson* thought *Maximin* was meant. But I like *Rufinus's* Version better, who supposed *Galerius* to be understood thereby; and besides, *Eusebius* usually calls *Maximin* by the name of *Tyrant*, not *Cesar*. Valef.

*Maximinus*. the Contents of which Letter we have thus translated :

The Majesty of our most sacred Lords the Emperors, by their earnest and most devout Care, have long since determined to render the Minds of all Men conformable to the true and holy Rule of Living; that by this means they who seem to have embraced Usages different from those of the Romans, might be induced to exhibit due Worship to the Immortal Gods. But the obstinate and most untractable Perverseness of some Mens Minds was arrived at such an height, that neither could the Justice of the [Imperial] Decree prevail with them to recede from their own Resolutions, nor the imminent Punishment annexed strike any terror into them. Since therefore it might have happened, that upon this account many would have precipitated themselves into danger; the Sacred Majesty of our Lords the most Puissant Emperors, (according to their innate Clemency) judging it disagreeable to their own most sacred Intent, that upon this occasion Men should be surrounded with such great danger; enjoyn'd

\* I suppose, these are the terms of honour, which these great Officers had given to them in all Addrees; and which they themselves also made use of, when they mentioned themselves in any Letters they wrote to others: The Words in the Greek are *κατασκευασται*, which *Valesius* renders *devotion*; and *εὐχρησται*, by him translated *Solertia*.

our \* Devotion to write to your Prudence: That if evidence be brought against any Christian for his following that way of Worship observed amongst those of his own Religion, you should secure him and set him free from all danger and molestation, and that you should condemn none to be

punished upon account of this pretence. For since it has been manifestly evidenced that during so long a tract of time they could by no means be persuaded to desist from their perverse Stubbornness; your Prudence therefore is enjoyn'd to write to the Curators, to the Magistrates, and to the Presidents of the Villages [belonging to] every City, that they may understand, that for the future they are not to take any further care concerning

(c) this affair.

(c) I doubt not but in stead of [κατασκευασται] this decree it ought to be [κατασκευασται] (this affair.) Which amendment *Nicephorus* confirms Book 7. Chap. 24. who has express'd this place thus, that they should not trouble themselves any further about the Christians. Valef.

Hereupon, all the Governours of Provinces, supposing that the Letter written to them [by *Sabinus*] contained [Maximin's] true and genuine meaning, did by their Letters communicate the Emperor's

pleasure to the Curators, Magistrates, and Presidents of the Villages. Nor did they urge these things to them by Letters only, but much more by such deeds, as that the Prince's Command might thereby be put in execution; bringing forth, and setting at liberty those Prisoners which they had in hold for Confession of the Faith of God; and also releasing them who had been adjudged to the punishment of working in the Mines. For they supposed that this would in

reality be well-pleasing to the \* Emperor, but herein they were mistaken. These things being thus finished, on a sudden (like some bright-shining Light which darts forth its Rays after a thick darksome Night,) you might have seen Churches gathered together throughout every

City; full Assemblies; and the usual (f) solemnities. (f) *Συνελευσεις* is here used instead of *συνελευσεις*, solemn services. *Dionysius Alexandr.* used this term in the same sense, as we noted before. There

was a twofold *Synaxis*; one of the Prayers; the other of the Sacraments. *Athanasius* mentions the former, in his *Apology to Constantius*. Valef.

lemn Services performed at these Meetings. All the Infidels were not a little astonished at these things, wondering at so great and unexpected an alteration of Affairs; and crying out, that the God of the Christians was the Great and only True God. Also, those of our Religion, who had faithfully and manfully strove in the Combat of Persecution, obtained great confidence and freedom amongst all Men. But as many as through weakness of Faith had made shipwreck of their Souls, with much earnestness ran to seek for a remedy; begging and praying for an assisting Right Hand from them that were strong, and supplicating God to be merciful to them. Moreover, soon after this, the Noble Champions of Religion, released from their servitude in labouring in the Mines, return'd to their own Countries; and being glad and jocund, travelling through the Cities, were filled with an inexpressible Joy, and a Confidence unutterable. Thus did numerous Companies of persons that were Christians perform their Journeys, lauding God with Hymns and Psalms in the midst of the High-ways and Market-places. And you might now have seen those, (who but lately had been in Bonds, groaning under most severe Punishments, and driven from their own Countries) with joyful and pleasant Countenances possessing their own Habitations again: In so much that they, who formerly [threatned to] murder and destroy us, when they saw this Miracle which did so far surpass all Mens expectation, rejoic'd with us at what had happened.

## C H A P. II.

Concerning the Change of Affairs which did afterwards ensue.

BUT the Tyrant (who, as we said before, Ruled in the Eastern parts) no longer able to endure these things, (he being a professed Enemy to Goodness, and one who laid wait to ensnare all good Men) suffered not this state of Affairs to continue (a) the space of six months complete. But, inventing all the ways imaginable to subvert the Peace, first he attempted (upon some pretence or other) to hinder us from assembling in the \* *Cimiteria*. Afterwards (b) he sends an Embassie to himself against us, having solicited the *Antiochians*, by the means of some impious persons, that they should petition to obtain this from him (under the notion of the greatest favour,) to wit, that he would empower them to suffer no Christians to dwell amongst them: He also excited the Inhabitants of other Cities to do the like. The Chief of all these was one *Theotecnus*, an *Antiochian*; a turbulent Person, an Impostor, and a wicked Man, (whose Nature was not answerable to his † Name;) he was at that time (c) *Curator of Antioch*.

See the Appendix to the eighth Book of this History. When *Maximinus* *Cesar* heard of his death, he renewed the Persecution against the Christians, and proclaimed himself *Augustus*; whereas he was only *Cesar* before, and was compelled to obey the Commands of *Galer. Augustus*. Valef.

\* See Book 7. Chap. 11. Note (f.)

(b) What is meant by this elegant passage [αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἑμῶν περισβεύεται] neither *Christophorson* nor *Musculus* understood: the meaning of it is this: *Maximin* sent underhand some cunning Men to solicit the *Antiochians*, to send Embassadors to his Court, to request of him, that they might have liberty to drive out all Christians from amongst them. Hence *Maximin*, who did underhand procure this Embassy, may well be said to have sent this Embassy to himself, and he himself to have been the Embassador; this transposition of Words is frequent and familiar in *Eusebius*. Valef.

† The import of *Theotecnus* in the Greek, is, a Son of God.

(c) See Book 8. Chap. 11. Note (b.)

C H A P.



Maximi-  
nus.

## C H A P. III.

Concerning an Image newly made at Antioch.

WHEN this [Theotecnus] therefore had several ways made his attacks against us, and had taken all imaginable care to hunt those of our Religion out of their Coverts, (as if they had been Thieves and Malefactors,) and had invented all the ways and methods of calumniating and accusing us, and had been the occasion of putting many Men to death: At last he erects an Image of (a) *Jupiter Philus*, and (b) consecrates it with Magick Charms. And, having invented and instituted, in honour of it, impure Ceremonies, execrable Initiations, and most detestable Expiations; he gave the Emperor himself a demonstration of the imposture of his Oracles, by which he effected what he had undertaken. Moreover, this Man, to please the Emperor by his Flattery, stirreth up the *Dæmon* against the *Christians*; feigning that God commanded, that the *Christians* (as being his Enemies) should be banished the City, and all the Countries adjoining to the City.

(a) This Temple of *Jupiter Philus* at Antioch is mention'd by *Julianus*, in *Misopogone*, and by *Lilanius* (if I mistake not) in *Antiochia*. Valef.

(b) The Ceremonies of the Gentiles, used in the erection and consecration of Images to their Gods, were various. For *Jupiter Ctesius* was consecrated with one sort of Rites, *Herceus* with another, and *Philus* with a third sort. *Jupiter Ctesius*, whose Image they kept in their Store-houses, was consecrated with a little Tub. *Antichides* (in *Ἐγκύκλιος*, that is, in *Pl. R. De Ritibus Sacris*, apud *Athenæum*, B. 11: Cap. 6.) relates the Ceremonies of Consecration. *Jupiter Herceus* was consecrated with Pots. See *Aristophanes* in *Danaidibus*. After the same manner were these Images consecrated, which they erected to *Mercury*, and other Gods. And this they termed, *ῥήγας ἰδρῶν*, to consecrate with sweat. In these Pots they boyled all sorts of pulse, of which they offered sacrifice to those Gods they consecrated, in memory of the food eaten in all times, and of the frugality of the Ancients. But when they desired to be at greater cost in treating their God, then they killed a sacrifice at the erection of his Image; which they termed *ἰδρῶν ἰγίον*, to consecrate with a slain sacrifice. See *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) and his *Scholias*. pag. 693. See *Suidas* also, in the word *ῥήγας*. Besides these Ceremonies, they used sometimes *Magical Consecrations*; so *Theotecnus* did here, in the Dedication of an Image to *Jupiter Philus*. Valef.

## C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Decrees [of the Cities] against the Christians.

WHEN *Theotecnus*, (the first person that acted against us) had had this desired success, all the other Magistrates, inhabiting the Cities under *Maximin's* Jurisdiction, hastned to establish the same Decree; also, the Governours of Provinces, perceiving that this was acceptable to the Emperor, prompted those that lived within their District, to do the same thing: Moreover, when the Tyrant had by his Rescript most willingly assented to their Ordinances, the Flame of Persecution was again kindled afresh against us. At length, Priests of the Images were constituted in every City; and moreover, such Men as had been most eminent in State Employments, and had acquitted themselves honourably in the publick Offices they had born, were by (a) *Maximin* himself created Chief Priests. These Men

(a) By *Maximin* are meant

*Sacerdotes Provinciarum*. Concerning whom see Book 8. Chap. 14. Note (b.) A *Sacerdos Provinciae* was created by the Votes of the *Decuriones*, i. e. the *Senators*, or *Aldermen* of the City. Now those Men especially were advanced to this Dignity, who had with honour acquitted themselves in the discharge of all Offices belonging to the Court; as we may see in *Cod. Theod. Tit. De Decurionibus*. *Eusebius* here takes notice of it as a thing new and unusual, that *Maximinus* himself should elect the *Sacerdotes Provinciae*. Valef.

were very diligent and earnest about the Worship of their Gods. For, (that I may speak briefly) the great Superstition of this Emperor had such an influence as well upon the Governours, as the Private Persons within the Limits of his Government, that it induced them all to act any thing against us in compliance to him: And they thought, that to murder us, and to invent some new mischievous Stratagems against us, was the most grateful Acknowledgment they could pay for the Favours they expected to receive from him.

Maximi-  
nus.

## C H A P. V.

Concerning the forged Acts.

HAVING therefore forged some (a) Acts of *Pilate* concerning our Saviour, which were stuffed with all manner of Blasphemy against Christ; by [Maximin] the Emperor's Order they send them throughout all his Dominions; commanding by their Letters that these Records should be posted up in all places, both in the Country and in the Cities; and that such as were School-masters should give them to their Scholars in stead of their Lessons, and make them study them, that so they might have them imprinted on their Memories. Whilst these things were done after this manner, the Chief Commander in the Army at *Damascus*, a City of *Phoenicia* (whom the Romans call a Captain) having haled some infamous Women out of the Marketplace, compelled them by threatening them with tortures, to (b) testify, by subscribing the said publick Records, that they were formerly *Christians*; and that they were conscious to their prophane practices; and that in their very Churches they perform'd obscene and lascivious actions; and what-ever else he would have them say, that might bring a scandal upon our Religion. The Testimonies of these Women he inserted into the said Acts, and sent them to the Emperor: By whose order these very Records were published in every City, and in all other places.

(a) Concerning the falseness of these Acts, see what *Eusebius* has remark'd B. 1. Chap. 9. These Acts are mention'd in *Act. Præsidial. Tarachi, Probi, & Andronici*, cap. 9. where *Maximus* the Prefident says these words, *Wretch, knowest thou not, that that Christ, whom thou callest upon, was a Man committed to*

custody by Pontius Pilate, and punished by him; the Acts of whose passion are extant? Moreover, these *Acta præsidialia Tarachi, &c.* were performed when *Diocletian* was Consul the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third, as the inscription of the first interrogatory sheweth. Whence 'tis plain, that these Acts of *Pilate* were forged long before the Persecution; the contrary to which *Eusebius* affirms in this place. But, that I may freely speak my sense, the inscription of these *Acta præsidialia* is in my judgment false; and it should be corrected thus, when *Diocletian* was Consul the ninth time, and *Maximian* the eighth: For (1) there is, in those Acts, mention of the Imperial Command, whereby 'twas ordered that all Men should sacrifice to the Gods. Now this command was issued out on the nineteenth year of *Diocletian's* Empire. (2) In the ninth Chapter these Words occur. The President said, you curse the Princes, who have secured a lasting and continual Peace. *Andronicus* said, I have cursed the Plague, and the Blood-thirsty, which destroy the World. That expression [concerning the securing a lasting and continual Peace] cannot agree with the fourth Consulate of *Diocletian*; for at that time the *Barbarians* attacked the Roman Empire on every side. Besides, I can't see how *Diocletian* and *Maximian* can be termed, *Blood-thirsty*, till after the 19th year of *Diocletian*, when the Persecution began. Lastly, which is another Argument, *Eusebius* affirms, that these Acts of *Pilate* were forged in the time of this Persecution. Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* has rendred the Greek Phrase here (which is *ἀνέγνω ἑγγεγραμμένον*) thus, *Actis prosteri, to attest the truth of the said Acts by signing of them*: For an evidence may be given both by word of mouth, and in writing also. Valef.

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning them that suffered Martyrdom in those Times.

BUT not long after, this Captain was his own Executioner, suffering a condign Punishment for his malicious Wickedness. And now



Maximi-  
nus.

Banishments and most horrid Persecutions were a fresh raised against us; the Presidents in every Province renewing their cruel Insurrections against us: In so much that some of the most eminent Asserters of the Divine Faith were apprehended, and without any Commiseration had the sentence of Death pronounced against them. Three of them having professed themselves Christians, were cast to the Wild-Beasts and devour'd by them at *Emesa*, a City of *Phœnicia*: Amongst them there was a Bishop, one (a) *Silvanus*, a very old man, who had born that Office forty years compleat. At the same time also, (b) *Peter*, that most eminent Prelate of the *Alexandrian* Church, (the chiefest Ornament and Glory of the Bishops, both for his virtuous Life, and his Study and Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures) being apprehended for no crime at all, was beheaded contrary to every bodies expectation) by *Maximin's* order on a sudden, and without any specious pretence. Likewise many other *Egyptian* Bishops suffered the same death that he did. (c) *Lucianus* also, Presbyter of the Church at *Antioch*, a very pious Man, much famed for his Continency, and his Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures, was brought to the City of *Nicomedia*, (d) where the Emperor then kept his Court; and after he had made his Apology, in defence of that Doctrine which he asserted, before the President he was committed to Prison and murther'd. In fine, *Maximin*, that professed Enemy of all Virtue, did in a short time load us with such Burthens of Afflictions, that this latter storm of Persecution raised by him seemed to us far more grievous than the former.

(a) This *Silvanus* is a different person from that *Silvanus* which *Eusebius* mentions in his Book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, chap. the last. For this was Bishop of *Emesa*; the other was Bishop of *Gaza*. The first was beheaded in the Mines at *Palestine* with

39 other Martyrs; in the eighth year of the Persecution. But this *Silvanus* was cast to the wild Beasts at *Emesa*, on the ninth year of the Persecution. Concerning this Man's Martyrdom *Eusebius* has said something before, in his eighth Book, although not in its proper place; see Book 8. Chap. 13. *Valef.*

(b) *Eusebius* mentioned this Man's Martyrdom before in the eighth Book, Chap. 13. but not in its proper place. For the eighth Book does not go beyond the eighth year of the Persecution. But *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* was Martyr'd in the ninth year of the Persecution (which *Eusebius* expressly affirmeth in the end of the seventh Book) upon the seventh of the Calends of *December*, as we read in the *Excerpta Chronologica* published by *Scaliger*. *Uuardus* says the same; and so does *Ado*, and the old *Roman Martyrology*. The Greeks celebrate his birth-day on the 24th of *November*. The Acts of his Passion are extant in a MS. in Greek, which the Reverend Father *Franciscus Combesius* has, and will shortly publish, with many other things. *Valef.*

(c) *Eusebius* has mentioned this Man's Martyrdom at Book 8. Chap. 13. though not in its due place. But here he remarks the time more distinctly, wherein *Peter* and *Lucianus* suffered; to wit, under *Maximin*; not in the Reign of *Galerius Maximianus*, as *Baronius* would have us believe, at the year of Christ 311. cap. 3. Also, *Baronius* is mistaken in placing the Martyrdom of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* on the year of Christ 310. for he suffered in the year of our Lord 311, on the ninth year current of the Persecution. *Baronius's* error arose from his beginning the Persecution a year too soon; which mistake we have sufficiently confuted before, at Book 8. Chap. 2. Note (c.) Moreover, in regard *Lucianus's* Martyrdom happened under *Maximin*, the Martyrdom of *Anthimus* Bishop of *Nicomedia* should in my judgment, be placed under *Maximin* also. Indeed *Anthimus* suffered a little before *Lucianus*, as *Lucianus* informs us in his Epistle to the *Antiochians*, which I made mention of in Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (a). We may also make the same conclusion from the Acts of *Lucianus* the Martyr; where, instead of *Maximinus*, we read *Maximianus*, which is a common error in the Greeks. *Valef.*

(d) When *Galerius* was dead, *Maximinus* took possession of *Asia* and *Bithynia*; which Provinces (together with *Illyricum*, and *Thracia*) were governed by *Galerius*. For *Galerius* kept these Provinces for himself, as *Eutropius* informs us; the same is asserted by the old Author of the *Excerptions*, which I published at the end of my *Amm. Marcellinus*. *Maximinus* therefore made his abode at *Nicomedia*, which was the chief City of *Bithynia*; where the Emperors had a Pallace ever since *Diocletian's* time. Further, the following Words do evidently manifest, that by the term [Emperor] *Maximinus* must be meant. Wherefore I wonder at *Baronius*, for asserting that *Lucianus* suffered under *Galerius*, not under *Maximin*; when as *Eusebius*, contemporary with *Lucianus*, affirms he was killed by *Maximin*. *Valef.*

C H A P. VII.

Maximi-  
nus.

Concerning the Edict against us, which was [ingraven on Brazen Plates and] hung up on the Pillars.

Moreover, in the midst of every City ((a) which was never seen before) the Decrees of Cities, and also the Imperial Edicts against us, were ingraven on Brazen Plates, and proposed to open view. And the Boys in the Schools had nothing in their Mouths \*all day long but *Jesus* and *Pilate*, and the Acts which were forged to disgrace us. I judge it pertinent to insert here this very Rescript of *Maximin's*, which was ingraven on Plates of Brass: Both that the proud and arrogant Insolency of this Man's Hatred towards God may be manifested: And also that it may hence be made apparent, that Divine Justice (which hates the Impious, and keeps a continual watch against them) did within a very short time pursue and overtake him: By which Divine Justice he was enforced to alter his Sentiments soon after concerning us, and to confirm them by his Edicts in Writing. But these are the Contents of his Rescript.

Nor is it deny'd by our *Eusebius*. But that which he asserts to have never been seen before, is, the ingrating of these Edicts upon plates of Brass. For (as we observed before, Book 8. Chap. 5. Note (b)) the Imperial Edicts were written on Paper. *Valef.*  
\* *Kαὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμέρας, all day long*; so *Rufinus* and *Langus* render it: *Christophorus* and *Alisculus* translate it, *quodidit, daily*. *Valef.*

#### A COPY OF THE TRANSLATION OF MAXIMIN'S RESCRIPT, IN ANSWER TO THE DECREES OF THE CITIES AGAINST US, TRANSCRIBED FROM A BRAZEN PLATE AT TYRE.

Now at length the infirm Confidence of Man's Mind, having shaken off and dispersed the Cloud and Mist of Error (which heretofore invested the Senses of Men, not so much wicked as wretched, being involved in the fatal Night of Ignorance,) may discern, that it is undoubtedly governed and strengthened by the indulgent Providence of the immortal Gods. It is incredible to express how grateful, how pleasing and acceptable a thing it was to us, that you gave such a Proof of your Pious Resolution towards the Gods. Indeed, before this time no person was insensible of the Observancy and Religious Worship you shew'd to the immortal Gods; (b) for your Faith is made known to them not in bare and empty Words, but by uninterrupted and miraculous eminent Acts, upon which account your City may deservedly be stiled the Seat and Mansion of the immortal Gods. For it is manifestly evident by many Instances, that She flourisheth by the (c) Arrival and Presence of the Celestial Deities in Her But lo! Now your City (careless of all its own particular Concerns, and having no regard to the Petitions, which in times past it did usually make [to us] for the welfare of its Affairs,) when it was sensible that the Promoters of that accursed

themselves. *Maximin* does attempt to blacken the faith of the Christians by these words; he calls it, *ἐπὶ λέξει πίστις, a faith of bare words*: as if the Christian faith had nothing in it but words, and were void of all reality. *Valef.*

(d) The antients believed, that on set days the Gods descended into those Cities for which they had a kindness: Hence it is that the Inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletum* solemnized the coming of *Apollo*: and the *Argivi*, the advent of *Diana*. This coming of the Gods we find mentioned up and down in the Poets, as in *Virgil*. Hence it is, that upon old Coins, and in the Calendar, we find written *Adventus Impp.* *Valef.*

Vanity



Maxim-  
nus. Vanity did begin to creep again, and [perceived] that (like Fire which is carelessly left and raked up,) it brake forth into violent Flames, the Brands thereof being rekindled, immediately without the least delay made its Address to our Piety, as to the Metropolis of all Religion, petitioning for a Redress and an Assistance. 'Tis evident that the Gods have instilled into your Minds this wholesome Advice upon account of your constant and faithful Perseverance in your Religion. For the most High and Mighty Jupiter, (who presides over your most famous City, and preserveth your Country Gods, your Wives and Children, your Families and Houses from all manner of Destruction and Ruin) hath breathed into your Minds this salutary Resolution; whence he hath evidenced and plainly demonstrated, what an excellent, noble, and comfortable thing it is, to adore him, and to approach the sacred Ceremonies of the immortal Gods with a due Observancy and Veneration. For what Man can there be found so foolish and so void of all Reason, who perceives not that it comes to pass by the favourable Care of the Gods towards us, that neither the Earth does deny to restore the Seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the Husbandmen with vain Expectations, or that the

(d) Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. He alludes to that Aspect of the Planets called σιήριον; which term is used concerning the Planets, when they seem to move neither backward, nor forward in their Epicycles; but are stationary. Vales.

and overflow: Or that Storms beaking forth on a sudden and unexpectedly do not raise a destructive Tempest: Or lastly, that the Earth (the Nurse and Mother of all things,) shaken by an horrid Trembling, arising from its own internal Caverns, (e) does not raise vast Hills out of its own Bowels; or that the Mountains which lie upon it are not swallowed up by its unexpected Scissures and Rents. There is no Man but knows that all these Calamities, (yea far more horrid than these) have happened heretofore. And all these Evils fell upon us, because of that pernicious Error and most vain Folly of those wicked Men, at such time as it abounded in their Souls, and burthened the whole Earth almost with Shame and Confusion. After the interposition of some words, he continues: Let Men now look into the open Fields, and see the flourishing Corn, waving its weighty Ears; let them view the Meadows gloriously bedecked with Flowers and Grass caused by the seasonable springing

(e) In the Greek Text the term is [ἐκ τῆς γῆς] parts [not] in sunder but it should be [ἐκ τῆς γῆς] does [not] raise vast Hills out of its own bowels. For two sorts of Earthquakes (contrary to each other) are here spoken of by Maximin; to wit, (1) σεισμοί; which (as Ammianus Marcellinus describes them, Book 17. pag. 98. Edit. Paris 1636.) Humum molestius suscitantes sursum propellunt immensissimas moles, raise the ground after an horrid manner, and drive forth vast quantities of earth: (2) χασμαί, which (according to Ammianus Marcellinus description, l. c. citat.) grandiori motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, having on a sudden made vast scissures in the Ground by a most violent motion, swallow up parts of the Earth. See Valesius's Notes on these words of Ammianus Marcellinus; pag. 142. Maximin means here that Earthquake which afflicted the City of Tyre, in that Year before Diocletian's Persecution, as our Eusebius relates in his Chronicon. Vales.

Showers: Let them consider the Constitution of the Air, how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoyce, for that by your Piety, by your Sacrifices and Religious Worship, the Fury of that most potent and strong God Mars is appeased; and for this reason, let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most prosperous and serene Peace. And, as many as have deserted that blind Error, and wholly relinquished those impertinent Wandrings, by

returning to a right and sound Temper of Mind, let them rejoyce the more upon that account; in regard, (being delivered as it were from a Storm unforeseen, and from a fatal Disease,) they shall in future reap the sweet Enjoyments of an happy Life. But if any shall wilfully persist in that their execrable Vanity and Error, let them be banished and driven far from your City and its Vicinage (according to your request :) That by this means your City, being (agreeable to your commendable Diligence in this Affair) freed from all Pollution and Impiety, may wholly devote it self (according to its natural Inclination) to attend upon the Sacrifices and Worship of the immortal Gods with all due veneration. Now, that you may be sensible how acceptable your Address in this Case was to us, and how ready and forward our Mind is voluntarily to comply with and reward good Desires even without any Decrees or Supplication; we permit your Devotion to ask the greatest Favour you have a mind to, upon account of this your Religious Attempt. And now therefore make it your business, to ask this, and have it granted. For you shall obtain it without any delay. And this great Boon granted to your City shall endure throughout all Ages, both as a Testimony of your most Religious Piety towards the immortal Gods; and shall also be an Evidence to your Children and Descendants, that for this your good Course and Resolution of Life you have received due Rewards from our Gracious Goodness.

This Rescript against us was fixed up, on the Pillars throughout every Province, and did utterly exclude us from all hopes of Safety, as far as it lay in Human power to do: In so much that (according to that Divine Oracle) \* Even the elect themselves, were it possible, would have been offended at these things. But now, when all expectation [of assistance from above] was amongst most of us in a manner expired and extinct; while they, who were commission'd to publish the foresaid Edit against us, were in some Countries yet on their Journey; God, the Protector of his own Church, (repressing the outrageous Insolence of the Tyrant against us, by stopping his Mouth as it were;) did on a sudden demonstrate his Celestial assistance in defence of us.

\* He alludes to Matth. 24.

### C H A P. VIII.

Concerning what afterwards happen'd in the time of the Wars, of the Famine, and of the Pestilence.

\* FOR Showers and Rains which would then have been seasonable (it being Winter) withheld their wonted Streams from the Earth: Upon which happen'd a Famine, not so much as thought of or expected, which was followed by a Pestilence. There raged also another violent Disease, (it was an Ulcer, which was properly call'd a Carbuncle, upon account of its violent burning.) This Ulcer spread itself over all the parts of the Body, and was very fatal and dangerous to them that were afflicted with it. And because its chief Seat was for the most part longest about the Eyes, it blinded a great many Men, Women, and Children. Besides all these Calamities, the Tyrant did now engage in a War against the Armenians, who had been old Friends and Allies of the Romans. This \* person hated by God, endeavour'd to compel these Men (who were all Christians, very studious and industrious about the Service of God,) to sacrifice to Idols and Demons, and so rendred them Foes instead

\* The most ancient Max. MS. begins the Chap. 8. at these words; to which agrees the Fek. MS. and Rufinus. Vales.

\* Maximin.



*Maximianus* instead of being Friends, and bitter Enemies instead of Confederates. All these Calamities therefore, hapning on a sudden at one and the same time, did curb and confute the arrogant boasting of the insolent Tyrant against God; who had impudently braggd, that in regard of his care in worshipping Idols, and persecuting us, neither War nor Famine, nor Pestilence, had hapned in his Reign. Therefore all these Calamities coming to pass together, and at the same instant, were as Prologues and Fore-runners of his imminent Ruin. Both He and his Armies suffered much in the Expedition against the *Armenians*: And the residue, who inhabited the Cities under his Government, were miserably oppressed with the Plague and Famine: So that one Measure of Wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred

\* See B. I. Chap. 8. Note (b.) and Villages; so that now the † *Censor's Tables* † See B. I. Chap. 5. Note (b.) Country-men, wanted but little of one continued Blot; almost all persons being destroy'd either by the want of Sustenance, or the Pestilential Disease: Some did not refuse to sell to the wealthier sort, even those things which were most dear to them, for a little morsel of Food. Others selling their Estates by parcels, were reduced to the greatest want and extremity. Other some chew'd in pieces little handfuls of Grass, which they had pluck'd up, and making no distinction, but eating poisonous Herbs together therewith, which corrupted the healthful Constitution of their Bodies, they perished. Also in every City divers Women of good Families, being reduced through want to shameless necessity, came forth to beg in the Market-place: Their modest Countenances and neatness of Dress were an evidence of their genteel Education: Some were pined away and dried up like the Ghosts of persons departed, so that they went reeling and tottering this way and that way, and being not able to stand, fell down in the midst of the Streets, and lying stretched out upon the Ground with their Faces downward, they craved that even the least morsel of Bread might be given them: And at their very last gasp cried out, that they were hungry; being only strong enough to utter this most doleful expression. But others that seem'd to be rich, astonish'd at the multitude of Beggars, when they had given away a great deal, afterwards became uncompassionate and inexorable, expecting that they themselves should ere-long suffer the same Extremities with those that now begg'd of them. So that now the dead Carcasses which lay in the midst of the Market-places and By-Streets naked and unburied for many days, were a most lamentable Spectacle to the Beholders. Moreover, some were devoured by Dogs, upon which account those that survived, betook themselves to killing of Dogs; being afraid lest they should run mad, and devour them who were yet alive. Neither did the Plague more leisurely destroy whole Households and Families; but more especially those whom the Famine could not dispatch, because they were furnished with great store of Provision. Therefore the rich Presidents of Provinces, the Prefects, and a great many that were of the Magistracy, (as if the Famine had purposely reserved them to be devoured by the Pestilential Distemper) suffer'd an acute and sudden death. All places, By-Lanes, the Markets and Streets, were full of Lamentations. There was nothing to be seen but

mournful songs at burials, (a) together with their usual pipes and other funeral-musick. Thus death fighting with the two forementioned weapons, to wit, the Pestilence, and the Famine, did in a short time destroy whole Families; In so much that you might have seen two or three dead bodies carried out of the same house together to the (b) grave. Such were the rewards of *Maximin's* arrogance, and of the Decrees which the Cities issued out against us. During these sad times all the Heathens had evident demonstrations of the care and piety of the *Christians* exhibited towards all men: For only they (amidst so many and great calamities on all sides) in reality declared their true compassion, and good nature: Some of them employ'd themselves, every day in taking care of and in burying the dead (for vast numbers died, whose funerals nobody took care of.) Others gathered together into one body, all those in the City who lay under the pressures of the Famine, and distributed bread to them all. So that, when the same of this action was divulged amongst all Men; they all glorified the God of the *Christians*, and did acknowledge them to be pious, and the only true worshippers of God, being convinced sufficiently by their works. Affairs being in this posture, God the great and celestial defender of the *Christians*, (having by the aforesaid calamities manifested his wrath and indignation against all Men, because of their barbarous cruelties shown towards us,) did again restore to us the gracious and glorious splendour of his Providence; darting forth upon us (involved in the thickest darkness) the most miraculous light of his peace: And made it apparent to all Men, that God himself was always the Overseer and Inspector of our Affairs; who does sometimes indeed chastise and correct his People with the scourges of affliction: But after sufficient chastisement, he does again shew himself gracious and merciful to those that confide in him.

stead of their pipes, &c. Thus he erroneously translates the place. But all our MSS. and *Nicephorus* keep to the common reading. *Valef.*

(b) By what is here related concerning the burial of the dead, we may gather that the custom of burning dead bodies was at that time wholly disused amongst the *Romans*. But, when this custom was first abolished 'tis difficult to determine. The *Romans* seem to have taken up this custom of burying in Graves from the *Jews*, and *Christians*: Concerning which we have a place very observable in *Macrobius*: For (says he in his *Saturnal*. B. 7. Cap. 7.) *Although in our days the custom of burning the dead is antiquated and disannulled: Yet History teacheth us that in those days, when they burned the dead, they pay'd great respect and honour to them.* *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

(a) Concerning the death of the Tyrants, and what Expressions they used before their deaths.

(a) In all our MSS. the Titles of the

Chapters are transpos'd; that which ought to be the Title of the tenth Chapter is given to the ninth, and on the contrary that which ought to be prefixt to the ninth is set before the tenth. This mistake we had corrected in our Translation, but because we would do nothing without the Authority of the MSS. we did therefore choose rather to follow the mistake, resting satisfied in having advertised the Reader of the mistake. *Valef.*

**C**ONSTANTINE therefore (who, as we said before, was an Emperor born of an Emperor, the Pious Son of a most religious, sober, and prudent Father) (b) and *Licinius* (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their Wisdom and Piety;) two most Pious [Emperors] having been encouraged by God the supream King and Saviour of all Men, against

*Constantine* and *Licinius*. (b) After these words, in the most ancient two Med. MSS.



*Constantine and Licinius.* two most impious Tyrants; and engaging them in a lawful War, ( God assisting them; ) *Maxentius* was most miraculously vanquished at *Rome* by *Constantine*; and *Maximin* the Eastern Tyrant, not long surviving *Maxentius*, died a most ignominious death, being conquered by *Licinius*, who had not yet done any extravagant Action. Moreover, *Constantine* the former of these two ( who was the chiefest person, both in respect of Honour, Place, and Degree in the Empire ) took compassion upon those who were oppressed with Tyranny at *Rome*; and having by Prayers humbly called upon the God of Heaven, and his Word Jesus Christ the Saviour of all Men, to be his helper, he march'd with his whole Army in vindication of the ancient Liberties of the *Romans*. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick devices, than in the Love and Favour of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City-Gates; but with an innumerable Host of Soldiers, and with Ambushes, he fortified all Places, Towns, and Cities whatsoever about *Rome*, and within the compass of all *Italy*, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny: The Emperor [*Constantine*] depended upon Divine assistance, and having attack'd the Tyrant's first, second, and third Battalion, and with ease routed them all, he made himself a passage through the greatest part of *Italy*, and was now come up to the very Gates of *Rome*. But lest he should be constrained to assault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant ( as it were with Cords ) a great way out of the Gates: And did effectually confirm the truth of the Miracles he wrought in times past against the Wicked ( recorded in the everlasting Monuments of the sacred Scriptures, which tho' they are accounted fabulous by some and not credited, are nevertheless believed by the Faithful ) to all in general, Believers as well as Infidels, who saw this Miracle we are about to relate. For as God in the days of *Moses* and the old Religious Nation of the *Hebrews*, overwhelmed the Chariots and Forces of *Pharaoh* in the Sea; and drowned his (c) chosen Captains in the Red-Sea, and covered them with the Waves: *Exod. 15.* After the very same manner *Maxentius* with the Soldiers and Guards that were about him, were cast into the Deep like a Stone; at such time as he fled before the Divine Power, which *מבחר* did always assist *Constantine's* Arms, and design'd *שלושה* to pass a River that was in the way before him: Over which he laid a very artificial Bridge made of Boats joyn'd together, and so became instructor *δωδεκάτης ἀναβάτας τριτάτας*; our English translation, his chosen Captains. Expositors differ in their explications of these words. *Valesius* thinks the *Vulgar translation* is truest; 'tis there rendred *ternos ex curribus pugnantes*; that is, The Three fighting out of the Chariots. The true import of the *Hebrew* is, The valiantest, or (as the *Caldee* renders) the fairest, Captains; called The Three or Third, from their being the third sort of Governours in the Kingdom of *Egypt*. See *Ainsworth*. *Exod. 14. 7.* and *15. 4.*

mental to his own Destruction. Upon which <sup>Constant.</sup> account these words may be pertinently spoken <sup>and</sup> concerning him; \* *He hath graven and digged up* <sup>Licinius.</sup> *a pit, and is fallen himself into the destruction that he* \* <sup>Pfal. 7.</sup> *hath made.* <sup>17, 18.</sup> *His travel shall come upon his own head,* *and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.* The joinings therefore of the Bridge laid over the River being after this manner separated, the Passage began to sink; and the Boats together with the Men in them descended on a sudden to the bottom of the River. Thus, this most impious Tyrant in the first place, and after him his Guards (according to what was foretold in the sacred Scriptures) sunk down like Lead into the deep Waters. So that [Constantine's Soldiers,] who at that time by Divine assistance obtain'd the Victory, in such sort as the Israelites heretofore did, who were led by Moses that eminent Servant of the Lord; (d) ought in all reason to have sung and repeated the same Expressions (though not in words exactly the same, yet in reality) that they heretofore did against that impious Tyrant [Pharaoh,] after this manner: \* *Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumph'd gloriously; the horse and the rider hath he thrown into the Sea. The Lord is my helper and defender, (e) he is become my salvation.* And again: *who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods: who is like unto thee? Glorious art thou amongst the Saints, wonderful in glory, working miracles.* When Constantine had in reality sung these Hymns, and Songs like unto, and of the same sort with these, in praise of Almighty God Governour of all things, and Author of Victory, he entered Rome with all triumphant Pomp and Splendor: And immediately the whole Senate, (f) those that were of the Equestrian Order, and all the People of Rome, together with their Wives and Children received him (with a joy in their Countenances which proceeded from their very Hearts) as a Redeemer, a Saviour, a publick Father, and Benefactor, and with Acclamations, and a gladness insatiable. But he, possessing a Piety towards God that was naturally implanted on him, was not in the least elevated in Mind at these popular Acclamations, nor puffed up with these Commendations, but being sufficiently sensible of the Divine assistance in this his Enterprize, he presently gave command, that the Trophy of our Saviour's Passion should be put (g) into the Hand of a Statue erected to him. And when they had erected of <sup>his</sup> his Statue in the most publick place of all Rome, <sup>holding</sup> holding in its Right Hand the Salutary Sign of the Cross, he commanded an Inscription to be chose to read <sup>over, or into the hand:</sup> *Which Rufinus confirms and explains thus, Vexillum Dominice crucis in dextera sua jubet depingi.* Valef.

Q 4 Engraven



Constantine and Licinius engraven upon the Basis of it in Latin, containing these very words :

BY THIS SAVING SIGN WHICH IS THE COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT, AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANTIEN T S P L E N D O R AND DIGNITY.

After this, Constantine the Emperor and Licinius his Colleague, (who was not then fallen into that extravagant Madness which afterwards depraved his Intellectuals) having both together worshipped and reconciled themselves to God the Author of all the Good which had happen'd to them, did with an unanimous accord and consent enact a most compleat and full Law in behalf of the Christians. And they sent a relation of the Miracles which God had done for them, and an account of their Victory over the Tyrant, together with this their Law, to Maximin who as yet was Emperor in the Eastern parts, and pretended Friendship towards them. But he, like a Tyrant, was discontented and dejected at this News : Yet being afterwards unwilling to seem to yield to others, and also out of fear to them who had confirmed the Edict, daring not (b) to suppress and conceal it, he directed this his first Rescript in behalf of the Christians, to his Ministers, as it were of his own accord, and by his own authority, tho' he was forced to it ; wherein with much artifice he feigneth concerning himself such things as were never done by him.

(b) Παρεκδέδειται τὸ καὶ λ. δ. δ. ἐν (though otherwise rendered by some Translators) signifies the

same as ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ δεῖδειται, a Phrase before used in the first Chapter of this ninth Book. The import of it is *seponere, occultare* ; to conceal, or suppress the Edict, as Maximin did before in the first Chapter of this ninth Book, when Galerius's Rescript was sent him. But when Constantine and Licinius, after the overthrow of Maxentius, sent their Decree to him in favour of the Christians ; he durst not conceal it *metu superiorum, fearing them, as being his superiors.* Valef.

A Copy of the Translation of Maximin the Tyrant's Rescript.

(i) Diocletian was the first that assumed to himself this surname, *Jovius* ; as his Colleague Maximian did that of *Herculius*. Afterwards when Constantine and Galerius were created *Cæsars*, Galerius, by marrying Diocletian's Daughter, and living with him in the East, came to be called *Cæsar Jovius* ; and Constantine, by marrying Herculius's Daughter-in-law ; and living with him in the Western parts, was called *Cæsar Herculius*. Afterwards when Galerius died, Maximin, who was by him created *Cæsar*, assumed to himself the surname of *Jovius* ; which Eusebius here takes notice of. See the *Chronicon Alexandrianum*. Valef.

(k) Under the name of the East, Egypt also is contained. For the Government hereof was committed to Maximinus Cæsar. For Maximinus (after he was made Cæsar by Galerius) received the jurisdiction

over all those Provinces, which Diocletian had reserved to himself. And hence it came to pass, that Egypt was reckoned amongst the Eastern Provinces a long while after. So Amm. Marcellinus (B. 14. where he recounts the Provinces of the East,) reckons Egypt and Mesopotamia amongst them. Further, Egypt was originally under the Comes of the East, as we are informed from an ancient Inscription ; the Contents whereof are these ; M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURI O CÆCILIANO PLACIDO C. V. COMITI ORIENTIS. ÆGYPTI. MESOPOTAMIÆ. CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Valef.

and found that very many Men (who might be serviceable to the Republick) were Exiled and Confined by the Judges, for the reason aforesaid, to certain places appointed them ; I gave a charge to all the Judges, that none of them should for the future treat the Subjects of their Provinces so barbarously ; but that they should rather regain them to the service of the Gods by courteous Perswasives and kind Exhortations. During the time therefore that our Commands were, according to our Injunction, strictly observed, it happened that there was not one in all our Eastern Provinces either confined, or injured : But, in regard no Trouble or Disquietude happened to them, they were the rather reduced to the Worship of the Gods. After this, in (l) the last Year, when I successfully made a Journey to Nicomedia, and there abode, the Citizens of that City came to me with the Images of their Gods, begging of me with much earnestness that those sort of Men might by no means be permitted to inhabit amongst them. But in regard I understood that a great many Men of that Religion lived in those parts, I gave them this answer : That I was very well pleased with, and thankful to them for, their Address, but did not perceive that that was the desire of all Men in general. If therefore, any do persist in the [Christian] Superstition, every one of them may have his free liberty, to choose what pleases him ; and if they will embrace the Service of the Gods, they also may do that. I thought it requisite to return a kind reply to the Nicomedians, as well as to the other Cities, who with much importunity had presented me with the same Petition, to wit, That no Christian might dwell in their Cities ; (m) for so the preceding Emperors (as I observed) had always done ; and it now so pleased the Gods, (by whom all Men are preserved, and the publick State of Affairs continued in a sedate posture,) that I should grant that earnest Address of theirs, which they presented me with concerning the Divine Worship of their Gods. Wherefore although I have very frequently before this time, as well by Rescripts as (n) Commands, ordered your Devotion, that the Presidents of Provinces should not be rigid or severe in their Proceedings against those within their Districts, who are studious about the observation of the Rites and Usages of the Christian Religion ; but that they patiently tolerate, and with moderation comply with

[ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ] which some have translated *propterea quod, because*, but the adverb [ὅτι δὲ] may be rendered *ita, so*, and then this is the meaning of the place, (*viz.*) I return'd a kind reply to the Nicomedians, which the Emperors my Predecessors always were careful to do. The next difficulty is in these Words [ἵππεσιν ἐν, it therefore pleased the Gods, &c.] But we rather read ἵππεσιν οὐκ, and it now so pleased the Gods, &c. By this means [οὐκ] is fitly oppos'd to the preceding Words [ἀρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες, the ancient Emperors, &c.] according to this emendation we have translated the place. Valef.

(n) Maximin does here make distinction betwixt *γεγραμμένα* and *ἐντολαί*, Letters and Commands. Letters or Rescripts were sent by the Emperors to the Magistrates or Presidents, into their Provinces when they were absent from Court : Mandata or Commands were given them by the Emperor when they were with him, before they went to their Provinces ; all which Commands were bound up in a short Libell. And this was one of the chief of their Charges given them (to wit,) that they should be careful of their health. The Civilians speak much concerning these Mandata Principum. Valef.

them :



CHAP. X.

Constantine and Licinius.

Concerning the Victory [obtain'd] by the Pious Emperours.

THIS was the reason which (a) did press him on every hand. When he was no longer able to support the weight of the Government, which was unworthily conferr'd upon him, but through want of a moderate prudence of Mind, such as is required in a Prince, did insolently and undecently manage publick concerns; and moreover, was vainly puffed up with haughtiness of Spirit, even against his Collegues in the Empire, who were far his Superiors in Birth, Education, Desert, Prudence, and (which is the chiefest Accomplishment of all) in Humility and Piety towards the only true God. Through confidence and insolency he arrived to such a degree of audaciousness, as to (b) challenge the Precedency, and placed his name first in all Titles and Honours. Then (c) his madness breaking forth into utter desparation, having violated the League which he had made with Licinius, he raised a bloody and implacable War. Afterwards in a short time he put all things into confusion, and every City into a strange consternation; and having gather'd together all his Forces, being a very great Army, he march'd forth to fight against Licinius; being extraordinarily puffed up in mind with a confidence of the assistance of Demons which he supposed to be Gods, and with his innumerable Army of Men. But when he came to engage in a Battel, he was destitute of a Divine care and protection; and the Victory was by the one only and supream God given to Licinius. First of all his (d) Foot Forces were routed, in which he did most confide; then his Guards deserted him, revolting to Licinius the Conqueror, and he forthwith, unhappy Wretch, threw off his Royal Robes, (which did not become him,) and timorously, ignobly and unmanfully shrowded himself amongst the crowd [of common Soldiers.] Afterwards he fled; and (being very sollicitous about making provision for his own safety) hid himself in the Fields and Villages, hardly escaping the Enemies hands; by which he did truly verifie those firm, unerring, and Divine Oracles, which say; There is no king that can be saved by the multitude

(a) I wonder Translators did not understand the force of this word [ἐνδεύειν] i.e. to surround] when as the Common Lexicons do sufficiently explain it: Moreover, the old Marz. MS. does here begin this Chapter, and I am not a little glad that my conjecture is confirmed by its Authority. For before I had procured that MS. I begun this Tenth Chapter at the next Period. The King's and Fulk. MSS. do agree with the Marz. Valef.

(b) By these words [πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρᾶξι ἀναγγεῖν] is meant, to place his name first in all Titles of Law and Decrees. Also, in all Inscriptions on publick Works, Statues and Images, Maximin placed his name before his Collegues, Constantine and Licinius: Although they were Augusti before him. But Maximin challenged the first place, because he was created Caesar before them. Valef.

(c) Nicephorus changes these words [ἐμπερίεσθαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον τῆς μαυρίας] thus [ἐμπερίεσθαι εἰς τὴν μαυρίαν τὴν τῆς ἄνθρωπος, extending his Pride to utter madness] which Rendition is not amiss. For ἄνθρωπος is, in Chrysostome, taken for pride in many places. Valef.

\* In all our MSS. 'tis πικρὸς; and we translate accordingly the term. Valef.

(d) By [ὁπλιτικὸν] the term here us'd, Eusebius means Maximin's foot forces. Of all Historians only Zosimus mentions any thing of this Battel between Maximin and Licinius in Illyricum; in his second Book: He says, that Licinius at first suffered some loss; but afterwards, renewing the fight, he put Maximin to flight, who fled towards the East, thinking to raise a new Army. This Relation does well agree with this of Eusebius here, for he says that Maximin having lost his Army fled into his part of the Empire, that is, into the East. This Battel therefore was fought in Europe; in the year of Christ 312. Constantine and Licinius being the third time Consuls; as Sigonius well observes, in his third Book De Occidentali Imperio. Valef.

Constantine and Licinius. them yet, lest they should suffer any Affronts or Molestations from the (o) Beneficiarii, or any others, I thought it agreeable and opportune to remind Your Gravity by these Letters, that You should rather win the Subjects of Our Provinces to embrace the Worship of the Gods, by Flatterings and Exhortations. Wherefore if any shall voluntarily take upon him to embrace and acknowledge the Worship of the Gods, it is convenient that You should receive and treat such Persons with the greatest kindness imaginable. But if any choose to adhere to their own Religion, You are to permit them to take their Liberty. It is therefore required, that Your Devotedness observe what You are hereby enjoyned; and that no Person be empowered to injure, or exercise Violence towards any of the Subjects of Our Provinces: Since it is rather convenient (as We said before) to recal Our Subjects to the Worship of the Gods by fair Words and kind Exhortations. Moreover, that this Injunction of Ours may come to the knowledge of all our Subjects, let it be Your care to (p) publish this Our Order by an Edict proposed by You.

(p) It was usual that the Praefects of the Praetorium should, immediately upon receipt of the Emperor's Law, publish it to the Subjects by their Edict. Sometimes they did promulge the Emperor's Law before their own Edict; sometimes they proclaimed their own Edict, and only mentioned in it the Emperor's Law. Thus did Sabinus, in the next Chapter of this ninth Book. But Rufinus says that he proclaimed the Emperor's Law before his own Edict. True it is, we must confess, that the Emperor's Laws were published before the Edicts of the President's most commonly. Of this we have a notable instance in the Conference at Carthage, where after the reading of the Emperor's Letter to Marcellinus the Tribune and the Notarius, Marcellinus's Edict was read. We must suppose the same thing concerning the Emperor's Rescripts: Which were always placed before the Edicts of the Magistrates. So did Himerius, Rationalist of Egypt, in his Epistle to the Governour of Marcotis; which Athanasius has related in his Apology. Valef.

When Maximin had issued out this Precept (being necessitated to it, and having not done it of his own accord) for all this he was not look'd upon by all Men to mean unfeignedly, or worthy to be confided in, because formerly (after the like Indulgence) he had demonstrated himself to be of a mutable and perfidious Disposition: None therefore of our Religion durst either (q) meet together in their Ecclesiastick Assemblies, or shew themselves in publick; for the Rescript did not in expresse words allow of this; it only contained an Order that we should be preserved secure from violence and abuses: But it permitted us not either to celebrate our Assemblies, or to build Churches, or to perform any of those Solemnities usual with us: Although Constantine and Licinius, the Patrons of Peace and Piety, (r) had by their Letters acquainted him, that they had both permitted us to do these things, and also had granted the same to all under their Government by their Rescripts and Decrees. But the most impious Tyrant was resolved not to yield thus, till such time as, having been prosecuted by Divine Justice, he was at length forc'd to it, whether he would or no.

(q) By this word [συνελεῖν] used in this place, we must not understand a Council of Bishops, but an Ecclesiastick Congregation, for συνελεῖν is sometimes used in that sense, and Nicoph. in this place uses [συνάγειν, i.e. to meet together in their Assemblies] instead of συνελεῖν συγκελεῖν which word I greatly approve of as explaining the place. Valef.

(r) These words [αὐτῷ τε ἐπιτρέπειν ἐπιστάλλεσθαι] Musculus and Christoph. render thus; Maximino, ut ista concederet, scripserant, they had written to Maximin that he should grant it. But I think Eusebius's meaning was otherwise, (to wit,) Constantine and Licinius wrote to Maximin, that they had given free liberty to the Christians to exercise their Religion, to celebrate their Assemblies, and to build Churches, &c. For it seems unlikely and something arrogant, that Constantine and Licinius should command Maximin, their Collegue, to grant these Privileges to the Christian. Valef.



*Constant. and Licinius.* of an host, neither is any mighty man delivered by his great strength. A horse is counted but a vain thing to save a man, neither shall he deliver any man by his great strength. Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that put their trust in his mercy; to deliver their souls from death. Thus therefore did the Tyrant return with disgrace into his own Provinces; and first of all in a mad passion he destroyed many Priests and Prophets belonging to those Gods he had formerly admired, (by whose Oracles he had been excited to engage himself in this War) as Cheats, Impostors, and also, Betrayers of his own Safety. Then when he had given thanks and praise to the God of the Christians, and had enacted a full, perfect, and most compleat Law for their Liberty, he was forthwith struck with a mortal Distemper, and (without the least delay allow'd him) finish'd his Life. Now this was the Law which he published.

\* *Arifles.*  
*φων ἐξ*  
*μαρτίας,*  
*i. e. A*  
*Copy of*  
*the Ver-*  
*son, &c.*

\* A Copy of the Tyrant's Decree in behalf of the Christians, translated out of Latin into Greek.

EMPEROR CÆSAR CAIUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS GERMANICUS, SARMATICUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS AUGUSTUS. We are confident no man can be ignorant, but that every one does know and is fully satisfied (if he does recollect himself, and reflect upon what is done,) that at all times and by all means we do consult the Utility of the Subjects of our Provinces, and do willingly grant them such things as may prove most advantageous to them in general, all that may be most conducive to their common good and profit, whatever is agreeable to the advantage of the Publick, and is most grateful to the minds of every one of them in particular. At such time therefore as it came to Our knowledge, that (upon occasion of a Law made by Our Parents, their most Sacred [Majesties] Diocletian and Maximian, whereby it was decreed that the Assemblies of the Christians should be utterly abolished, many Extortions and Rapines were committed by the Beneficiarii, and that these Abuses of Our Subjects (whose Peace and Quiet is Our chiefest care) increased exceedingly, their Estates being [upon this pretence] wasted: By Our

> See the foregoing Chapter. Note (c.) (c) He means his every Province, We decreed; That if any one had a desire to follow that Sect, or adhere to the Precepts of that Religion, he might without impediment persist in his Resolution, and not be hindered or prohibited by any man: And that every one should freely do what pleased him best without the least fear or suspicion. But it could not now escape our knowledge that some of Our Judges did (f) misap-

Chap. B. S. Maximin says 'twas written in the year past, or the last year, i. e. in the year of Christ 312. Constantine and Licinius being both then in their second Consulate. Whence it follows, that this last Edict of Maximin was written in the year of Christ 313; Constantine and Licinius being the third time Consuls. Further, these are the principal differences between the Emperor's Rescripts and Edicts. (1.) Their Rescripts had their names annex'd to whom they were sent; the Edicts spoke to all Men in general. (2.) The Edicts were publicly proposed; the Rescripts were given to those to whom they were sent; as may be seen from *Gest. August. Ciceron. p. 28.* nor was it usual to publish them, unless this word was expressly added in the end of the Rescript, *proponatur, Let it be published.* Lastly, in their Rescripts the name of the Emperor was prefix'd only with some few of his Titles: But in their Edicts, none of their Titles were omitted, but all were carefully and proudly mentioned. *Valef.*

(f) This word [*παρρησιασμέναι*] is by *Langus* rendred *malè accepisse, misapprehended, misinterpreted*; Which Version I approve of: For *παρρησιασμέναι*, in its genuine sense signifies *malè interpretari.* But *Mus-*

*culus* (and *Christoph.* in imitation of him) translates it, *negligere, to neglect, pro nihilo habere, not to value*: Which is not so well. The *Fut.* and *Savil MSS.* read [*παρ' ἑδὲν ἐτίθεντο, disregarded*] which words seem to have been written in the Margin as a Scholion at first; but afterwards crept into the Text. *Valef.*

prebend Our Commands, and caused Our Subjects to distrust and doubt of Our Decrees, and made them more slow and fearful in their accesses to those Religious Performances which they approved of as best: Now therefore that all Jealousies, Ambiguities, and Fears may for the future be removed, we have decreed that this Our Edict be published; whereby all men may know, that they who desire to follow this Sect and Religion, are allowed by this Our Gracious Indulgence to apply themselves to that Religion which they have usually followed, in such a manner as is acceptable and pleasing to every one of them. We do also permit them to rebuild their Oratories. Moreover, that this Our Indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehensive, it has pleased us to make this Sanction; That if any Houses or Estates (which formerly belonged to and were in possession of the Christians) are by the Decree of Our Parents devolved to the Right of the Exchequer, or are seized upon by any City, or sold, or (g) bestowed upon any one as a Gratuity: We have decreed that they shall all be restored to the ancient Tenure and Possession of the Christians; that so all men may hereby be sensible of Our Piety and Providence in this concern.

which fell to the Exchequer, to those that begg'd them. See the Code, in the Title *De petitionibus.* *Valef.*

These are the expressions of the Tyrant, which came from him not a full year after those Edicts he had publish'd against the Christians [engraven on Plates of Brass, and] fix'd up on the Pillars. And now he, who but a little before look'd upon us as Impious, Atheistical Persons, and the very Pest of Mankind, (in so much that we were not permitted to dwell in any City, Country, or even in the Deserts,) this very person [I say] made and published Laws and Decrees in favour of the Christians. And they, who but lately were destroy'd by Fire and Sword, and were devoured and torn by Beasts and Birds in the very presence of this Tyrant; they, who underwent all sorts of Punishments, Tortures and Death, in a most miserable manner, like Atheists and irreligious persons, even these Men are now acknowledged by this very Tyrant to profess Religion, and are permitted to rebuild their Oratories; nay further, the Tyrant himself does acknowledge and attest that they ought to be partakers of some Rights and Privileges. Moreover, when he made this publick acknowledgment, (as if he had hereby obtain'd some favour) for this very reason, his Sufferings were less calamitous than he deserved they should be, [for] being smitten by God with a sudden stroke, he died in the second Engagement [that happened in] that War. But he ended his Life not like those Martial Generals, who (after they had often demeaned themselves gallantly in the Field in defence of their Honour and their Friends) happened courageously to undergo a glorious Death. But he (like an impious person, and a Rebel against his Creator,) whilst his Army stood in the Field drawn up in *Battalia*, staying at home and hiding himself, suffered a condign Punishment, being smitten by God with a sudden Blow over his Body. For, being tortured with grievous and most acute Pains, he fell upon his Face on the Ground, and was destroyed by want

(g) That is by the Emperors, who us'd to give those Estates



*Constant. and Licinius.* want of Food, all his Flesh being melted away by an invisible Fire sent upon him from Heaven. In so much that, when his Flesh was wholly wasted away, the entire shape and figure of his former Beauty quite disappeared; his parched Bones (which look'd like a Skeleton that had been long dried) being all that was left of him. So that those about him judged his Body to be nothing but the Grave of his Soul buried in a Body already dead and wholly putrified. And when the violent Heat of his Distemper scorched him with a greater vehemency even to the very Marrow of his Bones, (b) his Eyes leaped out of his Head, and, having deserted their proper station, left him blind. After all this he yet drew his Breath, and having given thanks, and made his Confession to the Lord, he called for Death. At last, acknowledging these his Sufferings due for his Contempt and Presumption against Christ, he gave up the Ghost.

(c) Chrysostom attests the same, in his *Oratio* on *concerning* St. Babylas against the Gentiles; in these words.

Ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέκειντο ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἐπέκειντο ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. The eye-balls of one of them leapt out of his eye-holes of their own accord, while he was yet alive; this was Maximin: The other ran mad. Diocletian was the Emperor that was dejected; which is attested by Eusebius, and by Constantine. We have also an account of Maximin's blindness, in Epiphanius's piece *De Fide*. Valef.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning the final Destruction of the Enemies Religion.

**M**aximin therefore being thus taken out of the World, (who was the only Enemy of Religion that hitherto survived, and declared himself the worst of them all;) the Churches by the Grace of God Almighty were rebuilt and raised from the very Foundation, and the Gospel of Christ, darting forth its Beams of Light to the great glory of the All-ruling Deity, enjoyed greater liberty than it formerly had. But the Wicked, and the Enemies of Religion were clouded with the highest Disgrace and greatest shame imaginable. For first of all Maximin himself was

(a) Though in the common Edition the term here is [τοῦ ἐχθροῦ] yet we read *τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*. For Eusebius here means, that Maximin was proclaimed a *Common Enemy*. This was done publicly, by the Decree of the Senate, as the Compilers of the *Historia Augusta* inform us in many places, and especially where they treat of Maximin. Valef.

pieces and thrown down from on high to the very Ground; and others were defaced, having their Visages blackned with dark colours. In like manner all the Statues which had been erected in honour of him, were also thrown down, broken in pieces, and exposed as subjects of derision and scorn to all those that would abuse and insult over them. After this the other Enemies of Religion were divested of all their Dignities. Moreover, all Maximin's Party, more especially those whom he had preferred to places of the greatest power in the Provinces within his Empire (who to flatter him had been insolently abusive towards our Religion) were put to death. One of this number was

(b) *Picentius*, a person that was a great Favourite of his, highly esteemed by him, and his dearest *Intimado*: Whom he created Consul a second and a third time, and also made him (c) *Præfect* and *Rationalist*. Another was one (d) *Culcianus*, whom the Greeks name *Κυλκιανός*; who had born all Offices of Dignity in the Magistracy and in the Government of Provinces; he also was famous for his innumerable Massacres of the Christians in Egypt. There were a great many more beside these, by whose endeavours most especially, the barbarous Tyranny of *Maximin* was maintained and extended. Further, Divine Vengeance required justice to be executed upon (e) *Theotecnus*, being in no wise forgetful of his Practices against the Christians. For he was look'd upon as a deserving and successful person upon account of his Consecration of the Image at Antioch, and besides, the Emperor Maximin conferr'd on him the Presidency of a Province. But when *Licinius* came to Antioch, and was resolved to make Inquisition for the Impostors, [amongst others] he tortured the Priests and Prophets of the new-contrived Image, enquiring of them how they palliated and put a Mask upon their Imposture; when they could no longer conceal the truth, being by their tortures compelled [to disclose it] they declared, that the imposture of the whole Mystery was composed by the cunning of *Theotecnus*.

Valef.

(c) He seems to mean the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. For the term [ἐπαρχος] is never used but to denote either the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, or the *Præfect* of the City. Besides, whenas Eusebius affirms that *Picentius* was advanced to great honour, and made Consul twice by *Maximin*, it would be absurd for him to say, that he was made *Rationalist* by him, that being a place of small honour in respect of the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium*. But, there are these arguments to confute this opinion: (1.) By these words [ἐπὶ καὶ δόξαν λόγον] Eusebius does always mean the *Rationalist*, as we have frequently observed before. (2.) *Sabinus* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin* (as we noted before) in the year of Christ, 311, and 312. Neither (3.) is the dignity of the *Rationalist's* Office to be lookt upon as mean and low. For even *Macrianus* (he that seized on the Empire in the times of *Gallienus*) bore that Office: And Eusebius himself (Book 8. Chap. 9.) calls it *ἐπαρχία* & *πρωτοβουλή*, no mean Office; speaking of *Philoromus* the Martyr. But that which Eusebius says, to wit, that *Picentius* was made Consul thrice by *Maximin*, is very intricate and difficult to be made out. We have observed before, that after *Galerius's* death, *Maximin* took upon himself the title of *Augustus*, in the year of Christ 311. Therefore, before this time, when he was *Cæsar* only, he could not make *Picentius* Consul. For the *Augusti* only had a right of creating the Consuls. Therefore, after *Galerius's* death, *Maximin* declared himself and *Picentius* Consuls in that very year. On the year following *Maximin* and *Picentius* bore their second Consulate in the East, when *Constantine* and *Licinius* were the second time Consuls in the West. But in Italy and Africa *Maxentius* was the fourth time Consul alone. Then, on the year after, which was the 313 year of Christ, the same *Maximin* and *Picentius* were Consuls the third time in the East, as is evidently collected from this famous passage in Eusebius. For 'tis improbable that *Maximin* should give a third Consulate to another, and not declare himself Consul once. Indeed, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, *Galerius Maximinus* is put Consul with *Maximianus*, being in his eighth Consulate, which is the year of Christ 311. Although in that Chronicle he is called *Galerius Maximus*. We therefore are the first that have taken notice, that *Maximin* bore three Consulates. Whence it may be gathered, that *Maximin* was *Augustus* about two years, having before been *Cæsar* seven years, and that he had lived till the 313 year of Christ, which we have also demonstrated from his Rescripts. Wherefore I wonder how so notorious a mistake should creep into Eusebius's *Chronicon*, as to place *Maximin's* death before *Maxentius's*: It seems to have been committed by St. Jerome; for he added many things of his own to Eusebius's *Chronicon*. Valef.

(d) He was President of *Thebais*, as Epiphanius attests in his 68 *Heresy*, which is the Heresy of the *Meletiani*, where he is called [Κυλκιανός, Κυλκιανός]; but it should be *Culcianus*, as 'tis evident from this place in Eusebius: Yet Rufinus translates it *Quintianus*: In Nicephorus 'tis *Lucianus*; both names are false. For this President was called *Culcianus*, as (besides Eusebius) the Acts of *Phileas* the Martyr's Passion do affirm. Valef.

(e) Eusebius speaks of this *Theotecnus* before, in this ninth Book. Cedrenus asserts that this *Theotecnus* persuaded *Galerius Maximianus* to raise a Persecution against the Christians. But he is mistaken, in that he takes *Galerius Maximianus* for *Galerius Maximinus*, which is a common error amongst the modern Greek Authors. Valef.

when



Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

when therefore *Licinius* had inflicted condign punishment on them all; he gave order that *Theotecnus* himself should first be executed, and afterwards the rest of his Associates that were conscious to, and Accomplices in the Cheat, having first suffered innumerable Tortures. To all these were added *Maximin's* Sons, whom he had now made Collegues with himself in the Empire, and Partakers of the Pictures, and Inscriptions dedicated to his Honour. In fine, all the Tyrant's Relations, (who but just before had made their proud boasts, and insolently exercised authority over all Men,) most ignominiously underwent the same Sufferings with those persons forementioned, for they received not instruction, nor did they know, or understand

this seasonable Admonition uttered in the Holy Scriptures; O put not your trust in Princes, nor in the Children of men, for there is no health in them. The breath of man shall go forth, and he shall return again to his earth: in that day shall all their thoughts perish. Thus therefore the Impious being like Filth wiped away [from off the Earth,] the Empire, which by right belonged only to *Constantine* and *Licinius*, continued firm, and unobnoxious to envy. These persons (after they had first of all cleansed the World from all Impiety) being sensible of those great Benefits they had received from God, did sufficiently demonstrate their Love of Vertue and of the Deity, their Piety and Gratitude towards God, by the Laws they made in favour of the *Christians*.

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The End of the Ninth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

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THE



## O F

*E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S.*

*Constant.*  
and  
*Licinius.* **C H A P. I.** *Concerning the Peace, which was procured by God  
for us.*

324; and blames *Philostorgius* for being inconstant to himself. But *Philostorgius* agrees very well with himself; which *Gothofredus* does not, in assenting that *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre* died on the year of Christ 324. undoubtedly *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre* was present at the *Niceene Council*, and survived that Synod sometime; as *Theodoret* informs us, Book 1. Chap. 6. and *Sozomen*, Book 2. Chap. 18. — *Baronius* indeed says that *Paulinus* died in the year 324, and that *Eustathius* succeeded him. But *Baronius* affirms not, that that *Paulinus* whom he makes *Eustathius*'s Predecessor, was Bishop of *Tyre*. Valef.

lishing you to be the Seal and Cloſure as it *Constant.*  
were of this our whole Work. Nor will it *and*  
be incongruous (as we ſuppoſe) to place here *Licinius.*

\* an entire and compleat

\* The Phrase in the original is [*ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ*] which *Valesius*, *Christophorson*, and *Grynæus* render *in perfecto numero*; and we, *an entire and compleat Panegyrick*.

sing unto the Lord a new  
song; for, he hath done marvellous things. With his own right hand, and with his holy arm hath he got-  
Psal. 98. 1, 2, 3.

ten himself the victory. The Lord hath declared his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shew'd in the sight of the Heathen. Therefore, since the Scripture enjoyneth us [to begin] a new Song, let us agreeable thereto sing together; because, after such terrible, black, and horrid Spectacles and Relations, we are now vouchsafed to see such happy Days, and to celebrate such Festivals, as many of our Ancestors, who were truly Just and God's *Martyrs*, desired to see upon Earth, but have not seen them; and to hear, but have not heard them. But these persons hastning away with all possible speed, obtain'd far more excellent things, being taken up into Heaven, and into the Paradise of Divine Joy and Delight: And we, confessing these present Enjoyments to be greater than our Deserts, stand amazed at the bounty of the Donor of such Munificence: We also justly admire and adore him with the utmost vigour of our Souls, attesting the truth of his Predictions by his Prophets contain'd in the Scriptures, in which 'tis said: *O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what miracles he hath done upon the earth: He maketh the wars to cease in all the world. He shall break the bow, and knap in sunder the spear, and burn the shields with fire.* Let us therefore rejoyce

R \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_



Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

at the perfect and effectual completion of these things in our days, and with gladness prosecute the Series of our Narration. After the same manner therefore that we have related, did the whole Race of those Enemies of God vanish, and was suddenly taken away out of Men's sight; so that that Divine Oracle was again compleated, which says; \* *I have seen the wicked exalted, and lifted up like the Cedars of Libanus, I went by, and lo, he was not: I sought his place but it could not be found.* Now therefore a bright and glorious day, no cloud overshadowing it, doth enlighten, with Rays of heavenly Light, the Churches of Christ over all the Earth. Neither were there any of those that were strangers to the Community of us Christians, and to our Religion, (b) but (although they did not enjoy them in the same degree that we did, yet at least in some measure) might together with us partake of the Streams and Effluxes of those good things, which had been procured us from God.

(b) This place (which neither Musculus nor Christopherson understood)

must be thus mended; συναπολαύειν ἡμῶν εἰ μὴ ἡμῶν ἰσῶν, ἀπερροῖς δ' ἐν ὁμῶς, &c. But (although they did not enjoy them in the same degree that we did, yet at least in some measure) might together with us partake of the Streams, &c. Valef. In Stephens's Edition the Reading is, συναπολαύειν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἰσῶν, &c.

## C H A P. II.

## Concerning the Re-edification of the Churches.

ALL mankind was now free from the Slavery and Oppression of Tyrants; and being released from their former miseries, (although several ways, yet) all acknowledged as well as they could, that it was the only true God, who was the Defender of the Pious. But more especially amongst us (all whose hopes were fixed solely upon God's Christ) there was an inexpressible joy, and a kind of celestial gladness; when we saw all places, which thro' the Irreligion of the Tyrants were a little while ago totally destroy'd, restor'd to life as it were, and recover'd from a tedious and fatal Ruin; and [when we beheld] the Temples erected again from the ground to a vast height, and in splendour far excelling those which had formerly been destroy'd. Moreover, the Emperors themselves, in whose hands the supreme Power was, by their continual enacting of Laws in favour of the Christians, did enlarge, augment, and confirm the magnificence of the Divine Bounty towards us. There were Rescripts also frequently sent from the Emperor particularly to the Bishops, their Honours were increased, and Sums of Money were bestowed on them. The Contents of which Rescripts (being translated out of Latin into Greek,) it may not be impertinent to record in this Book (as in a sacred Table) at a proper and fit place, that they may be had in continual remembrance by all succeeding Generations.

## C H A P. III.

## Concerning the Consecrations of Churches every where [solemniz'd.]

AFTER those things, a Spectacle earnestly pray'd for, and much desir'd by us all, appear'd; [to wit,] the Solemnization of the

Festivals of Dedication [of Churches] throughout every City, and the Consecrations of the new builded Oratories; the frequent Assemblies of Bishops, the Concourse of Strangers from Countries far remote, the mutual Love and Benevolence of the People; the Union of the Members of Christ's Body joyn'd together in an entire harmony and consent: Therefore, (agreeable to that \* Prophetick Prediction, which has mystically fore-signified what is to come,) bone was joyned to bone, and joynt to joynt; and what ever else that Divine Prophecy has ænigmatically but truly declar'd. There was one and the same Power of the Holy Ghost which passed through all the Members; one Soul in all: The same alacrity of Faith: One common consent in chaunting forth the (a) praises of God. Indeed, the Ceremonies of the Prelates were most entire, the Presbyters Performances of Service exact, the Rites of the Church decent and majestic; (b) on the one hand was a place for the Singers of Psalms, and for the rest of the Auditors of the Expressions sent from God: On the other was a place for those who performed the divine and mystical Services: There were also [deliver'd] the (c) mystical Symbols of our Saviour's Passion. And now People of all ages and sexes, Men and Women, with the utmost vigour of their Minds, with joyful Hearts and Souls, by Prayers and Thanksgiving, worshipped God the Author of all Good. All the Prelates then present made publick Orations, every one (as well as he was able) endeavouring to set forth the Praises of those assembled.

Constant.  
and  
Licinius.\*Ezek. 37.  
v. 7.(a) Σεολογία  
is here  
(as 'tis frequently in  
this Historian)used to signify  
the praising of  
God: So also is δε-  
λαύειν, laudare  
Deum, to  
praise God.(b) Rufinus's  
Version of  
this place  
may serve  
in stead of

a Comment; he translates it thus; Jam verò ingens in Sacerdotiis & ministeriis, atq; in omnibus quæ ad religionis observantiam pertinent, gratia refulgebat. Adstabant hic psallentium chori, juvenes & virgines, senes cum junioribus laudabant nomen domini. Hic mystica ministeria ordinatis & dispositis vicibus agebantur; And now an exceeding great Glory and Beauty appear'd in the Performances of the Presbyters, and in the Ecclesiastick Services, and in all things belonging to the Observances of Religion. In one place, the company of those that sung Psalms, Youths and Virgins, old Men and young, praised the name of the Lord. In another, the Mystical Services were performed by set courses orderly appointed. The terms [δὲ λαὸς] therefore denote the People of the Congregation, who sang Psalms in the Church, and hearkned to the sacred Lessons: Which is confirmed by these Words [φωνῶν ἀκρόασις, Auditors of the Expressions] which can be understood of the Laicks only. The Words [δὲ δὲ] point out to us the Presbyters, who performed the Mystical Ceremonies. Valef.

(c) By these [ἀπὸ τῶν σὺμβόλων σωτηρίας πάσης, the mystical Symbols of our Saviour's Passion] is meant Baptism; which is a sign of our Saviour's suffering. For, by Baptism we die, and are buried with Christ, and we rise again through the same Christ by Faith. See Colos. 2. 12. Valef.

## C H A P. IV.

## A Panegyrick concerning the splendid Posture of our Affairs.

AND a certain person, that had been indifferently well educated and was deserving, having made this Oration, came forth into the presence of a great many Bishops, (that were then present as at an Ecclesiastick Assembly) who gave him audience quietly and decently; then turning himself towards one who was the eminentest of them all, (a Bishop acceptable to God, by whose care the Church of Tyre, the stateliest Fabrick amongst all the Churches within the Country of Phœnicia, was gloriously erected,) he spake thus.

A Pane-



*Constant.*  
and  
*Licinius.*

(d) In the Greek, these following Lines (the Translation contained within this Parenthesis) seem to be Iambicks taken from some *Tragedian*. The Words are these ;

Τῆς ἥν' χαμνόντω εἴρεκεν σωτηρίας  
 Ὅρα τὰ θανάθι γινώσκεις δ' ἀνδρῶν  
 Ἀλλοτρίας τὲ συμφορῆσιν ἰδίαις  
 χαρπύεται λύπας.

These Verses are undoubtedly very elegant, and smell somewhat of *Æschylus*, or *Sophocles*. But I think they ought rather to be put in this place, for they disturb the sense of the preceding Lines.

ly to be praised, in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill. *For he is truly great, and his*

hing of  
blotted

(when



*Constant. and Licinius.* (when we were not only half dead, but lay altogether impure and stinking in the Graves and Sepulchres) and both in times past, and now through his earnest compassion towards us (even beyond our hopes and expectations) preserveth us, and imparteth to us an Exuberancy of his Father's good things. 'Tis he who is the Author of Life, and the Introducer of Light; our Great Physician, King, Lord, and the

(e) Here he first relates what Christ did in the days of old, for the Salvation of Mankind. Afterwards he sets forth what Miracles he lately wrought. *Valef.*

(f) In the Text we read [αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπιφανείς,] but we should rather read [αὐτὸς μόνον] as we find it in the *Med. Fuk.* and *Mar. MSS.* αὐτὸ μόνον signifies *solummodo*, only, or alone; which Phrase is frequent in *Eusebius*, and thus he is here to be understood: That Christ only, by his appearance and incarnation in times past, delivered Men, who were enslaved by the Devil, from that grievous yoke of servitude. *Valef.*

† Τὸ μισοῦν καὶ φθόνον καὶ φιλονεικίαν δὲ λέγει; the import whereof, if rendred word for word, is this; Envy the hater of that which is good, and the Devil the lover of mischief. But by the following words in the period, he seems to speak of the Devil only: Upon which account we render it *The envious Devil*, &c. agreeable to *Valefius's* Version.

turning his beastly Rage upon the Stones of the Oratories, and upon the senseless Piles of the Buildings, he thought with himself, that he had procur'd the utter Desolation of the Churches; also, when afterwards he sent forth terrible Hissings, and his serpentine Expressions, one while by the Menaces of impious Tyrants, at another time by the blasphemous Decrees of prophane Presidents, and moreover belched forth the Virulency of his Death, and with his venomous and deadly Potions, poison'd those Souls that were captivated by him, and had in a manner destroy'd them by the pernicious Sacrifices of dead Idols; when lastly he had incited against us all those that under the shape of Men masked their savage Cruelty, Persons of a Disposition every way barbarous and fierce: Then again, the

(g) Upon these Words in the *Med. MS.* we find this Scholion in the Margin, (viz.) this is Wicked, Atheistical, and Blasphemous, to call the Saviour Christ and God, the great Commander in chief of God's Hosts. *Valef.*

Angel of the Great Council, that (g) Chief Commander of God's Hosts (after a sufficient Exercise in the Combat, which the most valiant Champions of his Kingdom exhibited, by undergoing the severest Hardships with patience and fortitude,) appearing on a sudden, so utterly destroy'd and reduc'd to nothing, all his Enemies and Adversaries, that they seem as if they had never been named. But his Friends and Dependants be exalted to the highest pitch of Glory, not only amongst all Men, but amongst the Celestial Powers also, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the whole Heaven, and the World. So that now (which thing never happen'd before) the supream Emperors, sensible of that Honour they have received from God, spit in the Faces of the dead Idols, trample under-foot the prophane Rites and Services of Devils, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them by Tradition from their Ancestors: They acknowledge one only God, the common Benefactor to all Men, and to them in particular; and they profess Christ the Son of God to be the supream Ruler of all things, they proclaim him Saviour in their Inscriptions upon Pillars, engraving in

Royal Characters, his valiant Exploits and Victories *Constant. and Licinius.* (in order to their indelible remembrance) over the Impious, in the very midst of that City which is Queen of the whole Earth. So that our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only person amongst all those who have been since the World began, that is confessed to be (even by the Emperors themselves, who are Supream here upon Earth,) not an ordinary King, made such by Men, but is worshipped as being the genuine Son of the Supream God, and is [adored] as being (h) truly and in himself God; and that deservedly. For what King had ever such power, as that he could fill the Tongues and Ears of all Men upon Earth (i) with his Name? What King ever constituted such pious and prudent Laws, and was able to confirm them in such a manner, that they should be perpetually read in the audience of all Men from the one end of the whole Earth to the opposite Extremities thereof? What King hath ever by his mild and indulgent Laws, melted and softned the savage and barbarous Dispositions of the inhumane Heathens? What King, opposed by all Men during the space of so many whole Ages, ever demonstrated such a more than human Valour and Strength, that he flourished daily, and seem'd to grow young in every succeeding Age? Who hath planted a Nation (which heretofore was not so much as heard of) not in some secret unknown Corner of the Earth only, but even throughout the whole World [which lies] under the Sun? Who ever armed his Soldiers with the Arms of Godliness in such a manner, that in their Conflicts with their Adversaries they made it apparent that their Minds were firmer than an Adamant? What King was ever so potent as to lead an Army after his Death, and to erect Trophies against his Enemies, and to fill every Place, Country, and City, Grecian and Barbarian, with his Royal Palaces, and with the (k) consecrated Fabricks of holy Temples, such as are those splendid Ornaments and consecrated Gifts belonging to this very Church: Which are in themselves truly August and Magnificent, worthy of amazement and admiration, in regard they are (l) evident Representations of our Saviour's Kingdom. \* For he now spake and they were made; he commanded, and they stood fast: For what could withstand the Beck and Will of the Word, who is the supream King and Governour of all things, and is himself God? But an accurate Contemplation and Explication of these things particularly, require a peculiar Discourse and Leisure. Moreover, a peculiar Leisure would be requisite to relate what, and how great the alacrity of the Workmen was that laboured in this Building, and how it

(b) We ought to take special notice of this place; for it is the first wherein *Eusebius* calls Christ αὐτοθεός. This one place I think sufficient to confute all their malicious Calumnies, who believe that our Author *Eusebius* was infected with *Arianism*. This word [αὐτοθεός] is made in imitation of *Plato's* Word αὐτοαυσαδός, which signifies that which in itself is truly good: So αὐτοθεός is he who is truly originally and in himself God. *Valef.*

(i) By these Words [τὴν αὐτὴν μενονησίαν] may be meant the Christians, who are called τὴν αὐτὴν μενονησίαν after his own name: Which name of Christians was spread over all Nations, and known not amongst the Romans only, but also amongst the Barbarians. But if any would have these Words [τὴν αὐτὴν μενονησίαν] signify Christ's own name; I will not much contradict it; for a little after our Author speaks of the Christians: Which certainly he would not have done, had he spoken of them before. *Valef.*

(k) Ἀφιέρωμα, the term here, does not signify the Consecration of Churches, as *Musculus* here translates it; but rather the *Dona*, things Offered and Consecrated to God, and thus the following Words [κοσμήματα καὶ ἀναθήματα, Ornaments and Dedicated (or Consecrated) Gifts,] declare. Certainly if *Eusebius* had here meant Consecration, he would have us'd ἀφιέρωμα; and not ἀφιέρωμα in this place; as he does in the third Chapter of this tenth Book. *Valef.*

(l) In the King's MS. at the side of this line I found this mark [ω] set: Which is an abbreviation of the Word [ωραίων, i. e. polite, elegant.] In ancient MSS. 'tis usually found placed at the more elegant passages. *Valef.*

\* Psal 33. v. 9. More over, a peculiar Leisure would be requisite to relate what, and how great the alacrity of the Workmen was that laboured in this Building, and how it

was



Constant. was look'd upon and esteemed of by that God him-  
self, whom we extol, who inspects the living Tem-  
ples of us all, and views the House built of living  
and (m) firm Stones, well and securely placed upon  
the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus  
Christ himself being the chief corner stone:

(m) I have translated these words [ἐκ νεότητος λίθων] firm Stones: Musculus translates them crescentes lapides, growing Stones. Christopherson renders them incedentes inter lapides, walking Stones. But I cannot conceive, how the foundation could be firm, if the Stones moved. Of these Versions the Reader may take which best pleaseth him; I do not here reject Christopherson's Version. But whereas Christoph. supposes these Words [πρὸ θεολογικῶν] which we translate [that God whom we praise] do signifie Christ; I cannot at all commend him; For our Author speaks afterward of Christ; saying, That he is the chief corner Stone of this Temple. Wherefore by [πρὸ θεολογικῶν] is meant God the Father, the Ordainer of this work. Hieronym. translates [ἐκ νεότητος λίθων] in the second Chapter of Haggai, lapides viventes qui nunc volvuntur super terram, living Stones which are rolled upon the Earth. Valef.

Who was rejected not only by those who were the Framers of that ancient Building, which endures now no longer, but also by those Architects of that Fabrick which now is, consisting of many persons; who were wicked Framers of evil Works. But the Father having tried [this stone] and approved of it, in times past, and now also, laid it as the Head of the Corner of this Church, which is common to us all. Into this living Temple therefore of the living God, which is made up of us, (I mean that most stately sacred Fabrick, truly worthy of God, whose inmost Recesses are invisible to the Vulgar, and are truly holy, and the Holiest of Holies) what Man is he that dares look and divulge [what he there beholds?]

Yet, who is he that can with his Eyes penetrate its sacred Inclosures, but he alone, the Great High-Priest of all; whose only Right and Priviledge it is to make Researches into the Secrets of every rational Soul? And perhaps the same is granted to (n) one other person in the next place after him, to wit, to this chief Leader of his Host; whom the first and Great High-Priest himself hath honoured with the second place if the Priesthood in the sacred Temple, and has himself constituted him the Shepherd of your Holy Flock, having this your People committed to his charge by the allotment and determination of the

Father, as being his own Minister and Interpreter: A new Aaron or Melchisedeck, made like to the Son of God, remaining, and by the publick Prayers of you all preserved for ever by him. Unto this person alone therefore be it lawful next after the Chief and Principal High-Priest, if not to have the first, yet at least the second place in looking into, and taking care of the very inmost Recesses of your Souls: For by [the help of] experience and length of time he hath both made accurate Enquiries into every particular person amongst you; and also

by his care and industry, hath instructed you all in modesty, and in the Doctrine which is according to godliness: And he is abler than any one else to give such account of those (o) Works (which by the assisting power of God he hath perfected) as are answerable to the Works themselves. Indeed, our First and Chief High-Priest saith, \* What things soever he seeth the

Father do, these also doth the Son likewise But this person, looking upon the first [High-Priest,]

as it were upon a Master, attentively with the unpolluted Eyes of the Mind; whatsoever things he seeth him do, them he maketh use of as his original Patterns, and hath wrought the Representations thereof into such a form, that they do express (as near as 'tis possible to be done) an exact likeness thereto. Being nothing inferior to that \* Beseleel, whom God \* See himself (having filled him with the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, and of other artificial and skilful knowledge,) made choice of to be the Framer of a Structure of Celestial

Types of a † Temple, by certain shadowed Representations. After the same manner therefore, this our [Bishop] (p) bearing in his mind the perfect, whole, and intire Representation of Christ, who is the Word, the Wisdom, and the Light; it cannot be expressed with what a greatness of Soul, \* with what a rich and inexhaustible hand of his Understanding, and with what an emulous Liberality

[proceeding from] you all, (who by your Nobleness in contributing to the Charge did most ambitiously contend, that you might in no wise seem to be inferior to his vast Design) he hath erected this magnificent Temple of the most High God, which may be seen, naturally resembling (as near as may be) the Model of that more Glorious Structure which is invisible. And this very place, (for it is fit we should speak of this first, which by the Treacheries of our Enemies was overwhelmed with all manner of impure Rubbish, he neglected not; nor did he in the least yield to the Wickedness of them who had been Authors of it; whereas he could have found out another place (whereof there are great numbers in this City) where he might have been eased of much of his Labour, and freed himself from many Troubles: Yet, having first made ready himself to undertake this Work; and afterwards corroborated all the People with an alacrity of Mind, and gathered them altogether into one great Band, he attempted this (q) first laborious Enterprize: Supposing it fitting that this very Church (which had been most batter'd by the Enemies, which had heretofore undergone great Sufferings [upon our account,] which had endured Persecutions both with and before us, which like a Mother was bereaved of her Children,) ought to enjoy together with us the magnificent Bounty of our most good and gracious God. For, in as much as that Great Shepherd hath vouchsafed to gather his Children together again into one place, having driven away the Wild-Beasts, Wolves, and all the savage and fierce kind of Creatures, and (as the Divine Scriptures say,) having broken the jaw-bones of the Lions, with good reason he re-edified the Fold for his Flock, \* That he might put to confusion the enemy and the avenger, and might bring a reproach upon the audacious and rebellious attempts of the Impious against God.

(r) Now therefore these persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then. But after they had for a short space of time raised Disturbances, and were here is

[ἐν νῦν] thus, [Itaque illi deo invisibili, nunc amplius non sunt, quando ne tum quidem erant:] And we thus, [Now therefore these Persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then.] It seems to be an imitation of Dionysius Alexandrinus his expression; who in his Epistle to Harpocration (part whereof is quoted by our Eusebius, at Book 7. Chap. 23.) speaks thus concerning Macrianus, [ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντιῶν μὴ δὲ ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἦν.] Valef.

† Eusebius here us'd Ναός improperly, making it to signifie a Tabernacle; whereas Ναός signifies properly, a Temple: We read in Exod. chap. 38. that Beseleel built the Tabernacle of the Lord, not the Temple. Valef.

(p) This word [ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] is a Metaphorical term, taken from the Heathen Priests, who carried the Images of their Gods upon their shoulders. Valef.

\* Παρέστα τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπορίας χάριν. So 'tis worded in the original.

(q) He alludes to the Herculean Labours, or Combats. Valef.

\* Psal. 8.

(r) The Phrase here is



*Constant. and Licinius.* themselves also disturbed, they suffered a most just punishment inflicted on them by Divine Vengeance, and irrecoverably ruin'd themselves, their Friends and Families. So that those Predictions heretofore recorded in the sacred Monuments [of the Scriptures] may now be acknowledged to be really certain, in which the Word of God does both truly declare other things, and also speaks expressly concerning them, thus :

\* Psal. 37. v. 14, 15. \* The ungodly have drawn out the sword, they have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as are of an upright conversation. Their sword shall go through their own heart, and their bows shall be broken. And again, \* Their memorial perished with a sound, and † thou hast put out their name for ever and ever. || For when they were in troubles they cried, and there was none to save them, even unto the Lord did they cry, but he heard them not. † They were bound and fell, but we arose and were set upright; This also which was foretold in these words, ( \* Lord, thou in thy city shalt bring their image to nought ) is manifested in the sight of us all to be most true. These men, who like the Giants raised a War against God, procured for themselves the same fatal end of their lives that they did : But † she which was desolate, and whose safety was despaired of by all Men, has arrived to such a conclusion of her patient sufferance upon God's account as we now behold, so that these words of the Prophecy of Isaiah may seem to have been spoken to her. \* Rejoyce thou thirsty desert ; let the solitary place rejoyce, and flourish like a lilly : the deserts shall flourish and be glad : be ye strengthened ye languid hands and feeble knees : be comforted you faint-hearted, be strong, and fear not : Behold our God doth repay judgment, and will repay it : He will come and save us. For

\* Psal. 9. 6. Their Memorial is perished with a sound. † Psal. 9. 5. || See Psal. 18. 41. † Psal. 20. v. 8. \* Psal. 73. v. 19. † The Church of God. \* Isa. 35. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7. Our Author quotes this Text, as it is in the Version of the 72 ; according to which we translate.

\* He alludes to Psal. 74. v. 7. † See Psal. 80. v. 12, 13. † Heb. 12. v. 6. \* Isa. 35. v. 6. † We read [ τὸ νῆμα, joyce ; and she flourisheth as a Lilly, and breaths forth the fountain ] not [ τὸν ἄνθρακον ] The Fountain of that Salutory Laver of Divine Regeneration. And now, that land which a little before was desolate, is changed into pools : And the fountain of living water hath gushed out plentifully upon a thirsty land : Those hands which were formerly weak, are really strong : And those

works [ which you behold ] are great and power-ful Instances of this Strength of the Hands : Moreover, those Knees which were formerly enfeebled and weak, having now recovered their usual Firmness and Faculty of Walking, go straight on in the way of Divine Knowledge of God, hastning towards the genuine Flock of that most good and gracious Shepherd. And if any of them have had their Souls benumbed and stupified through the Menaces of Tyrants, even these the saving Word does not despise as incurable, but heals them carefully and tenderly, and excites them to be partakers of the Divine Consolation, saying, Be comforted, ye faint-hearted : Be strong, fear not. When therefore this our new and excellent Zorobabel ( by the acuteness of his Understanding ) perceived that, according as the Divine Word had foretold, She which had been brought to desolation for God's sake, should enjoy these good things, after that bitter Captivity, and Abomination of Desolation : He despised not this dead Corps, but having in the first place with supplications and prayers ( together with the joynt consent of you all ) propitiated the Father, and taking for his Assistant, and Fellow-labourer the only Reviver of the Dead, he raised up this fallen Church, having first purified her, and healed her of her Maladies. And now he hath put a Robe about her, not that old one, but such a one as he had again received instructions about, from the Divine Oracles, which expressly testifie thus : \* And the latter glory of this house shall far excel the former. Upon which account, having taken in a far larger compass of Ground, he fortified the outward Circuit with a Wall on every side, which might serve for a strong fence to the whole Structure. Then he raised a spacious, lofty, and stately Portico against the Rays of the rising Sun, which, to those who stand at a sufficient distance without the sacred Inclosure, does yield a full prospect of this Structure within ; and as it were, attracts the Eyes of Infidels to look upon the first Entrances, that so no Person might pass by, who should not feel some Pricks in his Mind, both at the remembrance of the former Desolation, and also at [ the sight of ] the stupendious Miracle of the present Fabrick. Hence he hoped, that he who upon that account felt such a Compunction, might peradventure be drawn [ towards it, ] and at the very sight thereof would be perswaded to enter in. But after you are come within the Gates, he has not permitted you to enter immediately into the Holy place with impure and unwashen Feet. But, having left a large vacancy betwixt the Temple and the Portico, he beautified this vacant space ( f ) having inclosed it in the figure of a Quadrangle ) with four opposite Cloysters supported on every side with Pillars. The ( t ) intermediate space betwixt these Pillars, he filled up with Partitions made of Wood, resembling Net-work, which reach up an indifferent height, but the ( u ) middle space Temple. This space was inclosed ( says He ) in figure of a Quadrangle, and beautified with four opposite Cloysters by Paulinus. Valef.

( t ) This [ αἰὲς αἰῶνος ] very well rendred, [ intercolumnia, the space betwixt the Pillars, ] was filled up with latticed bars of Wood, which reached upwards an indifferent height : Here also Eusebius useth [ αἰὲς αἰῶνος ] to signifie [ height ] which is not taken notice of by Translators. Valef.

( u ) He means that middle space in the open Air, which was encompassed on every side with the four Cloysters ; it was of the same figure with those which in the modern Monasteries are called Præcella. For that which the Monks call a Cloyster, is nothing else but four covered walks, within which is that vacancy in the open air, by them termed Præcellum. Moreover, in some Monasteries, this vacancy in the open air is fenced in with Rails, after the same manner that Eusebius says the Atrium, [ the Court, or Yard ] was, wherein the Church of Tyre stood ; which is done to hinder Boys from going into that open place, which is usually planted with Flowers. This vacant place is in Latin properly termed Atrium. Valef.



Constant. he left open, that a view of Heaven might be taken, and that by it might be let in the clear Air filled with the Rays of Light. Here also he placed the mysterious Symbols of the sacred Purgations, to wit, Fountains built opposite to the Front of the Church, which afforded plenty of Water for those who entered the sacred Walls to wash in. And this first place of reception for those that entered, yielded both a beautiful and splendid prospect to all Men, and also afforded a very commodious Mansion to those who yet wanted instruction in the first Principles of Religion.

† Παρεμεινεν τὸν τὸν θῆαν, after you have seen these things, or after you have entertained your self with beholding these things. Musculus's Version of it is, *Horum conspectu præterito, after you had passed seeing these things; which Version of Musculus's is rather to be followed than that long Circumlocution of Christopherson's, by which he translates this place thus, Quinetiam quo istas res ad oculos capiendos magnâ operum varietate concinne illustrarent: Which translation agrees not with Eusebius's words. Valef.*

bound on with Iron, and with variety of Sculpture, he adjoined the other two as the Guards to her, being as it were a Queen. When he had after the same manner made the number of the Porches equal to the Cloysters on both sides of the whole Church, over these Porches, he invented other copious Conveyances of Light into the House, and adorned them with various and exceeding fine and small wooden Sculptures: But the Royal House itself he furnished with richer and more costly Materials, liberally bestowing thereon most magnificent and vast expences. I think it here superfluous for me to describe the length and breadth of this Building, and to treat particularly of the Splendour [of the Structure,] of its unspeakable Greatness, of the glittering Show of the Works, of its Height which equals Heaven, and of the costly Cedars of Libanus that are laid hereupon: The mention of which even the holy Scriptures hath not passed over in silence; wherein 'tis said \* The trees of the Lord shall rejoyce, even the Cedars of Libanus which he hath planted. To what end should I make an exact Narration here, of the most ingenious and artificial Composure of the whole Structure, and of the incomparable Beauty of every particular part of it, when as the testimony of the Eyes excludeth all knowledge which entreteth at the Ears? Moreover, after he had thus finished the Temple, and decently adorned it with the highest Thrones in honour of the Prelates of Churches, and also with (x) Benches orderly placed all over the Church, at last he placed the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the midst, and that the Multitude might not come within these [sacred places,] he enclosed them with wooden

(x) For whom these benches or seats were made, 'tis some difficulty to resolve, (that is,) for what degree or order of Men they were intended. Leo Allatius in his second Epist. De Templis Græcor. supposes these Benches were made for the common use of the Laity. The same says Clemens, in his Constitut. Apost. B. 2. cap. 57. But Eusebius means another thing. For afterwards, where he explains the whole Fabrick of this Church Allegorically, he says that by the Thrones, the Bishops and Presbyters were meant: But by the Benches, the Deacons, and others that served in the Church. Wherefore these Benches were rather designed for those who served in the Church, than for the Laicks. Indeed the Laity were not permitted to sit in the Church. So says Optatus in his fourth Book, which Words of his we must so understand, that in a Congregation in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, the Laicks were not permitted to sit down; but when the Service was ended, they had liberty to sit. So also says Athanas. in his Epist. Ad Solitar. Valef.

Rails made like Net-work, which were so curiously and artificially framed and carved, that they entertained those that viewed them with a wonderful and surprizing sight. Neither was the very Pavement neglected by him; but after he had beautified it most gloriously with Marble-stone, he proceeded to the Out-buildings of the Temple; and with great Art and Skill erected most spacious \* Exhedræ and Oeci on each side, which in an uniform manner were joyned together at the sides (y.)

of the Cathedral, and united to the (y) Doors which lead into the middle of the Church. These Buildings our most peaceful King Solomon (who erected the Temple of God) made for them, who want the Purification, and the Sprinkling by Water and the Holy Ghost. So that that Prophecy before quoted is no longer a wordy Prediction, but is really accomplished: For now it is come to pass, that the glory of this latter house is truly greater than the former. For it was requisite and agreeable that (since her Pastor and Lord, for her sake once suffered death, and after his Passion changed that vile Body, which for her sake he had put on, into Brightness and Glory; and translated that very corruptible Flesh from Corruption to Immortality,) she also should likewise enjoy the (z) Dispensations of her Saviour. For, although she (having received from him a promise of far more excellent things than she doth at present enjoy,) incessantly longeth to be for eternal Ages partaker of a far greater glory of a Regeneration, at the Resurrection of the incorruptible Body, with the Choir of the Angels of Light, in the Palaces of God above the Heavens, together with Jesus Christ, the Donor of all good things and her Saviour: Yet during the interim of her abode in this present world, she (who was heretofore a Widow and desolate,) being by the Grace of God surrounded with these

Flowers, is (as the Prophecy saith) truly become like unto Lilly. And, having put on her Wedding-Robe, and being encircled with a Crown of Beauty, let us hear her herself relate how she is taught to dance by Esaias, and with pleasant expressions to shout forth Thanksgivings to her God and King:

\* Let my soul rejoyce in the Lord: For he hath clothed me with the garment of salvation, and the coat of gladness. He hath encircled my head with a diadem like a bridegroom, and hath bedecked me like a bride with ornaments. And as the earth which multiplieth its flowers, and as a garden that causeth its seeds to spring forth; so the Lord hath caused righteousness to rise up, and joy in the sight of

(y) Christopherson renders this place thus; *atque adeo ad fenestras inferioris templi affixit, and therefore joyned them to the windows of the lower Temple: The meaning of which Version I understand not. For I cannot apprehend how the Exhedræ (i. e. the Vestries, or Lower buildings which stood on the sides of the Cathedral, and were joyned to it) could be fixed to the Windows. Christopherson supposed that εἰσβολαὶ (the term here used in the Greek) did signifie Windows. Indeed, Eusebius, speaking a little above concerning the Windows through which the light was conveyed into the Porches, uses this term [εἰσβολαὶ,] which Christopherson translates Windows. But in this place, where εἰσβολαὶ is put by its self, without being joyned to any other Word, it cannot signifie Windows. Either therefore Eusebius means, by this term here used, the Doors of the Cathedral, which a little before he calls [παράδους;] or else certain walks, through which there was a passage to the Cathedral; which Paulinus, in his twelfth Epistle, calls Transenne. But 'tis my judgment that the Doors of the Cathedral are hereby meant. Further, by those Oeci, and Exhedræ, Eusebius means the Baptistry, the Consistory, and the place where they saluted one another; which were joyned to the Cathedral. Valef.*

(z) We observed before (see Book 1. Chap. 1. Note b.) that εὐκονομία (the term that occurs here) signifies not only Christ's Incarnation; but that, whatever our Saviour did in the Flesh, in order to the procuring Man's Salvation, is in general termed εὐκονομία. See the authorities there quoted. This place also evidently demonstrates the same, where Eusebius terms not only the Death, but the Resurrection also of Christ, εὐκονομίας, dispensations, in the plural number. Valef.

\* Esaias 61. 10, 11. Our Author quotes the Words of the Septuagint; and we translate accordingly.



Constant and Licinius. all the Heathen. Thus doth she Sing and Dance. But in what expressions the Bridegroom, the celestial Word, Jesus Christ himself answereth her, hear the \*Esa. 54. Lord speaking: \* Fear not because thou hast been ignominiously treated, neither be thou ashamed, because thou hast suffered reproach. For thou shalt forget thine everlasting shame, and thou shalt no longer remember the reproach of thy widowhood: the Lord hath called thee, not as a woman forsaken, and dejected in spirit, nor as a woman hated from thy youth: thy God hath said; for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion I will have pity upon thee. I turned my face from thee when I was a little angry; but with everlasting mercy I will have mercy upon thee, faith the Lord who hath redeem'd thee. † Arise, arise, thou who hast drunk from the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath. For thou hast drunk of, and emptied the cup of destruction, the cup of my fury: and there was none of all thy sons, whom thou hast born, to comfort thee: neither was there any to take thee by the hand: Behold I have taken out of thy hand the cup of destruction, the cup of my wrath, and thou shalt no longer drink it. And I will put it into the hands of them who have injured thee, and debased thee. \* Arise, arise, put on strength, put on thy glory. Shake off the dust, and arise: sit down: loose the chain of thy neck. || Esa. 49. Lift up thine eyes round about, and view thy children gathered together. Behold, they are gathered together, and come to thee. As I live faith the Lord, thou shalt put them all on as an ornament, and thou shalt put them about thee as a bride doth her bravery. For thy desolate places, and those that were wasted and ruinous, shall now be too narrow for thy inhabitants. And they shall be removed far from thee, that devoured thee: for thy Sons which thou hadst lost shall say in thy ears; The place is too strait for me: make a place for me that I may dwell. And thou shalt say in thine heart, who hath begotten me these? I am childless and a widow. Who hath nourished these for me? I was left desolate: these where had they been? All this Esaias hath predicted. These things were in times past recorded in the holy Scriptures, concerning us. And it was requisite that we should now at length receive the truth of these words really and actually fulfilled. In regard therefore the Bridegroom, the Word, hath spoken in this manner to his Spouse, the Sacred and Holy Church, agreeably here-

(a) Νυμφόσαλ is here very well rendered by Christoph. Exornator sponsa, the Dresser of the Bride. Musculus renders it not omits Paranympus, (i. e.) one who is to take care of all things that appertain to the Bride. Valef.

to hath this (a) Dresser of the Bride, (with the Prayers of you all in common, reaching out to her your helping hands, by the appointment of God the supream King, and by the appearance and presence of Jesus Christ's power) raised and erected this desolate [Church,] lying like a dead Carcass [on the Ground,] and despaired of by all Men. And, having lifted her up after this manner, hath made her such an one, as he was instructed to do by the Delineation of the sacred Scriptures. This [Fabric] is indeed a stupendous Miracle, and doth surpass all the degrees of Admiration, especially to them, who are only intent upon the outward appearance of things. But the original Examples and primitive Forms hereof, the spiritual and truly divine Patterns are more admirable than all Miracles; I mean the Reparations of that Di-

vine and Rational Building in our Souls. Which Constant [Structure] when the Son of God himself had framed according to his own image, and had freely granted, that in all parts it should bear the resemblance of God, he bestowed upon it a Nature incorruptible, incorporeal, rational, different from all Terrene Matter, [and gave it] a (b) Substance originally and of it self intelligent; after he had once thus created it at the beginning out of nothing, He made it a holy Spouse, and [framed it into] a most sacred Temple for Himself and his Father. This He himself in express words acknowledgeth, saying \* I will dwell in them and walk amongst them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Such indeed is the perfect and purified Soul, which was so framed at the beginning, that it bore the perfect image of the Celestial Word. But when through the Envy and Emulation of the malicious Devil, by its own voluntary choice, it began to be a Follower of its own Passions, and was enamoured with Vice, (God having withdrawn himself out of it,) being left destitute as it were of a Defender, it was easily captivated, and remained exposed to their Treacheries who for a long time had been Enviars [of his Glory,] and being now utterly battered down by the Engines and Machines of its invisible Adversaries, and spiritual Enemies, it sunk down into such a total Ruin, that not one Stone of Vertue was left standing upon another: All the Parts of it lay prostrate on the Ground, as dead, utterly deprived of all those Notions concerning God, which were naturally imprinted on it. But this ruined Building, which was framed after the Image of God, was not laid waste by that wild Bear out of the Wood, which is visible to our Eyes, but by some destructive Devil, and by intelligent and spiritual Wild-Beasts. Who, having put it into a Flame by wicked Passions (as it were with the (c) fiery Darts of their Malice) have burnt with Fire the truly Divine Sanctuary of God, and destroyed the Tabernacle of his Name even to the Ground. Afterwards they buried it (miserable Wretch!) under a vast heap of Earth which they cast up, and reduced it to an utter Despair of all manner of Safety. But its Patron, the Divine and Salutary Word (obeying the Love of his most gracious Father shown towards Mankind,) restored it again after it had suffered condign Punishment for its Sins. In the first place therefore, having united to himself the Minds of the Emperors, by means of those most pious Princes, he cleansed the whole World from all impious and pernicious Men, and also from those cruel and barbarous Tyrants, hated of God. Afterwards he brought to light Men very well known to him, persons that

(b) Eusebius here calls the soul of Man, ψυχή αὐτονοούμενη, (i. e.) a self-intelligent Substance, because naturally and of it self it understandeth. So the Philosophers call Spiritual Substances, νοεῖς, such as we call Intelligences. But Christopherson being grossly mistaken, takes νοεῖς ψυχή in this place to be the same with νοεῖς εἶς; and accordingly renders it, Substantia Solā mentis intelligenti cognita, a Substance which can only be comprehended, by the understanding of the mind. But there is a difference betwixt νοεῖς, (i. e.) intelligible, that which may be comprehended, or, understood, and νοεῖς (i. e.) intellectual, that which does understand, or comprehend. For example's sake, Chimera, and all such Fictions of the understanding are νοεῖς, intelligible, but not νοεῖς, intellectual or intelligent. Nebridius in his 71 Epist. to both Augustines, doth very well distinguish betwixt these words. Valef.

(c) By πνευματικὰ βλήματα Eusebius means malleoli, darts smeared with wild-fire, and such fire-balls as are flung from the Walls upon Enemies; here he imitates that place of Saint Paul, where he makes the Devil to be armed with fiery darts, with which he fights against Men. See Ephes. 6. 16. Valef.



Constant. that heretofore had been (d) consecrated Priests to and him for ever, and were secretly concealed, and Licinius. secured by his Defence during the storm of Persecution, whom agreeable to their Deserts he honoured (d) What was here with the magnificent Gifts of the Spirit: By these meant by Men he hath again purified and cleansed (by their [ἱερωδοὶς ἀντὶ] which we render [Priests consecrated to him for ever] Translators understood not; and have therefore misinterpreted it. There were two sorts of Priests, some Annual; such were those the Jews had, under the Roman Governours; and such were almost all the Gentile Priests. Others were Perpetual, which they called ἱερωδοὶς. This an old Inscription in Gruter, (pag. 313.) does manifest. And also the old Coins of the Perpereni, which Jac. Sirmundus published; where we met with ἹΕΡΕΥΣ ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ, Sacerdos perpetuus, a perpetual Priest. Hence 'tis that Eusebius calls the Priests of the Christians, [ἱερωδοὶς] our Author uses frequently to signify Priests: See the third Chapter of this Book; where we have ἱερωδοὶς, the sacred Duties or Performances of the Priests. In our Version of ἱερωδοὶς we follow Felicius Paternus, who calls those Magistrates, Perpetui, which the Athenians call ἱερωδοὶς. Minutius Felix (in Gestis Paganis Ceciliani) is called Flamen Perpetuus. This Dignity for brevity's sake was commonly noted by these Characters, F. L. P. P. i. e. Flamen Perpetuus, a Perpetual Priest. These Priests are mentioned in the second Law, Cod. Theod. Valef.

(e) Instead of φιλοκενῶν we should rather read φιλοκενῶν as the old Mar. MS. does (that is) adjudging or attributing to every one his place. Mark what follows in the Chapter. But should any desire to retain the common reading, I would not regret it much: For φιλοκενῶν (in Eusebius) is explain'd by διαιρεῖν, dividere, to divide. Valef.

(f) By ἐργαλαῖς ὁ πόρτις ἡν τὸς ἱερωδοὶς ἐπὶ τὸν πόρτιν (to watch at the Gates and conduct those that out, about the (g) Court quadrangular-wise. Bringing them within the first (h) Bolts of the literal Constant. sense of the four Gospels. Some he hath also placed about the Sanctuary (i) on both sides, these are such as are \* Catechumens as yet, and do make a good progress and increase in the Faith; (k) but yet they are not far from inspecting those most secret Mysteries, which [Privi- ledge] only the perfect Believers do enjoy. Out of this number he hath taken those, whose immaculate Souls have been purified like Gold in the sacred Laver; some of whom he hath set to support Pillars far more noble than those outward ones, even the most intricate and mysterious Sentences of sacred Scripture; others of them he illuminateth to be [as it were] (l) Windows to transmit Light into the Temple. He hath also beautified the whole Temple with one most spacious Portico; that is with the glorious Worship of the one and only God, the Supreme King. He hath represented Christ and the Holy Ghost on each side of the Father's Pre-eminence and Authority, as the (m) second Rays of Light. And he demonstrateth throughout the whole Cathedral a most copious and excellent Light and Evidence of the Truth particularly [conch'd] in the remaining [Articles of our Faith.] Moreover, when he had from all Parts selected living, firm, and strong Stones of Souls, of all them he framed a stately and Royal Sanctuary, full of light and splendour both within and without: (n) In as much as not only in their Souls and Minds, but their Bodies also, they are beautified with the glorious Ornaments of Chastity and Modesty. There are also within this Temple, Thrones, a great many Benches, and Seats; which are in all those Souls, whereon reside such Gifts of the Holy Ghost, as were heretofore seen by the Holy Apostles: † To whom appear'd cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. But on him that presides over all these, Christ himself ('tis likely) does entirely and wholly reside: And upon (o) those who are next to him in dignity, on every one of them proportionably, according as he is capable of receiving the distributions of the Power of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. The Benches also are the Souls of certain Angels, the Instruction and Custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the August, Great, and Only Altar, what

Eusebius here means the Sub-Deacons, who kept the Gates of the Church, and conducted all that came in to their particular places: viz. The Catechumens, Penitents, and Possessed with Evil Spirits, into the Narthex (or Church-Porch,) or into the Catechumenium, (or place where they Catechised;) but the Believers into the Quire. See the 22 Canon of the Council of Laodicea, and Zonaras's and Balsamo's Notes upon it. Valef.

(g) We have before noted in Note (u.) of this Chapter, that that void open place betwixt the Portico and the Church is called by the Latines Atrium the Court. The Greek's (as here) call the same place αὐλή: This word [αὐλή] frequently occurs in the Gospel, and is always by the old Translator render'd atrium. Valef.

ling them within the first (h) Bolts of the literal Constant. sense of the four Gospels. Some he hath also placed about the Sanctuary (i) on both sides, these are such as are \* Catechumens as yet, and do make a good progress and increase in the Faith; (k) but yet they are not far from inspecting those most secret Mysteries, which [Privi- ledge] only the perfect Believers do enjoy. Out of this number he hath taken those, whose immaculate Souls have been purified like Gold in the sacred Laver; some of whom he hath set to support Pillars far more noble than those outward ones, even the most intricate and mysterious Sentences of sacred Scripture; others of them he illuminateth to be [as it were] (l) Windows to transmit Light into the Temple. He hath also beautified the whole Temple with one most spacious Portico; that is with the glorious Worship of the one and only God, the Supreme King. He hath represented Christ and the Holy Ghost on each side of the Father's Pre-eminence and Authority, as the (m) second Rays of Light. And he demonstrateth throughout the whole Cathedral a most copious and excellent Light and Evidence of the Truth particularly [conch'd] in the remaining [Articles of our Faith.] Moreover, when he had from all Parts selected living, firm, and strong Stones of Souls, of all them he framed a stately and Royal Sanctuary, full of light and splendour both within and without: (n) In as much as not only in their Souls and Minds, but their Bodies also, they are beautified with the glorious Ornaments of Chastity and Modesty. There are also within this Temple, Thrones, a great many Benches, and Seats; which are in all those Souls, whereon reside such Gifts of the Holy Ghost, as were heretofore seen by the Holy Apostles: † To whom appear'd cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. But on him that presides over all these, Christ himself ('tis likely) does entirely and wholly reside: And upon (o) those who are next to him in dignity, on every one of them proportionably, according as he is capable of receiving the distributions of the Power of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. The Benches also are the Souls of certain Angels, the Instruction and Custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the August, Great, and Only Altar, what

λὰ] here used, by any Latin word. Musculus renders it Propugnacula, Bulwarks. Christoph. Repagula, Bars. I have translated it Obices, Bolts. Valef.

(i) The word [περιβολαίς] must be blotted out; for it troubleth the sense; it crept in here out of the upper line. Valef.

(k) By these words [ὅτι μὴν πρὸς τὸν πᾶν τὸν θεοῦ ἵππ' πρὸς, not far removed from that clear inspection into the Mysteries which the believers enjoy] I say, by these words Eusebius means those who amongst the ancient Christians were called Competentes. These were certain Holy Candidates of Baptism as it were. Eusebius here makes three degrees or ranks of the Catechumen. The first were those who had learned the Creed: (i. e.) the Principles of Christian Religion. These he compares to the Out-Wall of the Church. The second were those to whom a short Exposition of the Gospels was delivered. These he compares to the Pillars, which were placed in the Court made like a Quadrangle. The next are the Competentes, who were next to the Perfect Believers. But if any one by the first rank would rather understand the promiscuous multitude of the Laicks; and by the second rank those of the Laity, which were the more learned: I will not be much averse to that Explication. Valef.

(l) Ἀνοίσματα, the term used at this place, may be render'd Gates, as well as Windows. Valef.

(m) At these words we have (in the Mar. MS.) a long Scholion in the Margin, inveighing against this Author as being Heretical, and against this Passage, as being Blasphemous, in regard it makes the Son inferior to the Father, and attributes the [πρὸς τὸν πατέρα] first place to the Father, and the [πρὸς τὸν υἱόν] second to the Son. In the Med. MS. we meet with this short Scholion at the Margin here [ὅτι τὸ δὲ Βλάσφημον,] and this also is Blasphemy. Valef.

(n) This place is eminent for the commendation of the Chastity and Continency of the Clergy: But its excellence lay heretofore undiscovered, because of the erroneous Version of Translators: The cause of the mistake in them was the false punctuation in Steph. Edit. and in the King's MS. but the Mar. and Med. MSS. do with good reason reject that punctuation. Valef.

† Acts c. 2. v. 2.

(o) He means the Presbyters, who had the second degree of the Priesthood. Here he compares the Bishop and Presbyters to the Thrones of the Church, and the Deacons to the Benches. Valef.

The Benches also are the Souls of certain Angels, the Instruction and Custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the August, Great, and Only Altar, what



Constantine  
and  
Licinius.

what can it be else, but the most pure Soul and Holy of Holies of the Common Priest of all. On his Right Hand standeth the Great High-Priest of all, Jesus himself, the only begotten Son of God; who with a cheerful Countenance and stretch'd forth Hands receiveth from all that sweet-smelling Incense, and those unbloody and immaterial Sacrifices of Prayers; and transmits them to his Heavenly Father the Supreme God: Whom in the first place he himself worshippeth, and he only exhibiteth due Veneration to the Father; afterwards he beseecheth him for ever to continue favourable and propitious towards all us. Such is that August Temple, which the Great Creator of all things the [Word of God] hath built throughout all that World under the Sun; he himself hath again framed upon Earth this intellectual Representation of those things beyond the Arches of Heaven: That by every Creature, and by rational Souls upon the Earth, his Father might be duly honoured and

(p) Here Eusebius, having spoken largely concerning the double Fabrick of the Church (that is) the material and spiritual; and compared them together, elegantly makes a transition to that Heavenly Hierusalem, which is the Idea and original Pattern of this Church on Earth. But the Translators through their Inadvertency took no notice of this elegant Apostrophe. Valef.

\* See Heb. 12. 22, 23.

in Heaven, who with Praises unutterable, which we cannot understand, laud their Creator and Supreme Prince; [the Blessedness of this Region, I say, and of its Inhabitants] † no Mortal is able deservedly to set forth. For \* eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Of which things, since we are now vouchsafed to be Partakers in part, let us, both Men, Women and Children, Small and Great, all together, with one Spirit and one Soul never cease to give thanks and praise to the Author of these our so great good things: † Who hath mercy on all our iniquities, and healeth all our infirmities. Who redeemeth our life from destruction, and crowneth us with mercy and loving kindness; who filleth our desire with good things. For he hath not dealt with us according to our sins, neither hath he rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as far as the East is from the West, so far hath he removed our sins from us. As a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him. Keeping these things fresh in our Memories both now, and throughout all succeeding Times, and moreover setting before [the Eyes of] our Minds God the Cause of this present Day's joyful Solemnity, and the Master of this Feast, both Day and Night, every Hour, and (as I may say) every Moment wherein we fetch our Breath; let us love him and worship him, with all the Strength of our Souls. And let us now rise up, and with the loud Voice of our Affection beseech him, that he would continually save and defend us within his Sheepfold, and that he would afford us his everlasting Peace entire and immovable in Jesus Christ our Saviour, by whom be Glory to him throughout all Ages, Amen.

† Instead of [ἡ τῆς θυντῆς] the reading should undoubtedly be [ἡ τῆς οὐρανῆς] or [ἡ τῆς οὐρανόθεν], no mortal, &c. Valef.  
\* 1 Cor. 2. v. 9.  
† Psal. 103. 3, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13.

## CHAP. V.

## Copies of the Imperial Laws.

Constantine  
and  
Licinius.

LET us therefore now annex the Copies of Constantine's and Licinius's Imperial Decrees translated out of Latin.

## A Copy of the Imperial Edict translated out of Latin.

Having long since perceived, that a Liberty of Religion ought not to be denied, but that License should be permitted to every one's Will and Arbitrement, of being careful about their Religious Performances according to their own Mind and Judgment, We have Decreed, That as well all other Persons, as those that are Christians should retain the Faith [and Observances] of their own Sect and Religion. But because in that Rescript wherein this Liberty was granted them,

(a) many and different sorts of Sects seemed to be expressly set down, for which reason peradventure some of them not long after desisted from such an Observance. Wherefore when We Constantine, and Licinius, Augusti, came fortunately to Mediolanum, and had in debate all matters which might conduce to the Good and Utility of the Publick; amongst other things, which to us seemed several ways profitable to all in general, (or rather which we judg'd ought to be decreed before any thing else) we supposed such Constitutions were to be made, as therein should be contained the Worship and Veneration of the Deity: That is, that we should allow a free Choice both to Christians and all others, of following what way of Worship they please: That so by this means that Godhead and Heavenly Being, whatever it is, might be propitious to us, and to all that live under our Government. We have therefore proclaimed this our Will and Pleasure, after we had taken a most wholesome and deliberate Consideration thereupon, that licence be denied to none at all of following or choosing the Observances or Religion of the Christians: And that free power be granted to every one to apply his Mind to that Religion, which he judgeth most congruous and agreeable to himself: That so God may in all things manifest his usual Care and Loving-kindness towards us. It was also convenient, that we should signify to you this our Pleasure; that all those Sects which were included in our former Rescript to your Devotion concerning the Christians should be quite left out, both that whatever seems hurtful and disagreeable to our Clemency should be wholly removed, and also that in future all that have resolved to make choice of, and keep the Observances of the Christian Religion, might observe them freely.

(a) Because that first Rescript or Letter, mentioned here by Constantine, is lost, we cannot easily resolve what Constantine means, when he says, that in that Edict were named many and several sorts of αἱρέσεις, Sects; for which reason many desisted from professing Christianity. Christopherson translates [διαφόρως αἱρέσεις] doubtful and controverted Opinions; as if the sense or meaning of this first Edict had been ambiguous. So also Baronius understands Christopherson's Words at the year of Christ 313. Langus and Musculus translate [αἱρέσεις] opiniones & hereses, Heresies and Opinions; far better than Christopherson. For αἱρέσεις cannot signify the sense, or [διὰ νότον] meaning of a place: But it signifies an Opinion or Sect. When the Emperor Constantine therefore had in that former Edict permitted this Liberty of Conscience to all, he added, that that privilege was not granted to the Christians only, but to all Men of every Sect, (that is) to Jews, Samaritans, Marcionists, &c. and to all Sects of all Religions. This the Christians took to be no small injury to their Religion, that it should be reckon'd amongst Schismatics, and unbelieving Jews. Constantine being adverted hereof by the Catholics, corrected it in this latter Edict; that Clause, which mentioned all Sects, being taken out: And this is that which is meant by these Words a little further, ἵνα ἀπαρκεσθῶν πάντες τῶν αἱρέσεων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἡμῶν γενομένων ἐκλήσεων. (i. e.) that all those Sects which were in our former Rescript should be quite left out. Valef.



Constantinus Augustus, to Militades Bishop of Rome,



Constant. Rome, and to (f) Mark. In regard several such  
and (g) Libels as these have been sent me from the most  
Licinius. Eminent Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, wherein  
'tis declared that Cecilianus Bishop of the City of  
(f) It is (h) Carthage is accused of many things by some of  
much con- his Collegues ordain'd [Bishops] throughout Africa:  
troverted And this matter seeming not a little grievous to us,  
amongst the Lear- that in those very Provinces (which the Providence  
ned, who of God delivered to our Sacredness by a (i) voluntary  
this Mark Surrender, and where there is a great multitude  
is, whom of People) the Populace being in a manner divided,  
Constan- should be found to degenerate and become worse,  
rine here joineth and Differences should be nourished even amongst  
with Mil- Bishops: It seemed good to us, that Cecilianus  
tiades Bi- himself (together with ten Bishops his supposed  
shop of Rome. Ba- Accusers, and ten other Bishops, whom he shall  
ronius, at judge necessary in behalf of his Cause,) sail to  
the year Rome; that there in your Presence, and also in  
of Christ the Presence of Reticus, Maternus, and Mari-  
313. Ch. nus your Collegues, (whom for this reason we have  
23. thinks the Text commanded to hasten to Rome) he may be heard  
of Eusebius in such manner as, you know, is most agreeable  
is faulty, with the most Sacred Law. Moreover, that you  
and in- may have a most compleat and perfect Knowledge  
stead of [αδραφ] of all these things, we have subjoyned to this our  
he would Rescript, Copies of the Libels which were sent to us  
read [ε- by Anulinus, and have transmitted them to your  
αδραφ] afore said Collegues. Which Libels when your  
But this Gravity shall have read, you shall deliberate how  
Emenda- the afore said Controversie may with the greatest  
tion can- accuracy be examined, and determined according  
not be ad- to Equity. For it is not unknown to your Assi-  
mitted of, duty that we bear so great a Reverence  
for where- \* Τῷ ἐν- \* to the most Legitimate Catholick Church,  
as Milti- δέσμῳ that we would have you leave no Schism  
ades is be- καὶ δοτικῇ or Diffention at all in any part of it. The  
fore call'd ἐπισκο- Divinity of the Supream God preserve you (k) (Dea-  
δῆσκα- πῶν, Bi- rest) many years.  
shop, 'tis  
superflu-  
ous to add

ιερεῖας sacred Magistrate. Moreover, Titles of honour are common  
Words, but this here is an affected and unusual term. Wherefore,  
rejecting this conjecture of Baronius's, I think this Mark was a Pres-  
byter of the Church of Rome, whom Constantine had a desire should be  
present at this Synod with Miltiades. This also I think was that  
Mark who was Bil op of Rome after Silvester. This Epistle of Con-  
stantine to Miltiades was extant in the third Conference at Carthage;  
Chap. 319. But the latter part of this third Conference, which in  
my opinion is the most useful, is lost. Valef.

(g) By τὰς αἰχμαλίας are meant two Libels, which contained the  
faults of Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage, which being subscribed by the  
Faction of Majorinus, they gave them to Anulinus the Proconsul at Car-  
thage on the 17th of the Calends of May. Constantine the Emperor  
being the third time, and Licinius the third time Consuls. These  
Libels Constantine calls [αἰχμαλίας] because they contained in them  
many Papers, and many publick Acts, to prove the faults of Cecilianus.  
Christoph. calls these αἰχμαλίας, Epistles, but that is an ill term: For there  
was but one Epistle sent by Anulinus to Constantine the Emperor, but  
there were several αἰχμαλίας, or Papers. Constantine also a little further  
calls them Libelli: So does Augustine also, in his 48 Epistle to Vin-  
centius, call it Libellus: And says it was thus superscribed; The Libel  
of the Catholick Church, containing the faults of Cecilianus, put in by  
the faction of Majorinus. Valef.

(h) In our Text it is, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας; in Niceph. καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας;  
in the Mar. and Med. MSS. 'tis written καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας by a trans-  
position of the aspirate, which the Greeks usually do in turning Latin  
proper names into Greek. Valef.

(i) Instead of [αὐθαιγά] we should undoubtedly read [αὐ-  
θαγέτης] in this place, thus, αὐθαιγάς καὶ ἀσπίδας αὐθαιγάς ἢ  
ἀσπίδας, ἐνέχεται (i. e.) (those Countries which Divine Pro-  
vidence gave into our Hands by a voluntary surrender.) For when the  
head of Maxentius was sent into Africa, all Africa at the sight of the  
Tyrant's head, yielded to Constantine. And also before the over-  
throw of Maxentius, some African Cities yielded themselves volun-  
tarily to Constantine, when he sent some Sea-forces thither. Valef.

(k) Instead of [τιμιώτατοι] the reading in Nicephorus is [τιμιώ-  
τατοι, dearest] in the plural number. For since the Rescript was writ-  
ten to Miltiades Bishop of Rome, and to Mark, and since he always  
speaks to them in the plural number; 'tis reasonable that in the close  
of the Rescript it should be [τιμιώτατοι.] Further, the Acts of this  
Synod at Rome are extant in Optatus, B. i. The Author of the Syno-  
dicon (whom we have often quoted) says this Synod was convened  
by Miltiades and Mark at Rome; he joins Mark to Miltiades, as soon  
as he perceived from this Rescript that Constantine mentioned them  
jointly. Valef.

A Copy of an Imperial Rescript, by which  
[Constantine] summons a second Synod,  
to put an end to all Diffention amongst  
the Bishops.

Constantius Augustus, to Chrestus Bishop of  
Syracuse. When as heretofore some began wickedly  
and perversly to separate from the Holy Religion,  
the Celestial Power, and the Catholick Opinion; We,  
desirous that such pertinacious Contentions as these  
should be pared off, took such Order that (some  
Bishops being sent out of France, and also those  
summoned out of Africa, who being of contrary  
Factions, pertinaciously and continually quarrelled  
\* amongst themselves, the Bishop of Rome being  
also present,) this [Diffention] which seemed to  
be raised after a most careful examination, might  
in their presence be composed. But in regard (as  
it commonly happens) some persons, forgetful both  
of their own Salvation, and of the Veneration due  
to the most holy Religion, cease not as yet to im-  
prove their private Grudges and Animosities, being  
unwilling to acquiesce in the Sentence already pas-  
sed, but positively asserting, that they were but a  
few [Bishops] who gave their Sentiments and  
Opinions; and that (before they had carefully  
enquired into all things which ought to have been  
first inspected) they proceeded with too much haste  
and precipitancy to pass a definitive Sentence. From  
all this it happens that even they, whose duty it  
is to preserve a brotherly and unanimous unity of  
Mind, unworthily, or rather impiously, create Schisms  
amongst one another; and also give an occasion of  
Scorn and Derision to those Men, whose Souls are  
alienated from the most holy Religion. Wherefore  
it was our chiefest care, that these [Divisions,]  
(which ought, after sentence already given to have  
been terminated by a voluntary assent) might now  
at last be concluded in the presence of many Bishops.  
Since therefore we have summoned many Bishops out  
of divers and innumerable places, to assemble them-  
selves on the Calends of August, at the City Orle-  
ans: We thought good to write to you also, that ha-  
ving received a publick Chariot from the most Emi-  
nent Latronianus (l) Corrector of Sicily, and  
taking into your company two (m) of the second Order, (1) The  
whom you shall think fit to choose, and also bringing  
along with you three Servants which may minister to  
you in your Journey, you meet on the very day appointed  
at the place afore said, that both your Gravity, and  
also by the unanimous and concordant Prudence  
and Perspicacity of the rest there assembled, this  
Diffention (which has shamefully been continued hi-  
therto by certain detestable Quarrellings, after all  
things have been heard which shall be said by the  
now disagreeing Parties, whom we have summon'd  
to appear also,) may now at last be restored to a  
fit and congruous [Observancy of] Religion and Faith,  
and to a Brotherly Union. God Almighty preserve  
you in health many years.

Latronianus in an old Inscription at Panormus, which is attested by  
Gaultherus, in Tabulis Siculis, number 164 D. N. F. L. VALERIO  
LICINIO AUG. DOMITIUS LATRONIA-  
NUS V. C. CORR. P. S. DEVOTUS N. M. QUE  
E J U S. Gualtherus also in his Annotations upon this Inscription,  
quoteth and correcteth this place of Eusebius. Valef.

(m) By these words [οἱ ἐν δευτέρῳ θέρει] Eusebius meaneth the  
Presbyters, who were commonly called Sacerdotes secundi ordinis,  
(Priests of the second Order) which may be collected out of several  
good Authors, as Optatus Milevitanus, and Jacobus Sirmondus in his  
Notes upon Sidonius, pag. 78. Hieronymus, in his Epitaph on the blessed  
Paula, says, There were present the Bishops of Hierusalem and other  
Cities, and an innumerable company of Priests [inferioris gradus] of  
the lower Order, &c. So also says Gregor. Nazianz. in Carm. Jam. de  
vitâ suâ, pag. 6. Hence comes this distinction; the Bishops in the  
Church, sate in more lofty Thrones, the Presbyters sitting on both  
hands

Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

\* Instead  
of [αἰχμα-  
λίας,  
mutually,  
it should  
be undoub-  
tedly [αἰ-  
χμαλίας,  
amongst  
them-  
selves:]  
so 'tis cor-  
rected in  
the Mar-  
gin of the  
Geneva-  
Edition:  
And so al-  
so Sir H.  
Savil had  
mended  
it, in the  
Margin  
of his  
Copy.  
Valef.

read καὶ  
τιμιώτα-  
τοι, but with-  
out doubt  
we should  
read καὶ  
αἰχμαλίας  
(that is)  
from La-  
tronianus  
Corrector  
of Sicily,  
we find  
mention  
of this



hands on lower seats; and the Deacons standing by in white garments, such the same Greg. Naz. in his *Dream de Ecclesia Anastasia*, pag. 78. Eusebius also, in his Description of the Church of Tyre, alloteth the Thrones which were in the Church next the Altar, to the Bishop and Presbyters, but the Benches to the Deacons, where also he calls the Presbyters, τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπισκοπῶν ἀδελφείας, i. e. those which have the second places next the Bishop. See St. Augustine's 148th Epistle. Valef.

Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

## C H A P. VI.

(a) Concerning the Estates belonging to the Christians.

(a) This Title [ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀλλοτρίᾳ] Concerning the Estates of the Christians is here put in a wrong place: for the Epistle which follows, says not a word concerning the Estates of the Christians. This Title might better have been prefixt before Chap. 5. where we have two several Decrees of Constantine's concerning the Estates of the Christians. Therefore very well do the old *Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. make no distinction of a Chapter in this place. Valef.

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript, by which he granteth Money to the Churches.

Constantinus Augustus, to Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage. For as much as it was our pleasure that through all the Provinces of Africa, Numidia, and both Mauritania's, some thing should be allow'd for necessary expences to some Ministers of the most Holy and Legitimate Catholick Religion, who

See B. 9. were expressly named, We wrote to the \* most Perfect Chap. 9. Ursus Rationallist of Africa, and have intimated Note (f.) to him that he take care to pay to your Gravity three

(b) ὀβολοί. Epiphanius mentions these Folles, at the close of his Book *De Mensur. & Ponderib.* He speaks of two sorts of them: the first he calls the small Talent, consisting of 208 Denarii. The value of the other, he says, is δύο λεπτά, duo minuta, two minutes or mites. See the Learned Petrus's *Diatriba* concerning the Folle, at the end of his Notes on Epiphanius, pag. 431, Sc. Edit. Paris, 1622.

thousand (b) Folles. Therefore when you shall have received the sum aforesaid, command that it be distributed to all the foremention'd Ministers, according to a Breve directed to you from Hosius. But if you shall perceive there will be any thing wanting towards the fulfilling of our desire to all in this point, without making any scruples or delays you shall

demand of Heraclas the Steward of our Estates whatsoever you shall judge requisite. For we ordered him when he was with us, that if your Gravity demanded any money of him, he should without the least hesitancy take care it should be told out to you. And because we have been informed that some men who

are of an unsettled mind, make it their business to pervert the Members of the most Holy Catholick Church by a certain impious and clancular Falshood and Corruption; We would have you understand, that We gave such orders to Anulinus our Procon-

ful, and also Patricius (c) Deputy of the Præfects, when present, that amongst all other things they take an effectual and sufficient care about this business, more especially, and that if any such thing be done, they should by no means suffer it to be neglected. If

therefore you shall see any such men persisting in this madness, without any further doubtings you shall make your Address to the foresaid Judges; and disclose the matter to them, that they may correct them according to our Orders to them when present. The Deity of the supreme God preserve you many years.

(c) Concerning these Vicarii Præfecti, we have treated in our Notes on the 14th Book of Amm. Marcellinus, p. 17. where we shewed that there was a difference between acting for a Præfect, and acting for the Præfects. He may be said to act for a Præfect, whom the Præfect of a City, or the Præfect of Prætorium orders to supply his place in any special business. But he may be said to act for the Præfects, who exercises a Deputy's power ordine Codicillorum. See the place now cited in those Notes. The title given to these Vicarii at this time was Perfectissimus, (see Book 9. Chap. 9. Note (f)) not Clarissimus, or Spectabilis. This we are informed of from Constantine the Emperor's Rescript to Probianus Proconsul of Africa, which Augustine relates in his 68th Epistle; and in his 3d Book against Cresconius, cap. 70. Valef.

## C H A P. VII.

(a) Concerning the Immunity of the Clergy.

(a) In the most ancient *Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. this is called the Sixth Chapter; which is true, if I mistake not. See the foregoing Chap. Note (a.) Valef.

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript by which he commandeth, that the Prelates of Churches be freed from bearing all Civil Offices.

WE greet you most Honoured Anulinus. Since it is apparent from several Circumstances, that the contempt of that true Religion, by which is preserved the highest Veneration of the Celestial Majesty, has brought imminent Dangers upon the Affairs of the Publick; but when it was lawfully and rightly admitted and preserved, it conferred the greatest Prosperity upon the \* Roman Empire, and \* τῷ Πα- an eminent Felicity on all Human Affairs; (the μακρὸν ὄν- Divine Beneficence being the Donor hereof:) it mini Ro- seemed good to Us, ((b) Dearest Anulinus,) that mino, upon those Men, who with a due sanctity and an assiduous the Roman observance of this Law give themselves wholly to name. the Ministrations and Services of this sacred Reli- Med *Mar.* gion, should receive the Rewards of their Labours. *Fuk.* and Wherefore Our Pleasure is that those Men within Savil MSS. the Province committed to your care, who in the we read Catholick Church, over which Cecilianus presides, [τῶν ἐκ- do service to this sacred Religion, commonly called θεολο- by the name of Clergymen, be always preserved ex- γιστῶν] A- empt from all manner of Civil Offices; lest by any velle, error or sacrilegious Misfortune, they should be drawn most ho- away from the Service due to the Deity: but [our noured Will is] that they should rather serve their own dearest A- Law without any the least inquietude. For when they nulinus. ] perform the highest [acts of] worship to God, the We have the greatest advantage seems to accrue to the publick Af- on of A- fairs. Farewel, most Honoured and Dearest Anulinus. nulinus in answer to this Rescript of Constantine's in Augustine's 68 Epistle. But Eusebius inserts these Rescripts in a preposterous kind of order. For Constantine's Letter to Cecilianus the Bishop, and his Rescript to Anulinus, ought in order to precede Constantine's Letter to Militiades Bishop of Rome. For all those Letters have a relation to the Roman Synod which was summoned upon the account of Cecilianus, when Constantine and Licinius were both the third time Consul, in the year of Christ 313. Valef.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning Licinius's Exorbitancies which afterwards ensued, and concerning his Death.

SUCH [gifts] therefore did the Divine and Celestial Grace of our Saviour's presence bestow upon us: and such an exuberance of prosperous successes was procur'd by all men, by reason of the peace [restored] to us. This was the posture of our affairs, we spent the time in joy and publick festivities. But this spectacle was intollerable to the malice of the Devil, that hater of all goodness, and industrious Patron of mischief. Nor were the calamitous misfortunes which beset the foremention'd Tyrants sufficient to instil a sober consideration into Lici- nius, who being honour'd with a prosperous and successful Government, and with the second place of dignity, that next to Constantine the Great, and innobled with an affinity contracted by marriage, and with a near relation to a most august family, relinquish'd the imitation of good men; and became a zealous emulator of the improbity and wickedness of impious Tyrants. And he made choice of following their Counsels whose calamitous end himself had beheld with

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his



Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

his own eyes, rather than to continue in the friendship and affection of the best of Princes. For being stimulated with envy against his great Benefactor, he raised a most impious and nefarious war against him, in no wise revering the Laws of nature, forgetful of all oaths, affinity and leagues. For *Constantine*, like a most courteous Emperor, that he might shew him the most convincing tokens of his sincere kindness, envied him not his own affinity, nor did he deny him the illustrious marriage of his Sister: but vouch-

(a) Here we follow that emendation of this place which is set at the Margin of *Turnebus's* MS. who instead of [*συγγενίας, affinitas*] in this place reads [*εὐγενίας, nobility*]. For *Constantine* was extracted from a Royal descent; he derived his Pedigree from *Claudius* the Emperor. *Valef.*

safed to make him partaker of the (a) Nobility he derived from his Ancestors, and [communicated to him] his own ancient lineage and Imperial blood; he also allow'd him to enjoy an authority over all the Roman Empire, as being his

Kinsman and Colleague in the Empire; nor had he given him a less portion of the Roman Provinces to rule over and govern, [than he reserved to himself.] But on the other hand, [*Licinius*] acted quite contrary hereto, daily inventing all kinds of stratagems against him that was his Better, devising all ways how to insnare him, that with mischiefs he might reward his Benefactor. At first therefore attempting to conceal his treacheries, he counterfeited a friendship, and having several times assailed [*Constantine*] by guile and deceit, he hoped to have easily obtained what he expected. But God was [*Constantine's*] Friend, Guardian, and Protector: he brought to light and detected the intrigues which were clancularly and secretly contrived against him. So powerful a strength is that great Armour of Godliness [endow'd with,] that it is both prevalent to repulse the enemy, and has also a power sufficient for its own preservation. With this Armour our most pious Emperor being fortified, escaped the many intricate snares of that accursed man. *Licinius* therefore, perceiving that his secret plots did not succeed according to his expectation, (because God discovered all his deceit and treachery to his beloved Emperor,) and knowing that he could lie no longer conceal'd, raiseth open war. But in that he determined to war against *Constantine*, he likewise resolv'd to marshal an army against Almighty God, whom he knew *Constantine* worshipped. Afterwards he begun secretly and by little and little to attack those pious men who lived under his Government, who never intended the least molestation to his Dominions. And this he did [in regard] he was miserably induced thereto, being blinded by his innate malice. Therefore he did not set before his eyes the examples of those who had been Persecutors of the *Christians* before him; nor yet of those whose destroyer and punisher he himself had been appointed, because of the height of those impieties, to which they were arrived: but, declining from the way of sober and right reason, or rather running perfectly mad, he resolv'd upon engaging with God himself (because he was *Constantine's* assistant,) instead of [*Constantine*] who was assisted by him. And first of all he banish'd all *Christians* out of his family, leaving himself destitute (miserable wretch!) of their prayers to God for him; it being their commonly received Doctrine, that prayer should be made for all men. He afterwards gave command that all the Officers in the

(b) *Civil Milice* should be disbanded, and turn'd out of their military preferments, except they were willing to sacrifice to Devils. But these are but small things, if compared with his greater Villanies, which ensued. To what end should we recount all and every particular fact, which this man, hated of God, committed? How he, who was the greatest law-breaker, invented impious laws? for he made an order, that no one should charitably relieve the poor distressed Prisoners with meat, nor show the least compassion to those, who through hunger pined away in their fetters: that is, that there should no good man live, and that they who were led by [the dictates of] nature itself to have compassion on their neighbours, should be incapable of doing them any good. And this was clearly the most impudent and cruel of all laws, by far surpassing all that mildness and clemency implanted by nature: to which Law also there was a penalty annex'd, that they who shew'd compassion upon the [criminals] should suffer the like afflictions with those towards whom they shew'd mercy: and that such as charitably ministred to those in bonds and confined to prison, should suffer the same punishment with them. Such were *Licinius's* Ordinances. What need we reckon up his innovations concerning marriages, or his new laws about (c) dying persons; whereby he presumptuously abrogated the ancient, good, and wisely established Roman Laws, and instead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane Ordinances, truly unjust and illegal? He also invented several sorts of (d) Taxes, to the great oppression of the Subjects of his Provinces; and all sorts of exactions of Gold and Silver; (e) surveying of lands; and that cursed way of getting lucre from Coun-

admit of this Version. What Law this of *Licinius's* was, 'tis difficult to resolve. It seems to have belonged to the Testaments of dying people: it was abrogated by *Constantine* after *Licinius* was overcome by him. *Valef.*

(d) *Eusebius* uses this term [*ἐπιτοκίας*] which occurs here, at book 8. chap. 14. (see note (c.) there) where he treats concerning *Maximinus* the Eastern Tyrant. But in his first book *De vita Constantini* he terms it *συνέψεις*, (i. e.) ways of getting money. The Ancient Greeks us'd *αὐτοί* and *ποσειδοί*, in this sense. There is extant a Book of *Xenophon's*, entitled *περὶ πόρων*. The modern Latin Authors call these Taxes, *Tituli*. *Valef.*

(e) The phrase here, us'd (*ὡς*) ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς, is very well rendred by *Langus*, *iterata agrorum mensiones*, the re-measuring of Lands. This Version *Rufinus* confirms, who renders it *census innovare*, to renew the Census, or the pricing of every man's estate. This Census could not be renewed without the re-measuring of Land: For the Census amongst the Romans consisted of two things, (i. e.) the measuring of Lands, and the numbering of the People, as I have elsewhere noted. We have the testimony of *Aurel. Vict.* and of *Victor's Epitome* in confirmation of what *Eusebius* says concerning *Licinius's Avarice*. But what *Eusebius* says concerning *Licinius's Exactions*, and Oppressions of his Subjects, is confuted by the testimony of two ancient Authors, (*viz.*) *Aurel. Victor* and *Libanius*. *Victor* says of *Licinius* that he was, *Agribus plane ac rusticantibus, quia ab eo genere ortus altissus erat, satis utilis*, i. e. To the common sort of People and Rusticks, because he was extracted from and maintained by that sort of men, He was useful enough. *Libanius* in his Oration pro Templis Gentilium, says, *ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἀνέβη τὰς πόλεις*, that the Cities flourish'd under him, (*viz.*) *Licinius*. *Valef.*

place is the 54th chap. of book 1. of *Constantine's Life*. The *Militia* amongst the Romans was twofold: the *Militia Castrens*, or the *Militia employ'd in all martial affairs*; and the *Militia Civilis*, which in *Theodosius's Code*, is called the *Militia Cohortalis*, the *Militia employ'd in Civil Affairs*. Those that were listed into this *Militia Cohortalis*, were by the Latines commonly call'd *Officiales*, or *Apparitores*: and by the Greeks generally *ἐργαῖται*. See *Themist.* 1. Orat. pag. 38. *Chrysost.* Homily 1. upon the first Epist. to *Corinth.* p. 8. and p. 10. Moreover [*ἐργαῖται*] by *Chrysost.* Hom. 1. upon *St. Matthew* is used for *Apparitoris Officio fungi*, to execute an Apparitor's Office. But the Greeks (sometimes for distinction's sake of the *Militia Castrens*) called these *Apparitores*, *ἐργαῖται καὶ πόλιν*, City Apparitors. So *Eusebius* in the place above quoted; and *Themistius*, in his 17th Orat. pag. 457. makes use of [*ἀσυνὸς ἐργαῖτης*] which has the same import with [*ἐργαῖτης καὶ πόλιν*] here in *Eusebius*, (i. e.) the Apparitors of the *Prætorium* and *Præfects of the Prætorium*, who gather'd the Tributes which belonged to the Treasury. *Valef.*



Constant. and Licinius. they-men which were not alive, but long since dead. Besides these things, why should we reckon up the (f) Proscriptions of innocent men (f) I doubt which he, the Enemy of mankind, was the inventor of? and the imprisonments of men (g) nobly descended, and of an honourable repute? Whose youthful wives he forced from them by violence, and deliver'd them to some of his impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? What need we number the married Women, Virgins, and Maids, whom in his (b) decrepid age he abused, to the fulfilling of his own soul's insatiable lust? What need is there [I say] of enlarging upon these things, when as

not, but instead of [ἐξορισμὸς,] we should read ἐξορισμὸς, Proscriptions: for in the first Book, *De vita Constant.* cap. 55. (where Eusebius repeats all these passages almost in the same words) instead of this term, he uses this phrase [ἀποπέμψας τιμωρίας, punishments of Exile.] Val. (g) Christoph. translates the term ἀποπέμψας here used, *Patricios*, erroneously, as we before signified. They were termed *Nobiles*, who were descended from those that had born any Office in Rome, or in the Towns incorporate. Valef.

(b) But Licinius died in the sixtieth year of his age, as *Vitor* affirms in his *Epitome*. Wherefore Eusebius, like an Orator, aggravates the matter here. Valef.

the exorbitant grossness of his last actions evinceth his first to be trivial and almost nothing? In fine, he arrived to such an height of madness, that [he made an attempt] upon the Bishops: and looking upon them (in regard they were the servants of Almighty God) to be enemies to his practices; (but [daring not] as yet to use open violence, fearing his superior,) he privily and craftily plotted against them: and by the treacheries of his Presidents destroy'd the eminentest of them. The manner how he murder'd them is strange, and such as was never before heard of. But his actions at *Amasia* and the rest of the Cities of *Pontus* do far exceed the most superlative cruelty. Where some of Gods Churches were again thrown down from their vast height to the very ground, and others were shut up, left any of those that did usually frequent them should meet there, and render a due worship to God. For he did not suppose that prayers were offer'd up for him, being perswaded to entertain such thoughts as these by a consciousness of his own impieties. But he was of opinion that all we did was in behalf of the pious Emperor, and to render God favourable to him. Upon which account he resolved to assail us with his utmost rage. Therefore, those Presidents that were his flatterers, being fully perswaded that this would be grateful to the Tyrant, [inflicted] the same punishment upon some Bishops that they usually imposed upon Malefactors. So that harmless and innocent men were haled away, and without the least pretext punish'd like murderers. But others of them underwent a new kind of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces; and after this barbarous and most horrid spectacle, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for the fishes. After this therefore, the worshippers of God betook themselves to flight, and the fields, the deserts, the woods and mountains were the Receptacles of Christ's servants. When the impious Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained some thoughts of raising a general persecution against all the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle to hinder him from effecting of it, had not God, the Protector of his own servants, (that he might prevent what would immediately have

ensued,) caused *Constantine* his servant suddenly to appear as a Saviour and a great Light to all that were in a thick darkness and an obscure night, conducting him with a mighty arm into these parts.

## C H A P. IX.

Concerning *Constantine's* Victory, and concerning the prosperity procured by him to all those that live under the power of the Romans.

(a) ON this man therefore did [God] from above bestow Trophies of Victory over the ungodly, as being the worthy fruits of his piety. But the impious Tyrant, together with all his Counsellors and friends, he laid prostrate on their faces before the feet of *Constantine*. For when \* he was arriv'd at the highest degree of madness, the pious † Emperor supposing he was not to be longer born with, (b) entering into a prudent and sober consideration with himself, and having tempered the severity of Justice with [his own natural] clemency, resolves upon succouring of those that were oppress'd by the Tyrant; and prepares to save a great part of mankind, by cutting off and removing out of the way a few pestilent and destructive persons. For having before this made use of clemency only, and shewing pity on him who deserved no compassion; he did not profit him at all; for he desisted not from [the practice of his pristine] impieties, but rather increased his fury against the Subjects of his own Provinces. There was no hope of deliverance now remaining to those that were oppress'd and afflicted by this cruel Beast. Wherefore [Constantine] the Protector of all good men (having temper'd his hatred of impiety with his love of virtue) together with his son *Crispus*, a most mild and courteous \* *Cæsar*, † Or Prince; marches forward upon this expedition, reaching out a helping hand to all that were in distress. Both the Father therefore and the Son, having for their Captain and Assistant the supream King, and the Son of God the Saviour of all men, divided the Army so, as on every side to encompass God's Enemies, and got an easie victory; all things in that action having been rendred facil, and successfully expedited for them by God, according to their wish. Immediately therefore, even in the twinkling of an eye, they who yesterday and the day before breathed forth death and menaces, became wholly extinct, the remembrance even of their very names not in the least surviving them. Their pictures also and other monuments [dedicated to their honour] received the deserved [spots of] ignominy; and the same [disgrace] which *Licinius* had with his own eyes beheld the impious Tyrants heretofore involv'd in, even he himself in like manner suffer'd. For he himself receiv'd not instruction, nor was he amended by his neighbour's stripes: but walking on in the same path of wickedness with them, deservedly waded into the same precipice they did. Thus

(a) At these words we began the 9th Chap. which confession of ours is confirmed by the old Maz. and Fuk. M. S. S. And in those M. S. S. this Chapter is rightly called the eighth Chapter as we remark'd before. Valef.

\* *Licinius*.

† *Constantine*.

(b) Τὸν σάφροντα σωμαζήσαντα λόγισμον \* these are the Words in the original; which Valefius renders thus, *Modestam ac sobriam in se colligens mentem*: *Grynæus* thus, *rem hanc sapienter expendit*: and we translate it after this manner, *entering into a prudent and sober Consideration with himself*. 'Tis a phrase usual with our *Eusebius*. For so he expresses himself Book 3: *De Vita Constant.* Chap. 5. and 11.

\* Or Prince; the term in the Greek is Βασιλεῖς



Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

was this person smitten and prostrated. But Constantine the Mighty Conqueror, gloriously adorn'd with all the virtues of Religion (together with his Son Crispus, a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recover'd his own East, and re-united the Roman Empire

(c) By this Phrase here used [*εἰς αὐτὸν αὐτῶν, their Peace*] is meant the Peace which they restored. So Seneca in his Book *De Clementia* brings in Nero speaking thus: *Hæc tot millia gladiatorum quæ pax mea comprimit, ad nutum meum stringentur.* Where by [*pax mea*] he means the Peace he had procured. So also Velleius Paterculus uses this Phrase, and on some Old Coins we find this inscription; *Pax Augusti*, i. e. the Peace procured by the Emperor. But *Pax Romana* is by the same Seneca (in his Book *De Clementia*, and in that *De Providentia*) used in another sense, to wit, *pax ea quæ finitur imperium Romanum*, (i. e.) that Peace which the Roman Empire enjoyeth. Valef.

(d) This other with smiling countenances, and chearful eyes. In (d) Dances also and Songs, in every City and in the Fields, they first of all glorified, when

the discourse i. concerning the Christians praising God, did not please Niceph. And therefore instead of *χορεύειν* he uses *παύειν*. Eusebius, in his second Book, *De vita Constant.* instead of *χορεύειν* uses *χοροῖ* which term indeed is more tolerable. But we may easily bear with

this word *χορεύειν*. For the Christians used to dance on their Festivals of the Martyrs, which they kept in honour of them; and thus they celebrated their Conflicts and Victories as *Greg. Naz.* relates (in *Carminibus ad mulieres sese curiosius exornantes*, pag. 152.) *Basilius Magnus* (in his 14th Homily against drunkenness) has a sharp invective against these Chores, or Dances. Valef.

fied God the the King of Kings, (for thus they were instructed to do) and in the next place the pious Emperor, together with his Children which were beloved of God. There was an oblivion of past afflictions, no remembrance of any impiety, but only an enjoyment of the present good things and expectations of more in future. In all places the Edicts of the Victorious Emperor, full of kindness and clemency, and his Laws containing manifest tokens of his great bounty and true piety, were proclaimed. All Tyranny therefore being thus extirpated, the Empire which did by right belong to Constantine and his Sons, was preserved firm and secure from envy. Who (after they had cleansed the World from the impiety of their Predecessors) being sensible of those great benefits which had been procured for them by God, (e) did by a most apparent and convincing testimony of their deeds declare to all men their love of virtue and of the Deity, and also their piety and gratitude towards God.

(e) The reading in the King's M. S. (which Stephens almost every where follows) is this [*διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ χριστιανῶν ἐκείνων νόμου διατάξεως, declared by their Law [published] in favour of the Christians*] But in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. this place is written far otherwise, thus [*δι' ὧν αἱ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων πειρὰν ὁ θεὸς ἐπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς, did by a most apparent and convincing testimony of their deeds declare to all men:*] which reading, being confirmed by the consent of more, and those ancient Copies, we with good reason supposed ought to be preferred before the other. Valef.



THE  
ECCELESIASTICAL  
HISTORY  
OF

Socrates Scholasticus,

Translated out of the GREEK, according to the Edition set forth  
by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1668.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are also  
done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life and Writings* of the foresaid *Historian*; Collected by  
VALESIUS, and Translated into ENGLISH.

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L O N D O N:

Printed by J. M. for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-  
Row. MDCCVIII.



# VALESIUS's PREFACE,

To the Studious READER S.

AFTER *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, (whom we may deservedly stile *The Father of Ecclesiastick History*;) many inflamed with a pious Emulation, undertook to treat of the same Subject. But *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* are in the Judgment of all Antiquity far more famous than all the other Writers: Who beginning from those Times wherein *Eusebius* concluded his *Ecclesiastick History*, brought their Work down to the Times of *Theodosius Junior*. And at first I was resolved to have publish'd these three Writers together, that as they had prosecuted one and the same Subject in their Writings, so they might have also been comprehended and read in one and the same Volume. But in regard this would hereby have been too large a Volume, therefore I was forced to defer the Edition of *Theodoret* to another time. To which I will add *Evagrius Epiphaniensis's Ecclesiastick History*, as also the *Excerptions* of *Philostorgius* and *Theodorus Lector*; that the Studious may in future read over the whole Body of *Ecclesiastick History*, publish'd and explain'd by our Labour. In the interim you have here (Reader) joyn'd together in this Volume *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. Concerning what I have done about the Edition of these Authors, take this Account in short.

Above eight years since, when by the Command and Advice of the most Illustrious Prelates belonging to the *Gallican* Clergy, I publish'd the *History* of *Eusebius Casariensis*, I made it my business to perform three things most especially in that Edition. For first, having from all places procured those Manuscript-Copies that were most remarkable and eminent, I amended and differenc'd those passages which in the former Editions had been corrupted and disguised. Secondly, in regard the former Translators had, either by reason of their want of Manuscript-Copies, or on some other account, err'd in many places, that their Versions might not induce the Readers into Mistakes, I my self have elaborated a new Translation, with which the the Studious will, I hope, be in future content. Lastly, I have added Annotations, that I might therein both give an account of mine Amendments, and also explain and illustrate all the more obscure and difficult places. And this Edition, being candidly received by all, is now in the hands of the Learned. Therefore, what I then (by the Divine Assistance) perform'd in the *History* of *Eusebius Casariensis*, the same I have attempted now to do in the *History* of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, by the Command and Advice of the same Prelates I mention'd. For (that I may in the first place speak concerning *Socrates*, who first betook himself to write) I have amended his *History* by the help and assistance of three Manuscript-Copies, to wit, the *Sfortian*, the *Florentine*, and the *Allatian*. The *Sfortian*-Manuscript (which is the best and ancientest,) is at this time kept in the *Vatican* Library. This Copy the Learned *Lucas Holstenius* had some time since (in favour to the most Illustrious *Carolus Monchallus*, Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*) compared with the *Geneva Edition*; and had transmitted the various Readings (together with the Emendations of *Philostorgius* transcribed from the *Scoriacenian* MS.) to the same Prelate, at such time as the *Gallican* Clergy had committed to him the Care of setting forth a new Edition of the *Ancient Ecclesiastick History*; so the said *Holstenius* informs us, in his *Epistle* to *Peter Possinus*, a Divine of the Order of the *Jesuites*. But afterwards, when by the Entreaty of the same Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse* (who understood, that by reason of his too much other business, he could not be at leisure to take care of this Edition) the *Gallican* Clergy had enjoyned me that Province; the same *Holstenius* sent me the various Readings of the fore-mention'd *Sfortian*-Manuscript, written out with his own hand at the Margin of the *Geneva Edition*, together with those Amendments of *Philostorgius*; and had sent me more, had a longer Life been granted him. For a little before his Death he sent me some *Dissertations* concerning certain Passages in the *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* Councils, and concerning *Synesius's* Episcopate. Which *Dissertations* shall (God willing) be publish'd by us in the Third Tome of our *Ecclesiastick History*, that the learned part of the World may be no longer defrauded of that most Accomplish'd Person's Labours. The *Florentine*-Manuscript follows, transcribed above five hundred years since, which is now kept at *Florence*, in *St. Lawrence's Library*. The Discovery and Use of this Manuscript I owe to *Emericus Bigotius*, a most skilful searcher into old Libraries: By whose diligence it is contrived, that we sitting still and idle here, enjoy the Riches and Treasures of many and most remote Libraries. For at his entreaty, *Michael Erminius*, a Senator of *Florence*, compared that Copy with the *Geneva Edition*, and transmitted the various Readings thereof to me; upon which account I do profess my self much obliged to both of them. The third Manuscript belongs to *Leo Allatius*, a Person every way learned, and one that has deserved well of Ecclesiastick Antiquity. This Copy contains the *Ecclesiastick History* of *Theodorus Lector*, comprised in Two Books; which *Theodorus Lector* had gather'd out of three Writers of Ecclesiastick Affairs, to wit, *Socrates*, *So-*  
*zomen*,



# V A L E S I U S ' S P R E F A C E .

*zomen*, and *Theodoret*, after the same manner that *Cassiodorus Senator* has composed his *Tripertite History*. But this *Tripertite History* of *Theodorus Lector* comprehends only the Affairs transacted in the Church during the Reign of *Constantine* and *Constantius* : Whether the reason be, that *Theodorus Lector* continued his *Collection* no further, or that the other Books of that Work are lost by the negligence of Antiquity. Out of this Copy therefore *Leo Allatius* had some time since collected the various Readings in the two former Books of *Socrates*, and transmitted them, being written out with his own hand, to the most Illustrious Prelate *Carolus Monchallus* : Which I afterwards procured by the assistance of the most Eminent *Dionysius Talæus*, *Advocatè General* to the Most Christian King in the Supream Court at *Paris*. Besides these three Manuscript Copies, I made use of the King's Manuscript, (which is no very ancient one,) which *Robert Stephens* made use of only in his Edition. Upon which account it is less to be wondered at, that the common Editions of *Socrates* have hitherto been so faulty, seeing they were all derived from one only Copy, which also is a very modern one. Moreover, this Copy was taken out of the King's Library, and courteously lent me by the most Illustrious and Reverend Prelate *Nicholas Colbertus*, Bishop of *Laussan*, a Person endow'd with eminent Learning, Virtue, and Dignity. Concerning whose Praise I would speak more in this place, did not his singular Modesty hinder me, who am very desirous thereof. And these are the Assistances of the Manuscript Copies, by the supports whereof I attempted this Edition of *Socrates*.

But in the Correcting of *Sozomen's History* I had the benefit of fewer Manuscript Copies. For besides that Copy in the King's Library, which *Robert Stephens* followed in his Edition, and besides that Copy belonging to *Leo Allatius* (whereof we made mention before,) which was an assistance to us only in the four first Books of *Sozomen*, and in the beginning of the Fifth ; I had only the *Fuketian Manuscript*. This Copy did at first belong to *Carolus Monchallus Arch-Bishop* of *Toulouse*, a person very studious of *Ecclesiastick History*. But afterwards it was put into the *Fuketian Library*, and lent to me by the most worthy *Nicolaus Fuketius*. Upon which account in my Annotations I have called this the *Fuketian Manuscript*. But at length, when our Edition was compleated, this Copy (together with the other Manuscripts belonging to the *Fuketian Library*) was transfer'd into the Right and Possession of the most Illustrious and Eminent Person, on account both of his own and his Father's deserts, *Carolus Mauricius Tellerius*, *Abbot* of *Saint Benignus*, who at this time is *Coadjutor* in the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Rheimes*. Indeed this is no very ancient Manuscript, but 'tis of the best note, and is transcribed from a most correct Copy. The Titles of the Chapters, which in the King's Manuscript, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, are prefix'd before the History of *Sozomen*, are wanting in this Copy. Nor is there any distinction of the Chapters throughout all the Books. From whence may be discerned the Excellency and Antiquity of that Manuscript. For the Titles or Contents of the Chapters were made by *Nicephorus Callistus*, or rather by some other more modern Author, and are wholly impertinent, and barbarously express'd. In so much that after I had look'd thereon with a greater accuracy, they seem'd to have been composed by some other hand, rather than by *Nicephorus*. Moreover, that I may not defraud any person of his due praise, I acknowledge my self indebted to *Samuel Tennilius* (a very learned person, and one that is a great lover of me, at present an eminent Professor of Literature at *Nimneghen*) for the various Readings in the History of *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, collected out of the fore-mentioned *Allatian Manuscript* ; that is, out of the *Tripertite History* of *Theodorus Lector*. For whilst he was at *Rome*, he transcribed them with his own hand from *Leo Allatius's* Copy, a person never praised enough ; who by my entreaty, and for my sake, had delivered those various Readings to the said *Tennilius*, that he might write them out. By the help of these Copies therefore I have amended innumerable places both in *Socrates* and also in *Sozomen*, which were very corrupt before ; I have supplied many Defects, restored many Punctuations and Distinctions, and, lastly, I have added a new Version. Concerning which I will now speak briefly.

What I have heretofore said concerning *Musculus's* and *Christophorson's* Translation in my Preface to the Illustrious Prelates of the Gallican Church, which is prefixt before the Edition of our *Eusebius*, I need not now repeat. I will only add this : If after those Translators now named, the History of *Eusebius Casariensis* wanted a new Interpreter, a new Version of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* was much more necessary. For their Histories have come to our hands far more faulty than *Eusebius's*. And that the Judicious Reader will easily discern from *Robert Stephens's* Edition. For *Robert Stephens*, in his Edition of *Eusebius*, had the use of many Manuscript Copies, which were taken out of the King's Library : But in his Impression of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* History, he had but one Copy of each of them. Therefore at the end of his Edition, he remark'd the various Readings in the books of *Eusebius*, taken out (as he says) of most ancient Copies. But at the close of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* History he put no various Readings, because he had gotten but one Copy of each of those Writers. Also, the Copies of *Eusebius*, which *Stephens* made use of, were the best and ancientest, as he himself attests. But each Copy, as well that of *Socrates's* as the other of *Sozomen's* History, which *Robert Stephens* followed in his Edition, was, as we perceive, very new ; and did also abound with many faults. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that Learned Men have been so often mistaken in their Versions of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* Books, since they had such faulty and maimed Copies before them, and were deprived of the assistance of Manuscripts. For

*Musculus*



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*Musculus* had seen *Robert Stephens's* Edition only. *Christophorson* had indeed inspected some MS. Copies of *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*. But he had no MSS. of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as I have frequently observed in my *Annotations*. He had only seen the various Readings and Conjectures of Learned Men set at the Margin of *Robert Stephens's* Edition: Of which sort many Copies came to our hands. But those Readings were almost of no weight or authority at all, in as much they had no Remark annex'd of the ancient Copy out of which they were transcribed. But I, having got the best and ancientest Manuscripts, as well of *Socrates*, as *Sozomen*, and with great labour and industry compared them with the common Editions; afterwards took an easier and plainer way to their Translation. This Edition of ours therefore will (we hope) equally satisfy all persons, as well those that are skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, as them that are not. For, both those that are knowing in the *Greek* Language will read *Socrates* and *Sozomen* amended and thoroughly purged by our Labour; and such as are less skilled in the *Greek* will easier understand those Authors done into *Latin* by us.

Our *Annotations* follow; wherein, in the same manner as in our *Notes* on *Eusebius*, we have attempted to perform two things. The first is, to give an account of our *Emendations*, and to propose to the Reader's Judgment the various Readings taken out of the *Manuscript Copies*. Then, secondly, to illustrate (according to our ability) the more obscure and difficult places, which seem'd to be able to involve the Reader's Judgment in Doubts. Nor am I ignorant, that there are many delicate and fastidious Persons, who may think that they have exhibited to them some exquisite Observations only, and *Common Places* (as they are called,) composed for shew and ostentation; and who may suppose that that part of our *Annotations*, which contains *Emendations* and various Readings, is altogether trivial and despicable. To which persons I would make this return: Altho' those *Emendations* and *various Readings* (which the *Greeks* term *δι' ὁλοκληρίας*) may frequently be insipid, and seem troublesome to the Readers, yet they are highly useful, and altogether necessary, especially in these Writers, whose Books have come to our hands less correct. Now that *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* Books are such, we have before mention'd. And indeed our *Observations* do bear a greater shew of Learning: But an *Emendation* in my opinion requires more of Wisdom and Judiciousness. Neither is it for every Man to give his opinion concerning the true and genuine Reading of antique Writers: But he only is able to do this, who is furnished with a manifold stock of Learning, and has been long and much exercised in this Art of Judging.

And these are the Particulars I thought necessary to advertize the Readers of in the beginning of this Work, that they might know at first sight what they were chiefly to expect in this Edition of ours, which could not be met with in the former Editions of this History. It remains now, that we speak something concerning *Socrates* and *Sozomen*: who and what manner of Persons they were, what course of Life they followed, what Religion they profess'd, and which of them first wrote his History.

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CONCER-



Concerning the

# L I F E

A N D

# W R I T I N G S

O F

## SOCRATES and SOZOMEN.

OUR Socrates therefore, for we will begin with him, had *Constantinople* for his Country. In the *Fifth Book of his History*, Chap. 24. he attests that he was born and educated in that City, and that he therefore recorded those Matters chiefly which hapned in that City. When very young he was instructed in the *Rules of Grammar*, by *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians*, who at that time had left *Alexandria*, and betook themselves to *Constantinople*. He that is desirous to know the reason why these *Grammarians* departed from *Alexandria*, will find it related by *Socrates*, in the *Fifth Book* and *Sixteenth Chapter* of his *History*. For when the Heathen Temples were demolish'd at *Alexandria*, by the Care and Industry of *Theophilus* Bishop of that City, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians* (the one of whom was *Jupiter's* Priest, and the other *Simius's* at *Alexandria*,) displeased at the Ignominy their Gods were expos'd to, having left the City *Alexandria*, went to *Constantinople*, and there took up their habitation. Moreover, the Heathen-Temples at *Alexandria* were destroy'd when *Timassius* and *Promotus* were *Consuls*, (according to *Marcellinus's* Relation in his *Chronicon*,) which was the Emperor *Theodosius's* Eleventh year. Whence it is apparent, that our *Socrates* was born about the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign. For Boys were usually sent to be instructed by *Grammarians* when they were about Ten years old. After this *Socrates* studied *Rhetorick* under the Tuition of *Troilus* the *Sophista*, who about that time was an eminent Professor of Eloquence at *Constantinople*. Our *Socrates* does not indeed say thus much in express words. But the attentive and diligent Reader will easily collect from his words that which I have affirmed. For he does make such frequent, and so honourable a mention of him, that he may seem to pay reward to his Master. For he names his Country, *Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*. He also mentions not a few of his Scholars, to wit, *Eusebius Scholasticus*, and *Silvanus*, and *Ablabius* who were Bishops. Lastly, in his *Seventh Book* he relates, that *Anthemius* the *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium* (who, whilst *Theodosius Junior* was yet a *Minor*, was the Chief Minister of State in the Empire) did chiefly make use of the Counsels of *Troilus* the *Sophista*. Where he also gives him this *Elogue*: "Ὁς μὲν τῆς ἑσθῆος αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφίας (for that must be the Reading, as we have intimated in our \*Notes) καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς φρόνησιν τῷ Ἀνθεμίου ἐφάρμιλλον ἦν; that is, who besides the Philosophy that was in him, was *Anthemius's* Equal in Political Knowledge. By these Reasons I have been induced to think that our *Socrates* had *Troilus* for his *Rhetorick-Master*. But concerning this matter we permit every one to determine according to his own Arbitrement. Further, you must know that the Ancients were not so speedy and hasty in [their learning the Rules of] Eloquence, as is now a-days usual, but they applied their minds to those Studies for a long time together. *Gregory Nazianzen* attests (in his *Poem concerning his own Life*) that he left *Athens* in the thirtieth year of his Age, as soon as he had learned the Precepts of the Art of Oratory in that City. After this, *Socrates* having left *Troilus's* School, betook himself to the *Forum*, and pleaded Causes at *Constantinople*. Whence he got the Surname of *Scholasticus*. For so the *Advocates* were at that time called,

\* See So-  
crat. Eccle-  
siast. Hist.  
Book 7.  
Chap. 1.  
Note (c.)

\* Non quod  
in Scholas  
relati ef-  
sent; so he  
words it;  
the ex-  
pression is  
ambiguous.

as it has long since been remarked by others: \* Not because they were reduced into Schools; but in regard, being Young Men that had left the Schools of the *Rhetoricians*, they profess'd this Art. But at length, having left off his Practice in the Law, he applied his mind to Writing of his *Ecclesiastick History*. In which Work he has made use of a singular Judiciousness and Diligence. His Judiciousness is manifested by his Remarks and Sentiments interwoven every where throughout his Books: than which there is (in my opinion) nothing more excellent. But his diligence is declared by many other Instances, chiefly by this, in regard he frequently annexes a Note of the Times



# Concerning the Life and Writings of Socrates and Sozomen.

times, that is, the *Consulates* and *Olympiades*, especially where he mentions such Matters as are more momentous, Nor has he carelessly or negligently written his History, as *Rufinus Aquileiensis* did, who seems to me to have composed his two Books of *Ecclesiastick History* (which he annex'd to *Eusebius's*) without looking into any Records. Our *Socrates* did far otherwise, for having from all places got together the best Monuments, that is, the *Epistles* of Prelates, the *Acts* of *Synods*, and the *Books* of *Ecclesiastick Writers*, agreeable to their authority he composed his History. And whereas in the first Edition of his Work, having therein followed *Rufinus*, he had placed the *Synod* of *Tyre*, and the Banishment of *Athanasius* into the *Gallia's*, in the Reign of *Constantius Augustus*, upon reading of *Athanasius's* Books afterwards, he perceived his error. Wherefore he was necessitated to set forth a new Edition of his History, wherein he both mended the Mistake I have mention'd, and also made an addition of some other things, which were wanting in the former Edition, as he himself attests at the beginning of his *Second Book*. Whence it appears how highly we ought to value *Socrates's History*, to which the Writer himself put his last \* Hand. In the Composition of his History *Socrates* has made use of a plain and mean Stile; which was done by him on set purpose, that he might the easier be understood by all persons, as himself attests at the beginning of his *First* and *Third Book*. For he look'd upon that sublime and eloquent manner of expression to be more agreeable for *Panegyrick Orations*, than an History of Ecclesiastick Affairs. Moreover, he has dedicated his History to one *Theodorus*, whom in the beginning of his *Second Book* he styles a *Sacred Man of God*, which is the same Appellation our *Eusebius* gives to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, at the beginning of his *Tenth Book*. But who this *Theodorus* was, it is to me unknown. For I cannot believe it was *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, in regard *Socrates* wrote his History after the Death of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*. But it is now time for us to inquire concerning his Sect and Religion, as we promised at the beginning.

\* That is, he himself Revised, and Corrected it.

*Baronius* in his *Annals*, and *Philippus Labbaeus* in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, do affirm, that our *Socrates* was by Sect a † *Novatian*. The same was *Nicephorus's* Opinion before it was theirs, who in the *Proeme* to his *Ecclesiastical History* says thus: *Ὁ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ μὲν δὲ τῷ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σωκράτης.* That is, That *Socrates*, surnamed \* *Catharus*, but as to his Mind he was not pure. Which words are not so to be understood, as if *Socrates* were surnamed *Catharus*, but that it might be shown he was a *Novatian*. For the *Novatians* termed themselves *Cathari*, as we are informed from the *Eighth Canon* of the *Nicene Council*. The same *Nicephorus* (in his *Eleventh Book*, Chap. 14.) writes thus concerning *Socrates*: *Socrates (who in this place plainly shews himself not to be a detester of the Novatian Principles) relates that these things were told him by a certain old Man, &c.* Now, why our *Socrates* was by many accounted a *Novatian*, the reasons are not few, nor trivial. For first, he carefully records the Series of the *Novatian Bishops*, who presided over the Church at *Constantinople* from the Times of *Constantine*; and also remarks the *Consulates* wherein every one of them departed out of this Life. Secondly, he highly extols them all, especially *Agerius*, *Sisinius*, *Chrysanthus*, and *Paulus*. By whose Prayers, as he relates, a certain Miracle was wrought at *Constantinople*. Lastly, he prosecutes all Matters belonging to the *Novatian Sect* with so great a care and diligence, that he may seem to have been addicted to this Sect. But should any one examine these Particulars with a greater accuracy, he will find nothing in them, that may evince our *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*. For with the like diligence he enumerates the *Arian Bishops*, who govern'd their Church at *Constantinople*; and yet it is not said he was an *Arian*. With no less carefulness also has he related all things that hapned to the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians* at *Constantinople*, than he has recorded what befel the *Novatians*. The reason hereof he himself has given, in Chap. 24. of his *Fifth Book*. Where he says, it was his design to record those things most especially which hapned at *Constantinople*; both because he himself lived in that City, wherein he had been born and educated; and also in regard the Affairs transacted there were more eminent, and worthier to be recorded. But should any one object, that the *Arian Bishops* are not extolled by *Socrates* at the same rate that the *Novatian Bishops* are: the Answer hereto is easie. For the *Arian Bishops*, who then lived at *Constantinople*, were far inferior to the *Novatian Bishops*. For the Church of these Hereticks did in those Times abound with many, and Those eminent Prelates: Which *Sozomen* also confirms by his Testimony, who records their *Elogues*, exactly like those given them by our *Socrates*. Wherefore, it must either be said that *Sozomen* was also a *Novatian*, or else our *Socrates* must be discharged from that Calumny. But 'tis manifest *Sozomen* was not a *Novatian*. For (to omit *Theodorus Leontius's* Testimony, who, in his *Epistle prefixt before his Tripartite-History*, styles him *Μακάριον, a most blessed Person*,) he himself in his Ninth Book relates, that he was present at a publick Procession, celebrated at *Constantinople* in honour of forty Martyrs, at such time as *Proclus* presided over the Church of that City. Whence 'tis manifestly concluded, that *Sozomen* was a Person of the Catholick Communion, in regard he was present at the publick Prayers together with the Catholicks. I confess indeed, that our *Socrates* does frequently favour the *Novatians*; for instance, when he recounts the Ring-leader of the *Novatian* Heresie amongst the number of the Martyrs; when he affirms, that the *Novatians* were joyn'd to the Catholicks in the ties of a most intimate Friendship and Love, and that they pray'd together with them in the Church of God; and lastly, when he commends *Sisinius's* Oration, which he made against this Saying of *S<sup>c</sup> Chrysostome*,  
Although

† See *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, Book 6. Chap. 43. \* That is, Pure.



## Concerning the Life and Writings of Socrates and Sozomen.

Although thou hast repented a thousand times, approach. But 'tis one thing to favour the Novatians; another to be a Novatian. Our Socrates might indeed be a favourer of the Novatians, either because he was engaged in a friendship and familiarity with them, or in regard he approved of their discipline and abstinence. For, as far as we can collect from his Books, he was something severe. But I can hardly persuade myself, that he was a Novatian; especially when as I seem to have found the contrary from some places which occur in his History. For first, in Chap. 38. of his Second Book, he frequently calls the Catholics τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, those of the Church; and opposes them to the Novatians. Therefore he acknowledges that the Novatians were without the Church. Which he would certainly never have done, had he embraced that Heresie. Besides, in the 20. and 23. Chapters of his Fifth Book he reckons the Novatians amongst the Hereticks, to wit, amongst the Arians, Macedonians, and Eunomians. Lastly, from Chap. 19. of the same Book it may be apparently concluded that Socrates was not a Novatian. For first, he always calls the Church simply and absolutely the Catholick-Church: opposing it to the Churches of other Sects, concerning which he treats in the following Chapters, to wit, of the Arians, Novatians, and Eunomians. Then, he does not obscurely reprehend that advice of Nestarius, who abrogated the Penitentiary Presbyter. For he says, that hereby Licence was given to Sinners, when as there was no body that might reprove Offenders. Which Opinion could not proceed from a Novatian, in regard those Hereticks admitted neither of Repentance [after Baptism,] nor of a Penitentiary-Presbyter, as Socrates does there attest. Add hereto the testimony of Theodorus Lecter, who, in his Epistle prefixt before his Ecclesiastick History, calls Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, ἀνδρας σεοφιλεῖς, that is, Men that were pious and acceptable to God. Moreover, Theodorus Lecter lived in the same City, and almost at the same time that Socrates did, to wit, in the Reign of the Emperor Anastasius. Lastly, Petrus Halloixius (in his Notes on the Life of St. Irenæus, pag. 664.) is of the same Opinion with us. For, disputing against Baronius, who at the year of Christ 159. had written thus; These things Socrates the Novatian, who with the Jews celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the Moon, &c. he utters these words. And whereas Socrates is termed a Novatian, that may be taken in a double sense: The one is, that he sometimes favoured the Novatians; which also Bellarmine affirms (in his Book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, at the year of our Lord 440.) both concerning him, and likewise concerning Sozomen. The other is, that he was [a follower] of the Novatian-Heresie. In the now-cited Chapter, he neither shews himself to be a Novatian, nor a favourer of them. For he blames them, and detects their dissensions and vices; in so much that he may seem not to have been a friend, but an enemy, or rather neither of the two, but a declarer of the truth, which is the business of an Historian. Thus far concerning Socrates, we must now speak of Sozomen.

† See Socrates's Ecclesiastick History, Book 5. Chap. 19. note (a.)

Hermias Sozomen was also a practiser in the Law at Constantinople, at the same time with Socrates. His Ancestors were not mean, they were originally Palestiniens, Inhabitants of a certain Village near Gaza, called Bethelia. This Village did in times past abound with a numerous Company of Inhabitants, and had most stately and ancient Churches. But the most glorious Structure of them all was the Pantheon, situated on an artificial Hill, which was the Tower as it were of Bethelia, as Sozomen relates in Chap. 15. of his fifth Book. The Grandfather of Hermias Sozomen was born in that Village, and first converted to the Christian Faith by Hilarion the Monk. For when Alaphion an inhabitant of the same Village was possessed with a Devil, and the Jews and Physicians attempting to cure him, could do him no good by their Incantments; Hilarion, by a bare invocation of the Name of God, cast out the Devil. Sozomen's Grandfather, and Alaphion himself, amazed at this Miracle, did with their whole families embrace the Christian Religion. The Grandfather of Sozomen was eminent for his Expositions of the sacred Scriptures, being a Person endowed with a polite Wit, and an acuteness of Understanding. Besides, he was indifferently well skill'd in Literature. Therefore he was highly esteemed of by the Christians inhabiting Gaza, Ascalon, and the places adjacent, in regard he was useful and necessary for [the propagating of] Religion, and could easily unloose the Knots of the sacred Scriptures. But Alaphion's Descendants excelled others for their Sanctity of Life, Kindness to the indigent, and for their other Virtues: and they were the first that built Churches and Monasteries there, as Sozomen attests in the place before cited. Where he also adds, that some holy Persons of Alaphion's Family were surviving even in his days, with whom he himself, when very young, was conversant, and concerning whom he promises to speak more afterwards. Undoubtedly he means Salamanes, Phusco, Malchio, and Crispio, Brothers, concerning whom he speaks in Chap. 32. of his sixth Book. For he says, that these Brethren, instructed in the Monastick Discipline by Hilarion, were, during the Empire of Valens, eminent in the Monasteries of Palestine: and that they lived near Bethelia, a Village in the Country of the Gazites. For they were Descendants of a Noble Family amongst them. He mentions the same Persons in his Eighth Book and Fifteenth Chapter, where he says Crispio was Epiphanius's Arch-Deacon. 'Tis apparent therefore, that those Brethren I have mentioned were extracted from Alaphion's Family. Now Alaphion was related to Sozomen's Grandfather. Which I conjecture from hence. First, because the Grandfather of Sozomen is said to have been converted (together with his whole Family) to the Christian Religion, upon account of Alaphion's wonderful Cure, whom Hilarion had healed, by calling on the name of the Omnipotent



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potent GOD. Further, this Conjecture is confirm'd by what *Sozomen* relates, to wit; that he, when very young, was familiarly conversant with the aged Monks that were of *Alaphion's* Family. And lastly, in regard *Sozomen* took his name from those Persons who were either the Sons or Grandchildren of *Alaphion*. For he was called *Salamanes Hermias Sozomenus* (as *Photius* attests in his *Bibliotheca*) from the name of that *Salamanes*, who, as we observed before, was *Phisco's*, *Malchio's*, and *Crispio's* Brother. Wherefore that mistake of *Nicephorus's*, and others, must be amended, who suppose that *Sozomen* had the Surname of *Salaminus*, because he was born at *Salimine* a City of *Cyprus*. But we have before demonstrated from *Sozomen's* own testimony, that he was not born in *Cyprus*, but in *Palestine*. For his Grandfather was not only a *Palestinian*, as is above said; but *Sozomen* himself was also educated in *Palestine*, in the bosom (as I may say) of those Monks that were of *Alaphio's* Family. From which education *Sozomen* seems to me to have imbibed that most ardent love of a Monastick Life and Discipline, which he declares in many places of his History. Hence 'tis, that in his Books he is not content to relate, who were the Fathers and Founders of Monastick Philosophy; but he also carefully relates their Successors and Disciples, who both in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and also in *Pontus*, *Armenia* and *Ostroëna*, followed this way of Life. Hence also it is, that in the *Twelfth Chapter* of the *First Book* of his History, he has proposed to be read (in the beginning as it were) that gorgeous Elogue of Monastick Philosophy. For he supposed, that he should have been ungrateful, had he not after this manner at least made a return of thanks to those, in whose familiarity he had lived, and from whom, when he was a youth, he had received such eminent examples of a good converse. For that he himself intimates, in the Proeme to his first Book. But it is collected that *Sozomen* was educated at *Gaza*, not only from this place which I have mentioned, but also from *Chap. 28.* of his *Seventh Book*, where *Sozomen* says, that he himself had seen *Zeno* Bishop of *Majuma*. This *Majuma* is a Sea-Port belonging to the *Gazites*. Which Bishop, although he was almost an hundred years old, yet was never absent from the Morning and Evening Hymns, unless it hapned that he was detained by a disease. After this *Sozomen* applied himself to the profession of the Law. He was a Student in the *Civil Law* at *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, not far distant from his own Country, wherethere was a famous *Civil-Law-School*. But he practised the Law at *Constantinople*, as himself attests in his *second Book* and *third Chapter*: And yet he seems not to have been very much employed in pleading of Causes. For at the same time that he was an *Advocate* at *Constantinople*, he wrote his *Ecclesiastick History*; which may be concluded from his own Words. For thus he says (*Book 2. Chap. 3.*) οἷον ὃ Ἀωλίνω ὑπήρξεν, ἀνδρὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἡμῶν σωματικῶς βούλει, καὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις δίκης ἀγορεύοντι τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ἀκέσας· τὰ δὲ καὶ δευτέρως, ἀναγκαιῶς ἐρωῶ· but what hapned to *Aquilinus*, a person at this time conversant with me, and one that pleads Causes in the same Court of Judicature, I will necessarily relate, partly as I hear it from him, and partly as I my self saw it. Further, before he wrote his *Nine Books of Ecclesiastick History*, *Sozomen* composed a *Breviary of Ecclesiastick affairs*, from our Saviour's Ascension to the Deposition of *Licinius*. Which work was comprized in two Books, as himself attests in the Proeme to his *First Book*. But those two Books are lost by length of time. In the composition of his History, *Sozomen* has made use of a Stile neither too Low, nor too High, but between both: which Stile is most agreeable to a Writer of Ecclesiastick Affairs. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) prefers *Sozomen's* Stile before *Socrates's*. With whom we agree. But by how much *Sozomen* is superior for the Elegancy of his expression, by so much *Socrates* exceeds upon account of his judiciousness. For *Socrates* judges incomparably well, both of Men, and also of Ecclesiastick Business and Affairs. There is nothing in him but what is grave and serious. Nothing that you can expunge as superfluous. But on the contrary, some passages occur in *Sozomen* that are trivial and childish. Of this sort is his digression in his *First Book* concerning the building of the City *Hemona*, and concerning the *Argonauts*, who carried the Ship *Argo* on their Shoulders some furlongs. Also his description of *Daphne* without the Walls of the City *Antioch*, which occurs at *Chap. 19.* of his *Sixth Book*. And that observation of his concerning the beauty of the Body, where he treats of that Virgin, with whom the blessed *Athanasius* absconded a long while. Lastly, his *Ninth Book* contains little else besides warlike Events, between which and an *Ecclesiastick History* there is no agreement. Besides, *Sozomen's* Stile, which *Photius* prefers before that of *Socrates*, wants not its faults. For I have observed, that the Periods are by *Sozomen* no otherwise joyned together, than by these Particles *καὶ* and *καί*; than which there is nothing more troublesome. Should any one attentively read that *Epistle* wherein *Sozomen* Dedicates his Work to *Theodosius Junior*, he will find that which I have said to be certainly true, to wit, that *Sozomen* was no great Orator.

It remains, that we inquire which of these \* two Authors wrote first, and which of them \* *Socrates* borrow'd, or rather stole from the other. Certainly, in regard both of them Wrote almost the same things of the same Transactions, in as much as they both began at the same beginning, and concluded their History at the same boundary, (both beginning from the Reign of *Constantine*, and ending at the *Seventeenth Consulate* of *Theodosius Junior*;) it must needs be true, that one of them robbed the others Desk. Which sort of theft (as *Porphyrus* attests in *Eusebius's Tenth Book of Evangelick Preparation*) was committed by many of the *Grecian* Writers. But which was the Plagiary, *Socrates* or *Sozomen*, 'tis hard to say, in regard both of them lived in the same times, and both



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both wrote their History in the Empire of *Theodosius Junior*. Therefore, in the disquisition of this question, we must make use of conjecture. In such a case as this *Porphyrius* in the before-quoted Book (when it was uncertain whether *Hyperides* stole from *Demosthenes*, or *Demosthenes* from *Hyperides*, because both of them lived at the same time,) openly declared that conjecture was to be made use of. Let us therefore see upon which of them falls the suspicion of theft. Indeed this is my sentiment, I do suppose that the Inferior does frequently steal from the Superior, and the Junior from the Senior. But *Sozomen* is in my judgment far inferior to *Socrates*; and he betook himself to Writing *his History* when he was younger than *Socrates*. For he wrote it whilst he was yet an Advocate, as I observed before. Now, the profession of the Advocates amongst the *Romans* was not perpetual, but temporary. Lastly, He that adds something to the other, and sometimes amends the other, seems to have written last. But *Sozomen* now and then adds some passages to *Socrates*, and in some places dissents from him, as *Photius* has observed, and we have hinted in our *Annotations*. *Sozomen* therefore seems to have written last. And this is the Opinion of almost all modern Writers; who place *Socrates* before *Sozomen*, So *Bellarmino* in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*; who is followed by *Miræus*, *Labbæus*, and *Vossius*. Amongst the Ancients, *Cassiodorus*, *Photius* and *Nicephorus* name *Socrates* in the first place. Although *Cassiodorus* is found to have varied. For in his *Preface to the Tripartite History*, in a clean contrary order he names *Theodoret* in the first place, *Sozomen* in the second, and *Socrates* last. So also does *Theodorus Lector* recount them, in his Epistle which he prefixt before the *Tripartite History*. Thus far concerning *Sozomen*.



# THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## C H A P. I.

### *The Preface to the whole Book.*

*Constant.* **E**USEBIUS PAMPHILUS having compiled an *Ecclesiastick History* in Ten intire Books, concluded it in the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor: at which time also the (a) Persecution against the *Christians* ceased, [which had been begun] by *Diocletian*. The same Author, in the Books he wrote concerning the Life of *Constantine*, has made but a (b) slight relation of the matters relating to *Arius*: for he was more careful about the praises of the Emperor, and about a panegyricall sublimity in his expressions, as it is usually done in [the composition of] an *Encomium*, than about an accurate and exact account of what was done. But we, purposing to commit to writing the *Ecclesiastick* affairs from those times to these our own days, will begin our History (c) from those things which he has left untouched: we shall not be over curious about the grandeur of our stile, but what things soever we have found upon record, or have heard from such as were present at the transactions thereof, we will particularly relate. And because it is conducive to our design, to declare after what manner *Constantine* was converted to the *Christian* Religion, according to our ability we will speak something of that matter.

*Constant.* For *Eusebius* (in his Books *De vitâ Constantini*) does indeed but partly touch the History of *Arius*; he prosecutes it not wholly, and particularly. *Vales.*

(c) *Musculus* renders these words [*ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέλιπε*] thus, we will begin our History where we left off. *Christoph.* does translate it almost after the same manner, but more barbarously, as to his *Latin*. We have rendered these words thus [*ab iis rebus quas ille intactas reliquit, operis nostri sumemus exordium*, i. e. we will begin our History from those matters which he has left untouched.] For *Socrates's* meaning is, that he will begin from the History of *Arius*, which *Eusebius* had but partly toucht upon, in his Books concerning the Life of *Constantine*. For *Eusebius* (says he) made it his business in those Books to enlarge upon the Emperor's praises, rather than to give an exact account of the *Ecclesiastick* affairs. But he himself, resolving to commit to writing the affairs transacted in the Church, promises to give a more accurate relation of the *Arian* Heresie, and to begin his History from those things which *Eusebius* had either purposely omitted, or but slightly toucht upon, as not conducive to his design in hand. Indeed *Socrates* has not begun his History where *Eusebius* left off. For *Eusebius* continues that Work of his concerning *Constantine's* Life to the Death of *Constantine*. But *Eusebius* has continued the Series of his *Ecclesiastick History* down to the tumults raised by *Arius*, and to those affairs which preceded the *Nicene Council*. If therefore we have respect only to *Eusebius's* Ten Books of his *Ecclesiastick History*, we may say, that *Socrates* began where *Eusebius* ended. But if we also add his Books concerning the Life of *Constantine* (as *Socrates* here does, then that will not be true. *Vales.*

manner *Constantine* was converted to the *Christian* Religion, according to our ability we will speak something of that matter.

## C H A P. II.

*After what manner Constantine the Emperor was converted to the Christian Religion.*

(a) **W**E will begin from those times, where- in *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, surnamed *Herculius*, having by a mutual compact resign'd their Empire, embraced a private life: and *Maximian*, surnamed *Galerius*, who had been Colleague in the Empire with them, came in- to Italy, and created two *Cæsars*, *Maximin* in the Eastern parts [of the Empire,] and *Severus* in Italy. (b) But in *Britain* *Constantine* was pro- claimed Emperor, in the room of *Constantius* his Father, (c) who died in the first year of the two hundredth seventy first Olympiad, on the five and twentieth day of the month July. [Lastly] at Rome, *Maxentius* the Son of *Maximianus Herculius* was by the *Prætorian* Soldiers advanced to be a Tyrant rather than an Em- peror. Hereupon *Herculius*, passionately desi- rous of reassuming his Imperial Authority, en- deavour'd to destroy his Son *Maxentius*. But he was hindred from doing that by the Soldiers. Afterwards (d) he died at *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia*.

that *Constantine* and *Maxentius* began their Reign in the same year that *Diocletian* and *Maximianus Herculius* did resign the Empire. This also was the opinion of the Author of the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria*, and of others who attribute the years of *Constantine's* Reign to *Constantine* his Son. And hence it is that *Constantine the Great* is reported to have reigned 32 years, when as really he reigned but 30 years, and 10 months. *Vales.*

(c) *Socrates* does in the end of his Seventh Book (where he concludes his History) repeat this, in which place he says that he began his History in the first year of the 271 Olympiad, in which year *Constantine the Great* was proclaimed Emperor. This Olympiad does begin at the Solstice of the CCCV. year, being the year after the resignation of *Diocletian*. But *Constantius* died not this year, but in that following, when he was the sixth time Consul with *Galerius Augustus*, as we may read in *Fastis Idatii*. And therefore *Constantius's* death is to be reckon'd on the second year of the aforesaid CCLXXI. Olympiad. *Vales.*

(d) *Socrates* is here in an error, for *Maximianus Herculius*, who was otherwise called *Maximian the Elder*, was by *Constantine's* command slain in *Gallia*, in the year of Christ 310. But *Maximinus Cæsar*, being two years after conquer'd by *Licinius*, died at *Tarsus*, as *Aurelius Victor* relates, and *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* and other Authors. This is the common mistake of the *Greek Historians*; they make a confusion betwixt *Maximianus* and *Maximinus*, using them promiscuously. *Vales.*







Constant.

Bishops from frequenting the houses of Heathens, that there might be no pretence of propagating the Christian Religion: This Persecution was at the same time open and secret. It was concealed and disguised in words; but in reality and deeds it was apparent. For those that lay under its pressures, endured most deplorable afflictions [and losses] in their Bodies, and as to their Estates.

## C H A P. IV.

*That there was a War raised betwixt Constantine and Licinius upon account of the Christians.*

These proceedings rais'd the highest indignation in the Emperor Constantine [against Licinius:] and, the feign'd league of friendship which was betwixt them being broken, they became enemies to each other. Not long after they entred into an actual War against one another: and having fought several Settle-battles both by Sea and Land, at length Licinius was vanquished at Chrysopolis of Bithynia, a Port-Town of the Chalcidians, and yielded himself. Constantine having taken him alive, treated him kindly; and would in no wise slay him, but commanded him to reside at Thessalonica peaceably and without making any disturbance. But having lived quietly a while, he afterwards gather'd into a body some of the Barbarians, and attempted to recover his overthrow, and renew the War. Constantine being inform'd hereof, commanded that he should be put to death, and accordingly he was slain. Constantine having now the sole power and command over the whole [Roman Empire,] and being proclaimed (a) Emperor and Augustus, endeavour'd again to augment the affairs of the Christians: which he effected divers ways: and by his means Christianity enjoy'd a profound and secure peace. But an intestine War amongst the Christians themselves succeeded this so firm a Peace. What manner of War this was, and how it began, in the sequel according to my ability I will relate.

(1) In the Kings and Florentine MSS. the Particle [2, and] is wanting; which Christoph. inserted.

To me it seems not very necessary. If we do retain it, then [βασιλεύς] must signifie [Augustus,] not King, as Christoph. renders it. Socrates alludes to the Soldiers' acclamations, who after a signal Victory were wont to stile their Prince Emperor and Augustus. The Citizens did the same, when the victorious Prince made his entry into the City. Valef.

## C H A P. V.

*Concerning Arius's Contest with Alexander the Bishop.*

After Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of Diocletian, Achilles succeeded in that See. After Achilles [succeeded] Alexander, in the time of the foremention'd peace. He living in times that were more calm and secure, adorn'd and set his Church in order. Discoursing one day in the presence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy too curiously, concerning the [mystery of] the Holy Trinity, he asserted this point of Divinity, that there was an Unity in the Trinity. But Arius one of the Presbyters placed under Alexander (a man of no mean skill in the faculty of reasoning) supposing that the Bishop design'd to introduce the Opinion of the Libyan, desirous to be perverse and contentious, deflected to an Opinion that was diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius, and as he thought, sharply and nimbly oppos'd the Bishop's assertions, arguing thus. If the Father

\* See Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History Book 7. Chap. 6. Note (b.)

begot the Son, he that was begetten hath a beginning of his Existence. And from hence it is apparent, that there was a time, when the Son was not. Whence this is a necessary consequence, that he derives his Existence from nothing.

## C H A P. VI.

*How from this Contention there arose a Division in the Church; and how Alexander Bishop of Alexandria deposed Arius and his Complices.*

Arius having drawn this conclusion from these new assertions, excited many to that question; and from this small spark was kindled a great fire. For the mischief having been begun in the Church of Alexandria over-ran all Egypt, Libya and the Upper Thebais, and at length consumed the rest of the Cities and Provinces. Many there were that did patronize Arius's Opinion, but more especially Eusebius was a maintainer of it; (not that Eusebius who was Bishop of Caesarea, but another, who formerly had been Bishop of the Church of Berytus; but was then surreptitiously crept into the Bishoprick of Nicomedia in Bithynia.) Alexander hearing and seeing what was done, became highly enrag'd, and having convened a Council of many Bishops, he degraded Arius and those that embraced his Opinion; and wrote to the [Bishops] of every City, as followeth.

*The Letter of Alexander [Bishop] of Alexandria.*

To Our Well beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers of the Catholick Church in all places, Alexander [wisheth] health in the Lord. (a) Whereas there is one Body of the Catholick Church; and 'tis commanded in the Holy Scriptures that we keep the Bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should write and inform one another of what things are done amongst us, to the end, that if one Member suffer, or rejoyce, we may either joyntly rejoyce or suffer together. In our Dioceses therefore there are lately started up Men that are impious and Enemies of Christ, who teach such Apostacy, as any one may judge, and justly term the forerunner of Antichrist. And this I would most gladly have buried in silence, that the mischief might have been consum'd by being included amongst the Apostates only, lest haply by its further progress into other places it should have infected the ears of the Simple. But because Eusebius now Bishop of Nicomedia, supposing that the Affairs of the Church are wholly at his dispose, (in regard, having deserted the Church of Berytus, he has sordidly coveted that of Nicomedia, and has not been prosecuted by any) does patronize even these Apostates, and has boldly attempted to write Letters up and down in commendation of them, that thereby he might seduce some ignorant Persons into this worst Heresie to Christ: I thought it necessary, being sen-

(a) Lucas Holstenius a very learned person;

heretofore wrote a Dissertation upon this Epistle of Alexander's, which (together with some other pieces of his) he sent me a little before his death. In that Treatise he remarks in the first place, that Interpreters had not well rendred these words of Alexander [ἐνὶ σώματι ὅλος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας,] which they had translated thus [Cum unum sit Catholica corpus Ecclesiae, whereas there is one Body of the Catholick Church. But he asserts, that the place should rather have been thus rendred, [whereas the Catholick Church is one Body, &c. or, consists of one Body.] For that learned person is of opinion, that Alexander alludes to St. Paul's Epistles, wherein the Church is frequently called Christ's Body. But (by the favour of that great man, and heretofore my dearest friend) this Version cannot be born with. For, if Alexander had thought, as Holstenius means, he would doubtless have express'd himself thus; [ἐνὶ σώματι ὅλος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας,] which in regard he has not said, it is apparent, there can be no other sense of the words, than that express'd by Translators. Besides, if Alexander would have said that the Church is the Body of Christ, he would not have worded it thus [ἐνὶ σώματι, one body,] but rather thus [σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, the Body of Christ.] Valef.



*Constant.* sible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to give you all notice, that you might know those that are the Apostates, and likewise the detestable Expressions of their Heresie, and that if Eusebius write to you, you should give no heed to him: For he, at this time desirous to renew his pristine Malevolence, which seemed to have been silenced [and forgot] by length of time, pretends indeed to write Letters on their behalf, but in reality he declares, that he uses his utmost diligence to do this upon his own account. Now these are the names of those which are turn'd Apostates; Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carpones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoïus, Lucius, Julianus, Menas, Helladius, and Gaius; Secundus also, and Theonas, who were sometimes

[b] In the Florence MS. after these words [ἐπεὶ ταῦτα, these are] follow these [πῶς φερονται ἀπὸ τῶν, the Tenets of the Arians,] which words should rather be placed in the Margin. In Gelasius there occur likewise at this place, these words, δόγμα ἀγέειν, Arius's Opinion. Valef.

but had its beginning from Nothing. For God, who is, made him, who was not, of Nothing. Therefore there was a time when he was not: For the Son is a Creature and a Work; neither is he like to the Father as to his Essence, nor is he by Nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wisdom

[c] After these words [nor his true Wisdom] there was a whole clause wanting, which from our three MSS. the Florentine, Sfortian, and Allatian, and from Gelasius Cyrænus we have made good, thus, [ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν ἡς ποιημάτων, ὅτι, But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures;] which words Epiph. Scholasticus had found in his Copy, as is apparent from his Version. For he has translated this whole place thus: *Creatura est enim, & factura filius, neque similis est patri secundum substantiam: neque verus est, neque vera sapientia ejus est, neque verum naturaliter patris verbum est, sed unus quidem creaturarum & facturarum est: For the Son is a Creature and a Work, neither is he like the Father as to his Essence: Nor is he genuine, nor his true Wisdom: nor is he by nature the true Word of the Father, but one of his Creatures and one of his Works. Hence it appears, that that Greek Copy of Socrates, which Epiphanius Scholasticus used, differed something from our Manuscripts. And yet Leo Allatius's Copy agrees exactly with that which Epiphanius followed. For thus it words this passage: ὅτι δὲ ἀληθινὸς ἐστίν, ὅτι ἀληθινὴ σοφία αὐτῷ ἐστίν. ὅτι ἀληθινὸς καὶ φύσει τῷ πατρὶ λόγος ἐστίν. ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν ἡς ποιημάτων, καὶ ποιητῶν ἐστίν. κατὰ χρῆσιν δὲ λέγεται λόγος, καὶ, &c. So exactly do the Authors of the Greek and Latin Triperite History agree amongst themselves, that they seem to have borrowed from one another. Valef.*

[d] In Leo Allatius's MS. Copy, the reading of this place is thus, ἡ οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ θεῷ σοφίᾳ. Which reading Epiph. Scholast. has followed; who translated it thus; *Factus & ipse & existens in proprio Dei verbo, & in Dei sapientia, He himself is made and exists in the proper Word of God, and in the Wisdom of God. But we have rather follow'd the reading of the King's, the Florentine, and the Sfortian MSS. which is also confirm'd by Gelasius. Val.*

[e] In Leo Allatius's MS. (which contains the Triperite History that Theodorus Lector composed in Greek out of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret) these words are added, καὶ ἀέροισι, and is invisible. So Epiph. Scholast. reads it, as appears from his Version. Valef.

the Devil was, they were not afraid to answer, Yes Constant. certainly he may: For he is of a Nature subject to change, (f) in that he is gotten and created. We (f) In-  
therefore with the Bishops of Ægypt and (g) Libya, near a hundred in number, being met together, have \* Anathematized A-  
rius for these his μαρτυρίας Principles, and for αὐτοῦ, cur- his impudent Asser- sed, or ex- tion of them, toge- communi- cated. See Dr. Ham- berents. But Euse- mond on bius has given them Rom. 9. v. 3. note b. entertainment, en-

deavouring to mix Falshood with Truth, and Impiety with Piety: but he shall not prevail. For Truth getteth the Victory: and Light has no communion with Darknes, nor hath Christ any agree-

ment with Belial. For who ever heard the like? Or what Man, if he should now hear them, would not be amazed thereat, and stop his Ears, lest the Filth of this Doctrine should penetrate and infect them? What Man is he, that when he hears these words of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, will not condemn those that affirm, there was a time when the Word was not? Or, who is he that when he hears these words of the Gospel, The only begotten Son, and by him all things were made, will not abominate these Men that say, the Son is one of the Creatures.

[b] For how can he be one of those things that were made by him? Or how can he be term'd the Only begotten, who (according to their sentiments of him) is reckon'd amongst all the other Creatures? How can he be made of nothing, whenas the Father himself saith, \* My heart hath sent forth a good word, and † Before the morning I have begotten thee in the womb? Or how can he be unlike the Father in Essence, whenas he is the \* perfect Image, and † the

brightness of the Father: And whenas he himself testifieth, || He that has seen me, hath seen the Father: Now if the Son be the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, how can there be a time when he was not? For 'tis the same [absurdity,] as if they should say, there was a time when God was both without his Word and his Wisdom. How can he be mutable and subject to change, who says concerning himself, \* I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and † I and the Father are one? He [spake also] by the Prophet, || Behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed. And tho' some one may say, that this was spoken in reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate, to understand it now to be spoken in relation to the Word: Because although he became Man, yet was he not changed; but, as the Apostle says, † Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to day, and for ever. But what motive could they have to say, that he was made for us, whenas Paul saith, \* For him are all things, and by him are all things? But concerning their Blasphemy in affirming, that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wondred at. For having once resolved to fight

against  
instead of  
ἡ οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ θεῷ σοφίᾳ, in the Greek, we with Gelasius choose to read ἡ οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ θεῷ σοφίᾳ, and accordingly translate it thus, *begotten and created. This Passage is thus translated by Epiph. Factus enim, & convertibilis est, They say that he is made, and is mutable. Val.*  
(g) In Leo Allatius's MS. the reading is καὶ λιβύας, but in Gelasius καὶ τὰς λιβύας. Which reading does please me. For there are two Libya's, we may also here take notice of this number (to wit) 100 Bishops in Egypt. The same number I remember I met with in Athanasius's Second Apology against the Ari- ans, pag. 788. ἐπίσκοποι εἰσὶν ἐν αἰγύπτῳ καὶ λιβύῃ καὶ πενταπόλει, ἐς ἑκατὸν; there are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, near an hundred Bishops. Valef.

[b] In Leo Allatius's MS. and in Gelasius Cyrænus, this place is truer written thus, πῶς γὰρ δύναται εἶναι ἡ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ θεῷ σοφίᾳ, which Reading we have express'd in our Translation. The Reading in the Florentine and Sfortian MSS. is πῶς δὲ δύναται ἵσος εἶναι ἡ δὲ αὐτῷ γένουσι, How can he be equal with those things made by him. Valef.

\* Psal. 45. v. 1.

† Psal. 110. 3. Ἐκ γαστρὸς πατρὸς ἐωσφορέα ἐγένεσά με. So the Septuagint words that Text; and we translate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

\* Colof. 1. 15. † Heb. 1. 3.

† John 14. 10. † John 10. 30. || See Mal. 3. 6.

† Heb. 13. 8.

\* Heb. 2. 10.

† Heb. 13. 8.

\* Heb. 2. 10.

† Heb. 13. 8.

\* Heb. 2. 10.

† Heb. 13. 8.

\* Heb. 2. 10.

† Heb. 13. 8.

\* Heb. 2. 10.

† Heb. 13. 8.



Constant. against Christ, they despise even the Words of the Lord himself, who says, \* As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father. If therefore the Father knoweth the Son only in part, it is manifest, that the Son also knoweth the Father in part. But if it be impious to assert this, and if the Father knoweth the Son perfectly, it is perspicuous, that as the Father knoweth his own Word, so doth the Word know his own Father, whose Word he is. By asserting of these things, and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, we have frequently confuted them; but they, like Chamæleons, have again been changed, pertinaciously contending to appropriate to themselves

+ Prov. 18. 3. ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἄσος ἐπὶ εἰς βῆθος κακῶν, καταφρονεῖ. So the Septuagint words this Text; which words occur here in the Original. But in our English Version of the Bible (which agrees with the Hebrew) this Text is thus rendered, when the Wicked cometh, then cometh also Contempt.

(i) The reading in Leo Allatus's MS. and in Gelasius (which is thus; Ἐπιχειροῦντες τὰς εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, have attempted the subversion) pleases me better than this [Ἐπιχειροῦντες τὰς ἀναίρεσιν.] Valef.

they approach nearer to Antichrist. Wherefore they are expelled out of the Church, and Anathematized. We are really troubled at the Destruction of these Men, and the rather, because they were heretofore instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, but have now renounced it. Yet we do not look upon this as so strange a thing. For the same thing befel

\* 2 Tim. 2. 17, 18. \* Hymæneus and Philetus; and before them, Judas, who thought he had been our Saviour's Disciple, yet was afterwards his Betrayer, and an Apostate. Neither have we continued unadvised of these

+ Mat. 24. 4. Luk. 21. 8. very persons; for our Lord hath predicted, † Take heed that no man deceive you: For many shall come in my name saying; I am [Christ,] and the time draweth near, and they shall deceive many. Go ye not therefore after them.

\* 1 Tim. 4. 1. And Paul having learned these things from our Saviour, wrote thus; \* That in the latter days, some shall depart from the sound faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, who detest the truth. Since therefore our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath himself commanded this, and also by his Apostle hath given us intimation concerning these men, we, being ear-witnesses of their impiety, have deservedly anathematized these men, as we said before; and openly declared them estranged from the Catholick Church and Faith. Moreover, we have signified thus much to your Piety, (beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers) that if any of them should have the confidence to come to you, you might not entertain them, and that you should not be persuaded [to believe] Eusebius, or any one else that shall write to you concerning them. For it is our duty, as we are Christians, to detest all those that speak or devise any thing against Christ, as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of Souls, and \* not to say to such men so much as God speed, lest we become partakers of their iniquities (as Saint John hath commanded us.) Salute the brethren that are with you, they that are with us salute you.

\* See 2 Epist. John 5. 10, 11.

Alexander, having written such Letters as this to all the Bishops in every City, the mischief grew worse: those to whom the Contents thereof were communicated, being hereby inflamed with a pertinacious contention. Some

were of the same opinion with, and subscribed Constant. to the Contents of these Letters; but others did the contrary. But Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia was in the highest degree incited to dissent, because Alexander had in his Letters made a reproachful mention of him in particular. At that time Eusebius was a man of great interest, because the Emperor did then keep his Court at Nicomedia: for Diocletian had not long before built a Palace there. For this reason therefore many Bishops were very obsequious to Eusebius. And he himself wrote frequently, sometimes to Alexander, [advising him] to suppress (k) the controverſie raised [amongst them] and to readmit Arius and his adherents into the Church: at other times [he wrote] to the Bishops of every particular City, [perswading them] that they should not consent to Alexander. Hence it came

to pass, that all places were filled with tumult and disturbances. For now a man might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches in words contending with one another, but the Populace also divided, some inclining to one party, some to another. And this matter grew to that height of indignity and insolency, that the Christian Religion became a ridicule even in the publick Theaters. Those that were at Alexandria did \* pertinaciously contend about the chiefest points of the Faith. They also sent Embassies to the Bishops of every particular Province. Likewise, those that were of the other party, were authors of the like stirs and discords.

(l) There were mixed amongst the Arians the Melitians, who not long before had been separated from [the Communion] of the Church. Now who these Melitians are, we must relate: one Melitius a Bishop of one of the Cities in Egypt, had been deposed by Peter Bishop of Alexandria (who suffered Martyrdom under Diocletian,) for several other reasons, but most

especially for this, that in the time of persecution he had denied the Faith and sacrific'd. This person being divested [of his Bishoprick,] and having got a great many followers, constituted himself the Ringleader of their Heresie, who in Egypt are to this day from him called Melitians. Moreover, having no reasonable excuse at all for his separation from the Church, he barely said thus much, that he was injured; he did likewise revile and speak reproachfully of Peter. Peter having suffer'd martyrdom in the persecution, ended his life. But [Melitius] withdraws his reproaches [from Peter] and casts them first upon Achilles, Peter's successor, and afterwards upon Alexander who succeeded Achilles. During their being engaged in this dissention, Arius's controverſie was started; and Melitius and his Complices became favourers of Arius, joyning with him in a conspiracy against the Bishop. Now those who lookt upon Arius's Opinion as absurd, approv'd of Alexander's Condemnation of Arius, and thought the sentence pass'd against all that favour'd

(k) Instead of [τὸ κενύμενον ζήτημα, the Controverſie raised] the reading in Leo Allatus's MS. is [τὸ κινεῖν τὴν ταρεχὴν ζήτημα, the question that raised the disturbance.] A little after this, in the same MS. instead of [consent to Alexander] the reading is [consent to those whom Alexander wrote to.] Valef.

\* Nearri- καὶ, childishly.

(l) Here, I am confident, Socrates mistakes; for the Melitians did not side with the Arians till after the Council of Nice: being then solicited by Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia to cast scandalous aspersions upon Athanasius, as he himself does testify in his second Apology against the Arians. If the Melitians had joyned themselves with the Arians before the Council of Nice, the Fathers of that Council undoubtedly had not treated them so kindly as they did. Valef.



*Const. m.* that Heresie was just and equitable. But Eusebius of Nicomedia, and as many as embraced Arius's Opinion, wrote to Alexander that he should abrogate the sentence of Excommunication that had been pronounced, and re-admit the persons excommunicate into the Church; in regard they asserted nothing that was perverse or impious. Letters from both the disagreeing parties having been after this manner sent to the Bishop of Alexandria, there was a Collection made of these Epistles. Arius collected those which were written in his own defence, and Alexander those that made against him. Hence those Sects, (which do abound so numerously in these our days,) that is, the Arians, Eunomians, and those that derive their denomination from Macedonius, took an occasion of defending their own Tenets. For each of them quote the Epistles of their own Party as a sufficient evidence.

### C H A P. VII.

*How Constantine the Emperor, griev'd at these Disturbances in the Church, sent Hosius a Spaniard to Alexandria, to exhort the Bishop and Arius to a Reconciliation.*

WHEN the Emperor had notice of these things, he was greatly perplex'd in mind, and looking upon this as his own calamitous concern, without delay he made it his business to extinguish the mischief newly hatcht, directing his Letters to Alexander and Arius by a person of known fidelity, named Hosius, who was Bishop of Corduba a City in Spain; which man the Emperor had a great love and esteem for. Part of this Letter, 'tis not unseasonable to insert here; the whole Letter (a) is extant in

(a) In the Greek after these words, *καὶ ταῦτα ἐν βιβλίοις*, is extant in the Books, the Florent. MS. reads *μέρος ἐπιστολῆς*, part of the Letter. Which words, although they may be written in the Margin, yet sometimes are put into the Text by Authors; as for instance in Athanasius's Apology against the Arians. Valef.

### VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to ALEXANDER and ARIUS.

*We understand that this was the ground of the present Controversie. For when You, Alexander, enquired of your Presbyters, what every particular*

(b) After these words in the Greek; (to wit,) *τὴν διήποσιν ἐκαστος αὐτῶν*, Leo Allat. MS. and Gelas. Cyzicen, add *θεοῦ*; the Import of which we have also made use of in our Translation; though 'tis not express'd in the Common Edit. Valef.

*man's (b) Opinion was concerning a certain Text of Scripture, or rather concerning a part of a fruitless Controversie. And whereas you, Arius, inconsiderately vented such Sentiments as you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had such conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in silence: Upon this a dissention has been raised between you, communion is refused: and the most Religious Populace rent into two Factions, is separated from the harmonious unity of the whole body. Wherefore let both of you, mutually pardoning each other, quietly accept of what your Fellow-servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was your duty neither to have ask'd such questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return thereto. For such questions, as no Law does necessarily limit or prescribe, but are proposed by the contentiousness of an unprofitable vacancy from business (although they may be framed to ex-*

*ercise and employ our natural parts about, yet) we Constantine ought to confine within our own Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in publick Assemblies, nor unadvisedly commit them to the ears of the Vulgar. For what person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified either accurately to comprehend the full Efficacy and Nature of things so sublime and profound, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or should any Man look upon this as an easie performance, how small a part of the Vulgar will be induce to be fully persuaded hereof? Or what Man can without danger of falling into gross Errors insist upon the accurate discussions of such nice Controversies? In Questions therefore of this nature, Loquacity must be bridled and restrained; lest either through the frailty of our Nature (we being not able to explicate what we proposed,) or through the slowness of our Auditors understanding what they are taught (being unable accurately to apprehend our Discourse,) lest [we say] from one of these Causes the People be reduced to a necessity of Blasphemy or Schism. Wherefore, let any unwary Question, and an inconsiderate Answer with both of you mutually pardon each other. For this Contest is not kindled upon an occasion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: neither have you introduced any new Heresie concerning the Worship of God. But you both hold one and the same Opinion; so that [you may easily close in a] consent of Communion with each other. For whilst you thus pertinaciously contend about Trifles and things of no importance,*

(c) 'tis not convenient that so numerous a People of God should be under your Care and Government, because of your Dissention with one another: Nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis also judg'd to be altogether unlawful. Now that I may advertise your Prudence by a smaller instance, I will tell you: You know even the Philosophers themselves, how that they are all united in [the profession of] one Sect, whenas notwithstanding, they frequently disagree in some part of their Assertions: But altho' they do sometimes jarr \* in the very Perfection of Knowledge, yet because of the Agreement and Union of their Sect, they do again close in a mutual consent. Now if it be so [amongst them,] it will certainly be much more reasonable that you, who are the Ministers of the most High God, should in like manner be unanimous in the profession of the same Religion. But let us now with more accuracy and greater attention inspect and deliberate upon what has been said: whether it be just and equitable, that because of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious Contests between you about Words, Brethren should be set in array [as it were] against Brethren; and that that venerable Assembly should upon your account, who contend with one another about things so slight, and in no wise necessary, be rent asunder by an impious Variance. These [Contests] are poor and mean, and do become a childish ignorance, rather than agree with [the Gravity] of Presbyters and prudent Men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Tentations of the Devil. Our Great God the Saviour of all Men, hath reached forth a Light common to all Men. By the assistance of whose Providence, give

(c) In Leo Allatius's M.S. this place is thus written [*τοσούτων ὅς Θεῷ λαδὸν ὅν καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐυχαις καὶ προσκυνήσειν ἐυδυνέειν περὶ σήμει, διχονοεῖν ἢ τε πρέπον, ἢ τε ὅπως δευτέρῳ ᾧ πιστεύεται*; i.e. 'Tis neither decent, nor is it in any wise to be believed, that so numerous a people of God (which ought to be governed by your Prayers and Prudence) should be at variance.] Epiphanius Scholasticus followed the same reading: For thus he translates this place: [*Tantum Dei populum, quem vestris orationibus et prudentia convenis gubernari, discordare nec decet, nec omnino fas esse credibile est.*] Valef.

\* Τῇ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀρετῇ; in ipsa scientiæ perfectione: So Valefius, whom we follow. Musculus renders it, in virtute scientiæ, in the virtue of knowledge: Grynæus, disciplina causâ, &c. upon account of their discipline, &c.



*Constant.* us leave, who are his Servants that we may successfully finish this our Endeavour, that by our Exhortation, Diligence and earnest Admonitions, we may reduce you to an Unity of Assembly. For in regard, as we have already said, you hold the same Faith, and have the same Sentiments of our Religion; and since the Commandment of the Law doth in all its Parts inclose all in general in one Consent and Purpose of Mind; let not this thing, which has raised a mutual Division between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the Power and Efficacy of Religion in general) by any means make a Separation and a Faction amongst you. These things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one Opinion concerning this foolish idle Controversie, of what sort soever it be. For the precious value of the Assembly may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same Communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great Diversity of Sentiments in things of the smallest import. For we do not all

\* Βαλόνιος. \* mean the same in all things, neither is there one Disposition or Opinion in all of us. Therefore, concerning the Divine Providence, let there be amongst you one Faith, one Meaning, and one Covenant of the Deity. But as for these slender and light Questions, which with so much niceness you dispute of and make Researches into amongst yourselves, although therein you do not all agree in the same Opinion, yet it is your Duty to confine them to your own Thoughts, and keep them within the secret Repositories of your own Minds. Let therefore an unutterable and excellent common Friendship, a Belief of the Truth, the Honour of God, and a religious Observance of his Law, remain amongst you firm and immovable; return ye to a mutual Friendship and Charity: restore to the whole Body of the People their usual Embraces. And be you yourselves (having as it were purified your own Souls,) acquainted again [and renew your Familiarity] with one another. For Friendship is frequently more sweet and pleasing, after the

(1) In my Annotations at the second Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine, instead of [περὶ τῆς ἐξ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου, after the occasion of the Enmity is laid aside.] I have noted that the reading should be [τῆς ἐξ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου, after the removing of the Enmity;] as it is in some Copies. But in as much as our MSS. to wit, the Florent. Sfortian, and Allatian change not the reading here, we may bear with the common reading; which is also confirmed by Epiph. Scholasticus's Version: for thus he translates this Passage; *Superiores crebro sunt amicitiae post inimicitiarum causas ad concordiam restituta.* Valef.

For whilst the People of God, (we mean our Fellow Servants,) are rent asunder by this pernicious and indiscreet Dissention which they are now involved in, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of Mind? And that you may be sensible of our excessive Sorrow for this thing, be attentive [to what we shall tell you.] When we lately came to the City of Nicomedia, we had resolved forthwith to have made a journey into the East. But while we were hastning towards you, and by the greatest part were with you, the news of this Affair quite altered our Resolution; lest we should be necessitated to be a Spectator of these things, which we could not endure even to hear. Do you therefore by your Unanimity, for the time to come, open the way for us into the East; which by your mutual Discord you have stopped up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see

you, and all the rest of the People, and that with an Constant. unanimous consent of Praises we may offer up to God due thanks for the publick Agreement and Liberty.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the Council held at Nicæa, a City of Bithynia; and concerning the Faith there published.

SUCH admirable and prudent advice did the Emperor's Letter give them. But the mischievous difference was grown so strong and potent, that neither the Emperor's industry, nor the authority of the person who brought the Letters was able to do any good. For neither Alexander nor Arins were in the least mollified by the Letter. Amongst the Populace also there was an irreconcilable discord, and a great disturbance. Moreover, before this broke out, there was another distemper in that place, which had caus'd disturbance in the Church, (to wit) a disagreement concerning the Feast of Easter; but this was only in the Eastern parts: where some made it their business to celebrate that Festival after the Jewish manner, others [in their solemnization thereof] imitated the rest of the Christians throughout the whole World. But tho' they differ'd thus concerning the Feast, yet they did not refrain from a mutual Communion. However, they clouded the joy of the Feast by this their dissention. The Emperor therefore seeing the Church disturbed by these two evils, convened a General Council, by his Letters requesting the Bishops from all parts to meet together at Nice a City of Bithynia. Accordingly the Bishops, out of divers Provinces and Cities, assembled; concerning whom Eusebius Pamphilus, in his Third Book of Constantine's Life, writeth thus word for word. The most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which filled all Europe, Libya and Asia, were convened. And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as it were by God himself, included at the same time within its Walls, both Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, Palestinians, and Egyptians also; Thabeans, Libyans, and those that came out of Mesopotamia. There was also at this Synod a Persian Bishop, neither was the Scythian absent from this Choir. \* Pontus also, and Galatia, Pamphilia and Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, there appeared here Thracians and Macedonians, Achaïans and Epirots, and such as dwell far beyond these were nevertheless present [Hosius also] that most famed Spaniard, (together with many of his Countreymen) was one that sat in this Council. The † Prelate of the Imperial City was † Gelasius

Cyzicenus supposed that by these words the Bishop of Constantinople was meant. with whom agrees Nicetas, (in Thesaurο Orthodoxæ fidei, Book 5. Chap. 6.) and Epiphanius Scholasticus, in Book 2. Histor. Tripart. Musculus (as 'tis apparent from his rendition of these words) thought the Bishop of Rome was hereby meant: for he renders this place thus; *Romana autem civitatis Episcopus propter senium deerat; i. e. The Bishop of Rome, by reason of his age, was absent.* Valefius is of the same opinion with Musculus: for (in his Annotations on Chap. 7. of the Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine) he says, that at such time as this Council was convened, Constantinople was not adorned with the name of The Imperial City. See Sozomen, Book 1. Chap. 16. and Theodoret, Book 1. Chap. 7.

\* These words of Eusebius occur at the Third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap. 7. Socrates has not quoted them word for word as they are there: We (following herein Valefius, Musculus, and Grynæus) have rendered them as they are in the fore-cited place of Eusebius.

absent



Constant. absent by reason of his age. But his Presbyters were there, and supplied his place. The Emperor Constantine was the only person of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who (after he had platted such a Crown as this by the Bond of Peace) dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a divine Present and Acknowledgment for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, having constituted this Synod convened in our days to be a lively Representation of that Apostolick Choir. For

\* See Acts it is \* written that in the Apostles Days there were gathered together devout men out of every nation under heaven, amongst whom were Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judæa and Cappadocia, of Pontus and of Asia, of Phrygia and Pamphilia; of Egypt, and of the Parts of Libya adjacent to Cyrene: Strangers also of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretians and Arabians. This was the only thing wanting, that meeting [in the Apostles times] did not consist of the Ministers of God only: But in this present Assembly the number of the Bishops exceeded (a) three hundred. And the Presbyters that

(a) The Ancients are not agreed concerning the number of Bishops that were at the Nicene Council. Eusebius (in his third Book, Ch. 3. concerning the life of Constantine) says, they says Eusebius concerning those there assembled. were two hundred and fifty. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch (in his Homily on those words of Solomon, The Lord created me, &c.) affirms they were about 270; but says he had not cast up their number exactly. The more constant account (which is confirm'd by the consent of all modern Authors) is, that there sat in that Synod 318 Bishops, which is confirmed by these Ancients; viz. Athanasius, in his Epistle to the African Bishops, near the beginning; Hilarius, in his Book against Constantius; Jerome, in his Chronicon; and Rufinus. See Valesius's Notes on Chap. 8. of Book 3. of Eusebius de Vita Constant.

(b) Τῶ μέτῳ τῷ τεπρὸ κατεσκευάσθητο. Many senses may be given of these words. For first [μέτῳ τεπρὸ] may be taken for [Modesty and a courteous Behaviour;] supposing [μέτῳ] to be put for [μετρίῳ \*] this sense we have followed in our Version. Secondly, [μέτῳ τεπρὸ] may be meant concerning them, who were not the eminentest persons amongst the Bishops for Learning or Piety of Life; but did not come much behind them. So the Ancients called those Medios principes ac duces, middle Princes or Captains, who were neither the best, nor the worst, but between both. Lastly, this phrase may be used concerning them, who deserved to be praised on both accounts, to wit, for their Learning and Sanctity. And thus Sozomen interprets this place of Eusebius, as may be seen from his words in his First Book, Chap. 16. See Valesius's Notes on Chap. 9. of the Third Book of Eusebius, de Vita Constant.

(c) Τῶ μέτῳ τῷ τεπρὸ κατεσκευάσθητο. Many senses may be given of these words. For first [μέτῳ τεπρὸ] may be taken for [Modesty and a courteous Behaviour;] supposing [μέτῳ] to be put for [μετρίῳ \*] this sense we have followed in our Version. Secondly, [μέτῳ τεπρὸ] may be meant concerning them, who were not the eminentest persons amongst the Bishops for Learning or Piety of Life; but did not come much behind them. So the Ancients called those Medios principes ac duces, middle Princes or Captains, who were neither the best, nor the worst, but between both. Lastly, this phrase may be used concerning them, who deserved to be praised on both accounts, to wit, for their Learning and Sanctity. And thus Sozomen interprets this place of Eusebius, as may be seen from his words in his First Book, Chap. 16. See Valesius's Notes on Chap. 9. of the Third Book of Eusebius, de Vita Constant.

† In the Allat. MS. there are some words added here; in which Copy the reading is περὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ συνελθόντων ὁ Παμφίλου διεξήλθεν Εὐσεβίου, concerning those there assembled, Eusebius Pamphilus has thus at large discoursed: which reading has a greater Emphasis. Valef.

When the Emperor had ended his triumphal Solemnities for his Victory over Licinius, he himself came also to Nice. The most eminent amongst the Bishops were these two, Paphnutius Bishop of the upper Thebais, and Spyridion Bishop of Cyprus: but for what reason we have made mention of these two particularly, shall in the sequel be declared. There were also present a great many Laicks, well skilled in Logick, ready to assist each their own party. Now the Patrons of Arius's Opinion were these. Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, (whom we mention'd before,) Theognis and Maris: the first was

Bishop of Nice, and Maris was Bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. Against these Athanasius (who was then but a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria) contended vigorously. But Alexander the Bishop had an high esteem for him: upon which account he became the subject of envy, as we shall declare in the sequel. A little before the Convention of the Bishops in one place, the Logicians exercised themselves by engaging in some skirmishing disputes with several persons: and when many had been enticed to take a delight in disputing, a Laick, one that was a Confessor, an honest well meaning man, opposed these Disputants, and told them thus: That neither Christ nor his Apostles taught us the art of disputing, nor vain subtilness, or fallacies, but a plain (c) Opinion, which is to be guarded by faith and good works. All that stood by, hearing him speak these words, admired him, and approved of what he said: and the Logicians themselves, having heard this plain and honest declaration of the truth, did in future more patiently acquiesce: and thus was that tumult, which had been raised by disputing, composed. The next day after this all the Bishops were conven'd in one place; after whom

came the Emperor: Who when he came in, stood in the midst of them, and would not take his seat till such time as the Bishops had by bowing of their heads signified to him, that it was their desire he should sit down; so great a respect and reverence had the Emperor for those men. After such a silence was made, as was agreeable to the occasion, the Emperor from his Chair of State began to speak to them in kind perswasive words, exhorting them to unanimity and concord. He also advised them to pass by all private animosities. For many of 'em had brought in accusations against one another: and some of them the day before had presented petitionary Libels to the Emperor. But he, advising them to proceed to the business before them for which they were convened, gave command that the Libels should be burnt, adding only this [maxim,] Christ commands him, who desires to obtain forgiveness, to forgive his Brother. Therefore, after he had at large discoursed upon Concord and Peace, he referred it to their power and arbitrement with a greater accuracy to make a further inspection into the points of our Religion. It will be very opportune to hear Eusebius's relation of these affairs, in his third Book of Constantine's Life. His words there are these: \* Many \* Eusebius, Questions being proposed by both Parties, and a great Controversie raised even at the first beginning [of their debate,] the Emperor heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind deliberately received their Propositions; by turns he assisted the Assertions of both Parties, and by degrees reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind; by his gracious Speeches to every person, which he spoke in the Greek Tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language) he rendered himself most pleasant, acceptable, and delightful; inducing some to be of his Opinion

(c) I prefer the reading in the Allat. MS. in which, instead of [γυμνὴν γνώμην, a plain Opinion,] it is [γυμνὴν γνώσιν, &c.] plain Knowledge, &c.) Epiph. Scholasticus followed this latter reading, as appears from his Version of this place. Sozrates seems to have had this Narration out of Rufinus's tenth Book, where he treats concerning the Nicene Council. But Sozrates on set purpose alter'd some things. Gelasius treating on this subject, enlarges upon it, relating the Questions of each of the Philosophers, and the Bishops Answers thereto. All which passages of his, look more like Fables, than an History of what was done. Valef.

\* Eusebius, Questions being proposed by both Parties, and a great Controversie raised even at the first beginning [of their debate,] the Emperor heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind deliberately received their Propositions; by turns he assisted the Assertions of both Parties, and by degrees reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind; by his gracious Speeches to every person, which he spoke in the Greek Tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language) he rendered himself most pleasant, acceptable, and delightful; inducing some to be of his Opinion



Constant. Opinion by the force of his Arguments : wooing others by Entreaties ; praising those who spoke well, and exciting all to an Accommodation ; at length he reduc'd them all to an Unanimity and Conformity in Opinion concerning all Points that were in debate. So that there was not only an universal Agreement about [the Articles] of Faith, but also a set time generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the Salutary Feast [of Easter.] Moreover, the Decrees ratified by a common consent were engross'd and confirm'd by the Subscription of every Person. These are Eusebius's own words concerning these things, which he has left us in his Writings : We thought it not unseasonable to make use of them ; and have inserted them into our History, relying upon the Testimony of what has been said by him : That in case any should condemn this Council of Nice as erroneous in the [matters of] Faith, we might take no notice of them, nor credit

(d) This Sabinus was Bishop of the Macedonians in Heraclea, a City of Thrace ; he made a Collection of the Synodical Acts ; a very useful Work : The Testimony whereof Socrates does frequently make use of in this his History. But Socrates reproves him in many places ; both because he was unfaithful in his Collection of those Acts, (studiously relating what conduc'd to the strengthening of his own Heresie, and omitting the contrary,) and also in regard he always shews himself incensed against the Orthodox Bishops. An instance whereof is this Relation of Socrates's here ; where he says, that Sabinus term'd the Fathers of the Nicene Council ignorant and simple Fellows. But 'tis usual for Hereticks to calumniate the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Valef.

(d) Sabinus the Macedonian, who terms all those that were convened in this Council, Idiots and Simple Persons. For Sabinus (Bishop of those Macedonians which dwell at Heraclea a City of Thrace) who made a Collection of the Canons which several Synods of Bishops publish'd, reviles the Bishops of the Council of Nice as being Idiots and Ignorant Fellows, being insensible that he does also at the same time accuse Eusebius himself as an Idiot, who after a most exquisite search into it made a confession of that Faith. Some things he hath designedly

omitted : Other some he has depraved and changed ; but he has interpreted all Passages according to his own sense and design. He does indeed commend Eusebius Pamphilus as a Witness worthy to be credited. He does also praise the Emperor for his Judgment and Skill in the Principles of Christianity ; but he complains of the Creed published at the Council of Nice, as being set forth by Idiots and Men that understand nothing. And that same Man's words, whom he calls a wise and faithful Witness, he voluntarily contemns. For Eusebius testifieth, that of those Ministers of God that were present at the Council of Nice, some were eminent for their prudent eloquence ; others for their gravity and solidness of life ; and that the Emperor being present reduced them all to an agreement, and made them to be of the same mind and opinion. But of Sabinus (wheresoever necessity requires) we shall hereafter make mention. Now the agreement in [the Articles

(e) In the of] our Faith (e) published with loud acclamations, by the great Council of Nice, was this. All MS. the reading here is [ἡ δὲ ἐν νικαίᾳ παρὰ τῆς μεγάλης συνόδου καὶ ἐν Εὐσεβίου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπαινεθεῖσα σύνοδος, &c. Now the agreement in the Faith with loud Acclamations approved of by the Great Synod at Nice, and by Eusebius, &c.] Epiph. Scholast. followed the same reading. Valef.

(f) This following Creed is wanting in all our MSS. viz. the King's, Sfortian, and Florent. But Christopherson did very well in placing it here : for 'tis plain both from Epiph. Scholast. as also by those following words, [ταύτην τὴν πίσιν τεταχέναι, &c. this Creed three hundred, &c.] That it was placed here by the Historian himself. But all the MSS. did omit it in this place because 'tis repeated a little after in Eusebius Pamphilus's Epistle. Valef.

Maker of all things visible and invisible : and in one Constant. Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the Only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father : God of God, and Light of Light ; very God of very God ; begotten not made ; of the same substance with the Father ; by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven and in Earth ; who for the sake of us men, and for our salvation, descended, and was incarnate, and was made Man, and he suffer'd and arose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens, he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. [We also believe] in the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth Anathematize those that aver, that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that he was not before he was begotten ; and that he was made of Nothing ; or that say he was made of another Substance or Essence ; or that he is either created, or convertible, or mutable.

This Creed three hundred and eighteen Bishops approved of and embraced : and (as Eusebius testifies) being unanimous in their Suffrages and Sentiments, they subscribed it. There were only (g) five that

refused to allow of it, who disliked the word \*Homoousios : these

were Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis Bishop of

Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. For, in regard they asserted, that

that is \*Cons substantial which is from another either by Partition, or by Derivation, or by Eruption : by Eruption, as the Branch

from the Root : by Derivation, as Children from their Parents : by Partition, as two or three pieces of Gold from the whole mass : but that the Son of God is [from the Father] by none of these three ways. Therefore they said, they could not give their assent to this [Draught of] of the Creed. Therefore after a tedious cavil about the term \*Homoousios,

they deny'd to subscribe the degradation of Arius. Upon which account the Synod anathematized Arius and all those that were of his opinion, adding this besides, that he should be prohibited from entering into Alexandria. The Emperor also did by his Edict banish Arius, Eusebius, and Theognis. Eusebius and Theognis soon after their banishment exhibited their penitentiary Libels, and assented to the Belief of Homoousios, as we shall declare in the procedure of our History.

At the same time Eusebius surnamed Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (having made some small hesitancy in the Synod, and considered with himself whether he might securely admit of this form of Faith,) at length together with all the rest gave his assent, and subscrib'd : He also sent a Copy of the Form of Faith to the People within his Diocese, and explained to them the term Homoousios, lest any one should have an ill opinion of him, because of his hesitancy : Thus therefore he wrote word for word. It is very probable (belov'd) that you may have heard what hath been done concerning the Ecclesiastick Faith in the Great Council convened at Nice, in regard report doth usually out-run an accurate Narrative of the Matters transacted. But [fearing] lest by such a bare report the Matter might be represented to you otherwise than really it is, we thought it requisite to send to you ; first, that Form of Faith which we our selves proposed [to the Council,] and likewise that

(g) There was only two Bishops, Secundus and Theonas which refus'd to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, as Theodoret does very well testify in the first Book of his Ecclesiastick History, and (before him) Hieronymus in his Dialogue against the Luciferiani. The Synodical Epistle also of the Council of Nice, which is here related by Socrates, does plainly confirm this Valef.

\* That is, of the same substance.

\* That is, of the same substance.







*Constant.* expressly represent to us no more than this, viz. that the Son of God hath no community with, or resemblance to, created Beings; but that in every respect he is like to the Father only, who hath begotten him; and that he does exist of no other Substance or Essence, but of the Father. To this [Opinion] therefore thus explained, we thought good to give our assent: More especially, because we also knew that some of the Ancient Learned and Eminent Bishops and Writers, have made use of this term *Homoousios*, in their Explications of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son. Thus much therefore we have said concerning the Creed published [at Nice,] to which we all agreed, not inconsiderately and without examination, but ac-

(k) In the Greek Text of Socrates (as it is published by Valesius) there is at this place a great Error. For these Words [ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Θεοῦ ἰσότης κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς ὄν] which were discussed in the presence of our most pious Emperor] are quite omitted; and instead thereof, these [ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς ὄν] are inserted, and for the forementioned reasons received with an unanimous consent] are twice printed. We supplied this defect from Robert Stephens's Greek Edit. with which our Translation agrees; as it likewise doth with Valesius's Latin Version, and with that of Musculus, Christopherson, and Gry-

according to the senses given, (k) which were discuss'd in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and for the forementioned reasons, received with an unanimous consent. More-

\* That is, over, as concerning the Curse. the \* Anathematism publish'd by

the Fathers after the Creed, we judged it not in the least troublesome, in regard it does prohibit the use of terms that occur not in the Scriptures, from the use of which terms came almost all the Confusion and Disturbance that hath been raised in the Church. Since

therefore, no part of the Scripture given by Divine Inspiration, hath made use of these terms, to wit, of things which exist not, and there was a time when he was not: It seemed disagreeable to Reason that these [Assertions] should be either mention'd, or taught. To this good and sound Opinion we also have assented, in as much as in former times we have never made use of such expressions. These things (Beloved) we thought requisite to send to you, that we might most apparently evidence to you the Considerateness as well of our Examination and Researches [into all Points,] as of our Assent: And [that you might also know] with what good reason we did at first make a resistance even to the last hour, as long as some things written in a manner different from what they should have been, offended us: But at length without further contention we embraced those Points which were not offensive, when after a candid enquiry into the Import of the Terms we found them to be agreeable with what we our selves had made confession of in that Form of the Creed we at first proposed.

Thus wrote Eusebius Pamphilus to Casarea in Palestine. Also, by the common consent and approbation of the Council, this following Synodical Epistle was written to the Church of Alexandria, and to the Inhabitants of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

## CHAP. IX.

The Epistle of the Synod concerning those Matters determined by it, and how Arius was degraded, together with them that embraced his Sentiments.

TO the Holy (by the Grace of God) and Great Church of the Alexandrians, and to our beloved Brethren the Inhabitants of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; The Bishops assembled at Nice, who fill up that great and holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.

For as much as by the Grace of God, and [the Constant. Summons] of the most pious Emperor Constantine (who hath called us together out of divers Cities and Provinces,) a great and holy Synod has been convened at Nice, it seemed altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written to you in the name of the sacred Synod; whence you might understand what things were there proposed, and what taken into examination, as also what were decreed and established. First of all therefore, the Impiety and Iniquity of Arius and his Complices was enquired into in the presence of the most pious Emperor Constantine: And the Council's Determination (which was confirmed by the Suffrages of all) was, that his impious Opinions, and execrable Terms and Names should be anathematized; which [Terms and Names]

he blasphemously used, (a) affirming that the Son of God had his Being of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not; as also saying, that the Son of God had a freedom of Will, [whereby he was] capable either of Virtue or Vice: And calls him a Creature and a Work. All these [Tenets] the holy Synod hath anathematized, not enduring so much as patiently to hear this impious Opinion, or rather Madness, and those blasphemous Expressions. But what issue the Proceedings against him are arrived at, you have either heard already, or will hear; lest we should seem to insult over a Man who hath received a condign Recompence for his own Wickedness. But his Impiety was grown so prevalent, that he drew into the same Pit of Perdition with himself] Theonas Bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus Bishop of Ptolemais. For the same Sentence [that had been given against him] was pronounced against them. But after the Grace of God had delivered us from that mischievous Opinion, and from Impiety and Blasphemy, and from those persons who were so audacious as to make Divisions and [sow] discord amongst a People heretofore peaceable; there yet remained the perverse Stubbornness of Melitius, and those that had been by him admitted into sacred Orders: And we now relate to you (beloved Brethren) the Judgment of the Synod concerning this particular. It pleased therefore the Synod (which dealt more kindly with Melitius; for in the

(b) strictest sense and rigour of the Law he did not deserve the least favour) that he should continue in his City, but have no Jurisdiction, neither to Ordain, (the phrase that occurs here) imports the rigour or extremity of the Law: To which ἐμετακεία, equity, is opposed. The Fathers therefore of the Nicene Council say, that the Synod dealt with Melitius, not according to the rigour and extremity of the Law, nor according to the exact rule and discipline, but (συμβιβαστικῶς) by way of dispensation. For in the strictest sense of the Law Melitius deserved no kindness or pardon, in regard he challenged Ordinations which in no wise belong to him, and had made a Schism in Egypt. For that is evidently declared by these words of this Epistle, viz. Τὰς δὲ χάριτι θεῷ ἐν μέντι σχίσματι εὐπεδίους, Those that by God's Grace have not been found [engaged] in any Schism. By reason therefore of his rashness and intolency, Melitius deserved to be deposed and excommunicated. But yet the Holy Fathers had a mind to treat him kindly, depriving him of all power, and leaving him only the name of a Bishop. Now, why Melitius was thus kindly used, many reasons may be alledg'd. The first (which the Holy Fathers intimate in this Epistle) is, because they had before unsheath'd and made use of their sharpest severity and censure against Arius and his Followers. Now it was but equal, that after so sad and heavy a sentence pronounc'd against them, there should be a place afterwards left for clemency; especially, since Melitius had been convicted of no Heresie, but was only accused to have made a Schism. Secondly, there were many persons amongst the Melitians, that were good Men, and eminent for their pious Lives. Of which sort was Paphnutius the

(b) 'Ακεῖ-  
deserve the least favour) that he should continue in his City, but have no Jurisdiction, neither to Ordain, (the phrase that occurs here) imports the rigour or extremity of the Law: To which ἐμετακεία, equity, is opposed. The Fathers therefore of the Nicene Council say, that the Synod dealt with Melitius, not according to the rigour and extremity of the Law, nor according to the exact rule and discipline, but (συμβιβαστικῶς) by way of dispensation. For in the strictest sense of the Law Melitius deserved no kindness or pardon, in regard he challenged Ordinations which in no wise belong to him, and had made a Schism in Egypt. For that is evidently declared by these words of this Epistle, viz. Τὰς δὲ χάριτι θεῷ ἐν μέντι σχίσματι εὐπεδίους, Those that by God's Grace have not been found [engaged] in any Schism. By reason therefore of his rashness and intolency, Melitius deserved to be deposed and excommunicated. But yet the Holy Fathers had a mind to treat him kindly, depriving him of all power, and leaving him only the name of a Bishop. Now, why Melitius was thus kindly used, many reasons may be alledg'd. The first (which the Holy Fathers intimate in this Epistle) is, because they had before unsheath'd and made use of their sharpest severity and censure against Arius and his Followers. Now it was but equal, that after so sad and heavy a sentence pronounc'd against them, there should be a place afterwards left for clemency; especially, since Melitius had been convicted of no Heresie, but was only accused to have made a Schism. Secondly, there were many persons amongst the Melitians, that were good Men, and eminent for their pious Lives. Of which sort was Paphnutius the

Anchorite,



*Anchoret, and John the Bishop; whom Epiphanius mentions, in Hæres. Melitian. Lastly, they did thus to promote Peace, whereby the members of the Church, which before had been rent in sunder, might cement and unite: Therefore the Nicene Fathers receiv'd the Melitians into communion. And this is a most illustrious Example of Ecclesiastick Dispensation. Valef.*

*Constant.* or to \* propose the Names of those that were to be Ordained, or to appear in any Village, or City upon this pretence: But that he should barely enjoy his appellation and Title only. And as for (c) those that had been Ordained by him to any Function, being confirmed by a (d) more sacred Ordination, they should afterwards be admitted into Communion, and upon this condition they may continue possessors of their Preferment and Function, but yet they are to acknowledge themselves always inferiour to all those that had been approved of in every Diocess and Church, who had been (e) Ordained before by our dearest Colleague in the sacred Function, Alexander. So that besides, they shall have no Power (f) to propose, or nominate whom they please; or to act in any thing at all without the Knowledge and Consent of some Catholick (g) Bishop, who is one of Alexander's Suffragans. But these that by the Grace of God and your Prayers have not been found [engaged] in any Schism, but have continued in the Catholick Church blameless; let such have Power to nominate and elect those that are worthy of the sacred Function, and act in all things according to the established Law and Sanctions of the Church. Epiphanius attests. Yea, he had ordain'd far more Bishops, than Presbyters; as may be collected from that Catalogue, which Alexander (tis said) requir'd of him, after the Nicene Synod. Wherein are reckon'd twenty eight Bishops of Melitius's Party; but five Presbyters, and three Deacons. This Catalogue is extant in Athanasius's Second Apology against the Arians. Since therefore Melitius had Ordained so many Bishops, if the Nicene Fathers had made no Determination concerning the Bishops by him Ordain'd, their sentence had been imperfect; in regard they would have Decreed, what should be done with the Presbyters made by Melitius, but would have made no mention of the Bishops. Wherefore I think these Words must be taken in such a Sense, as to include both Bishops, and also Presbyters. Valef.

(d) In the first place the Synod Decreed, that the Bishops and Clergy, which had been Ordain'd by Melitius, should be confirm'd by a more Holy Consecration, that is, should receive imposition of hands from the Bishop of Alexandria. For, in regard they had been Ordain'd without his consent, it was the pleasure of the Synod, that they should be Ordained by the Alexandrian Bishop, according to the ancient usage, by which it was customary, that all the Bishops of the Diocess of Egypt should be Subject to the Prelate of Alexandria. But the Synod required not the Reordination of Melitius, because he had been rightly Ordained before. Valef.

(e) Instead of *μεταχειρισθαι* it should rather be [*μεταχειρισθαι*, ordained before] as it is in Theodoret, book 1. chap. 6. Eccles. Histor. For *μεταχειρισθαι* signifies another thing, as we shall shew hereafter. (See the following Note.) Sozomen (in his first book chap. 24. where he epitomizes this Epistle) supposed these Words were meant of the Clergy, not of the Bishop. Valef.

(f) In our Annotations on the third Book of Eusebius concerning the Life of Constantine, we remark'd, that *μεταχειρισθαι*, signifies to propose the Names of such Persons as are to be ordained. So the Synod Decreed above concerning Melitius, *καὶτε χειρισθῆναι, καὶτε μεταχειρισθῆναι*, that he should neither ordain, nor propose the Names of those that were to be ordained. In the same sense Nicetas us'd this term, in his Life of Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, where he mentions his Election: his Words are these, *πολλῶν τοιαύτων ἐκ προτάσεων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μετεχειρισθῆναι*, &c. when therefore the names of many Persons were proposed to preside over that Church, &c. Therefore the following Words [*ἢ ὑποβάλλειν διόματα, or to nominate*] are only an explication of the foregoing term. In the same Sense Sozomen took this word, in his fore-cited 24th chap. Moreover, we must note, that Melitius was more severely dealt with, (as being the Author of a Schism,) than the Melitians. For the Nicene Fathers depriv'd Melitius of all Episcopal Jurisdiction, and left him only the name of a Bishop. But they permitted the Melitians to exercise their Functions in the Church. That is, that the Deacons should Minister in the Order of Deacons, and that the Presbyters should Consecrate and Baptize, as should also the Bishops. They only took from them their Power of Voting in Elections: Which was prudently done of the Nicene Fathers, lest the Melitians should clandestinely promote some Men of their own Party to the Ecclesiastick preferments. Valef.

(g) It should rather be [*ἐπίσκοποι, Bishops,*] as it is in Theodoret, and in the Allat. M. S. Valef.

And if it shall happen, that some of those who now hold Ecclesiastick preferments, die, then let those that are newly admitted and receiv'd [into the Church] be preferred to the Dignities of the deceased, (b) provided that they shall appear worthy, and that the People shall freely elect them, provided also that the Bishop of Alexandria doth by his suffrage ratify and confirm [the Peoples Election.] This same Privilege is also granted to all. But concerning Melitius in particular, We otherwise Decree, that (because of his former irregularity, rashness, and giddiness of disposition,) no Jurisdiction or Authority shall be allowed him, he being a Man able to revive the same disturbances that were before. These things are such as most especially and particularly relate to Egypt, and [concern] the most holy Church of Alexandria. But if there shall be any other Canon or Decree made, being our Lord, and our most Reverend Fellow Minister and Brother Alexander is present, he at his arrival will give you a more particular Account, in regard he is the Author of, and conscious to, what ever is done. We also send you the good News concerning the unanimous consent of all, in reference to the celebration of the most solemn Feast of Easter; for this difference also hath been made up by the assistance of your Prayers; so that all the Brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated this Festival at the same time the Jews did, will in future conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who have of old observed our manner of celebrating Easter. Do you therefore (rejoycing at the good success of Affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord [amongst all Men,] and also because all Heresie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater honour, and more ardent love receive our Fellow-Minister (but your Bishop) Alexander, whose presence here hath greatly rejoyc'd us, and who in this his infirm Age hath endured so great labours, that Peace might be restor'd amongst you. Pray for us all, that those good Determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty GOD, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost; to whom be Glory for ever, Amen.

fund Presbyter of the Catholick Church? For the holy Father expressly prohibit, that any of the Melitians shall succeed in the place and dignity of the defunct, unless he seem worthy of that honour, unless the People Elect him, and unless his Election be confirm'd by the Bishop of Alexandria. What need of so great caution and diligence in the promotion of a Presbyter? 'Tis therefore apparent, that these words do rather belong to the Bishops. In the Elections of whom most especially, the Peoples suffrages were necessary; and whose Election must besides be confirmed by the Bishop of Alexandria, in regard he was the Metropolitane of all Egypt. Valef.

In this Synodical Epistle 'tis apparent, that the Nicene Fathers did not only anathematize Arius and his followers, but the very Terms of his Opinion also: And that (in regard they had amongst themselves agreed concerning the celebration of Easter,) they receiv'd into Communion (i) the Arch-Heretick Melitius, allowing him indeed the liberty of retaining the Dignity of a Bishop; but they deprived him of the Power of doing any thing as a Bishop. And upon this Account I suppose it is, that the Melitians in Egypt are to this Day separated from the Church, because the Synod took away all [Episcopal] Power from Melitius. Moreover,

nor Athanasius (in his 2 Apology) nor Epiphanius, accuse Melitius of any Heresie; they only affirm, he was the Author of a Schism. But when the Melitians had afterwards joyned themselves to the Arians, (which, as I remarkt before, hapned after the Nicene Synod, and Melitius's death,) they turned their Schism into an Heresie, as Augustine writes concerning the Donatists. In this sense therefore Melitius may be termed an Arch-Heretick. Valef.



*Constant.* you must know, that *Arius* wrote a Book concerning his own Opinion, which he entitled *Thalia*. The Stile of the Book [and the Doctrine contain'd in it] was loose and dissolute, much resembling the Songs (k) or Verses of \**Sotades*. This Piece of his also the Synod did at the same time condemn. Nor was the Synod only solicitous about writing Letters concerning the Peace restored [to the Church:] but the Emperor *Constantine* also [signified the same] by his own Letters, who wrote to the Church of *Alexandria* as followeth.

(k) The *Spartan*, and *Florentine* MSS. add *Maronite*, these Words [ἡτοιμασμένης, or, ὑποψίας,] which *Christopherson* found in his Copy, as appears from his Version. Concerning *Arius's Thalia* see *Athanasius*, in his second Oration against the *Arians*. When *Socrates* says, that this Book of *Arius's* was condemned by the Synod, we must not so understand him, as if the Poem it self were particularly condemned, but the Doctrine only contained in that Poem. *Valef.*

### The Emperor's Letter.

*Constantinus Augustus, to the Catholick Church of Alexandria. God save You, beloved Brethren. We have received the greatest Blessing from the Divine Providence, that being released from all Error, We can now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer a Dominion over us: For all the Machinations he design'd against Us are now totally destroy'd. The bright lustre of Truth has (according to the Commandment of God) defeated those Dissentions, those Schisms, those Tumults, and (if I may so term them) those fatal Poisons of Discord. We therefore do all adore one God in name, and We believe that He is. Moreover, that this might be effected, by the Admonition of God, We convened a great many Bishops at the City of Nice: Together with whom We Our selves, one of Your number, who rejoyce exceedingly in that We are Your Fellow-servant, undertook the Disquisition of the Truth. We did therefore enquire into and accurately discuss all things, which seem'd to yield the least occasion of Ambiguity or Dissention. And (may the Divine Majesty pardon us!) how great and horrid Blasphemies have some indecently utter'd concerning Our*

\* In the *Alat.* MS. the reading is concerning our Saviour, which I like better than the concerning our Great Saviour. *Valef.*

\* Great Saviour, concerning Our Hope and Life, speaking and openly professing that they believe things contrary to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith? Whenas therefore three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for their Moderation and Acuteness of Understanding, had unanimously confirmed one and the same Faith, (which, according to the Verity and accurate Disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith) *Arius*, vanquished by a Diabolical force, was found to be the only person, who with an impious Mind disseminated this Mischief, first amongst You, and afterwards amongst others. Let Us therefore embrace that Opinion, which Almighty God hath delivered. Let Us return to Our beloved Brethren, from whom this impudent Servant of the Devil hath separated Us. Let Us with all diligence imaginable listen to the common Body, and to Our own natural Members. For this doth well become Your Prudence, Faith, and Sanctity, that since his Error (who has been evidently proved to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, You should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approved of by three hundred Bishops, can be [judged] nothing else but the Determination of God; especially, since the Holy Ghost, residing in the Minds of such Great and Worthy Personages, hath disclosed to them the Will of God. Wherefore let none of You continue dubious, let none of

*You make delays: But do You all with great Alacrity return to the right way: That when We come to You, which shall be as soon as possible, We may together with You return due thanks to God, who inspects all things, because, having revealed the pure Faith, He hath restored You that mutual Love which was the Subject of all Men's Prayers. God preserve You, beloved Brethren.*

Thus wrote the Emperor to the People of *Alexandria*, demonstrating to them that the determination of the Faith was not imprudently, or unadvisedly made; but that it was dictated with a great deal of disquisition and diligent examination: Nor [does he say] that some things were spoken [in that Council,] and others passed over in silence: But that all that was fitting to be said in confirmation of the Opinion, was produc'd and urg'd; and that the Controversie was not inconsiderately determin'd, but was with great Accuracy first discuss'd. Inasmuch that, all things whatever, which seem'd to produce Matter of Ambiguity or Dissention, were wholly remov'd and destroy'd. In short, he terms the Determination of all those there assembled, the Will of God, and does confidently aver that the unanimity of so many and such eminent Prelates was procur'd by the Holy Ghost. But *Sabinus*, the Ring-leader of the *Macedonian* Heretic, does wittingly and on set purpose oppose their [Authorities] and stiles the Fathers there assembled, Idiots and Men of no knowledge; and he does in all appearance asperse even *Eusebius Cæsariensis* with [the imputation of] ignorance: But he does not in the least consider with himself, that, although those convened in that Synod were Idiots, yet in regard they were illuminated by God, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, they could in no wise err from the Truth. But let us hear, what the Emperor, by another Letter which he sent to all the Bishops every where, and to the People, decreed against *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion.

### Another Letter of Constantine's.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS,  
to the Bishops and People.

(1) In as much as *Arius* has followed the Practices of wicked and prophane Persons, 'tis but just that he should undergo the same ignominy with them. Therefore, as *Porphyrius*, that Enemy of true Piety, found a just recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a recompence as has rendred him ignominious to Posterity, and his impious Writings have been utterly destroy'd: So it also now seems reasonable to term *Arius* and those that embrace his Opinion *Porphyrians*, that they may derive their denomination from him, whose Morals they have so exactly imitated. Moreover, if any Book written by *Arius* shall be found extant, We do hereby order, that it be immediately burnt: That by this means not only his wicked Doctrine may be wholly destroyed, but also that there might not be left to Posterity the

For certainly those Letters which concern the Council of Nice should regularly be placed first. But this Letter does not concern that Council, nor does it in the least mention the Council. *Athanasius* in his Epistle ad Solitar. alludes to this Letter of *Constantine's*, where he speaks thus concerning the Emperor, διὰ π τὰς Ἀρειανῶν ἕς ἐκείνην πορφυριανὴν ὀνόματι, τῆς ἐκείνης ἐκκλησίας εἰσαγαγὴν σπαραξέει, (i. e.) Why does he (to wit, *Constantine*) endeavour to reduce the *Arians* into the Church, whom he himself calls *Porphyrians*? *Valef.*



*Constant.* least monument of him. This also we declare, that if any Person shall be found to have concealed a Book compiled by Arius, and shall not immediately produce the said Book and burn it, his punishment shall be death. For immediately upon his being found guilty of this Fact, he shall undergo a capital Punishment. God preserve you.

#### Another Letter.

##### Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches.

Having sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing posture of the Publick Affairs, how great the benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; We judged it our chiefest concern and aim [to labour] for the Preservation of one Faith, a sincere Charity, and one universally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God amongst the most blessed Congregations of the Catholick Church. But since this could not be otherwise firmly constituted and established, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were convened in one place, and every particular that concerns the most sacred Religion were by them first discussed: Upon this Account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and we also, as one of you, were present with them (for we will not deny, what we account our greatest Glory, that we are your Fellow-servant) all things were sufficiently discussed so long, until a determination acceptable to God the Inspector of all things, was publish'd in order to an universal agreement and union: So that there is now no place left for Dissention, or controversy about [matters] of Faith. Where also, after a Disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of Easter, it was by a general consent concluded to be the best course, for all Men in all places to celebrate that Festival upon one and the same Day. For what can be more comely and commendable, or what more grave and decent, than that this Festival, from which we have received the hopes of Immortality, should be unerringly kept by all Men in one and the same order, and in a manner apparently and expressly agreeable? And in the first place, all Men look upon it as an unworthy thing, and misbecoming the dignity of that most sacred Festival, to follow the Jewish usage in the Celebration thereof. For the Jews, Persons who have defiled themselves with a most abominable Sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their understandings. Having therefore rejected their usage, we may by a more certain and infallible order propagate that Day to future Ages for the completion of this Solemnity, which we have kept from the first Day of the Passion even to this present time. Let us then have nothing in common with that most hostile multitude of the Jews. We have received another way from Our Saviour. For there is proposed to us a lawful and decent leading to our most Sacred Religion. Let us therefore (dearest Brethren) with one accord constantly persist in

\* In book 3. chap. 18. of Eusebius's Life of Constantine where

(we have this Epistle of the Emperor,) the reading is [τῆς αἰχρῆς ἐκείνης τῆς αἰχρῆς] which Valesius at that place, and here, renders thus [ab illa turpissima societate & conscientia, from that most abominable society and their consciousness.] Of this his Version, he gives this reason: They who celebrate Easter with the Jews, seem to be conscious of that wickedness which they committed against our Lord. See his Annotat. at the book and chapter now cited.

But of what are they able to pass a right judgment, who after that parricide of theirs, the murder of our Lord, were struck with madness, and are led, not by the conduct of reason, but by an ungovernable \* impetus, whithersoever their innate rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is that even in this particular they discern not the Truth,

(m) but always wandering at the greatest distance from a decent and agreeable amendment, they celebrate Easter twice within the space of one and the same Year. What reason have we therefore to follow these Men, who, it is acknowledged, are distempered with an abominable Error? We must never endure the keeping of two Easters in one Year. But although what we have said were not sufficient, yet nevertheless, it behoves your Prudence to make it your greatest care, and the matter of your constant Prayers, that the purity of your Souls should not in the likeness of any thing seem to be joyned or mix'd with the usages of most wicked men. Besides, this is to be considered, that it is a most impious thing, that there should be any disagreement in a matter of so great concern, and in such a solemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Day [to be celebrated in commemoration] of our Redemption, That is the Day of his most sacred Passion: And he also desired that his Catholick Church should be one. The members of which Church (although they are much dispersed in divers places, yet nevertheless) are cherished by one Spirit, that is, by the Will of God. Let the Prudence of your Sanctity consider, how grievous and undecent a thing it is, that on the self same days some should keep strict Fasts, and others celebrate Feasts: And that on the Days after Easter, some should be conversant in Feastings and a vacance from labours, and others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore it pleased Divine Providence that these things should be seasonably redressed, and reduced to one and the same Form, as we suppose you are all sensible. Since therefore it was expedient to make such an emendation in this point, as that we might not seem to hold the least Communion with those Parricides, and Murderers of Our Lord, the Jews: And since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern and Northern parts of the World, and also some in the Eastern Parts do observe: For these Reasons all Persons have at present judged it good and expedient; (and we ourselves also promised that it would not be ungrateful to your Wisdom,) that that which with such an universal unanimity is observed in the City of Rome, and all over Italy and Africa, throughout

(m) Instead of [αἰ, δα] in the Florent. and Sfortian M.SS. the reading is [αἰ, δα, always:] which reading Theodoret confirms. In book 3. chap. 18. of Eusebius's Life of Constantine, it is [αἰ, δα] whereas the Jewish Paschal Neomenia (or new Moon) began from the fifth Day of March, and was concluded at the third of April, hence it sometimes hapned, that their Passover began before the Equinox. So that they celebrated two Passovers in one Year, (supposing you mean the Solar and Julian Year) that is, accounting from the Vernal Equinox of this year, to the Vernal Equinox of the year following. Ambrosius asserts the same in his Epistle to the Bishops of Emilia, where he relates, that the Jews sometimes celebrated their Passover in the twelfth month, that is according to the Latines, and Eastern men. For the Jews never kept their Passover on their own twelfth month, but on the fourteenth day of their first month. Moreover, this celebrating of their Passover twice in one year, which Constantine objects against the Jews, seems to me not at all momentous. For the Jews might have returned the objection upon the Christians, to wit, that they celebrated Easter twice in the same year. For, suppose Easter is this year kept on the tenth of the Calends of May; (that is, on the 22d of April) next year it must necessarily be kept sooner. And so there will occur two Easters amongst the Christians within the space of one year current. But this will not happen, if you reckon the year from the Equinoctial Cardo to the Vernal Equinox of the Year following. See Epiphanius, pag. 824. Edit. Petav. and Petav. Annotadvers. pag. 294, 295. See also Aegidius Bucerius de Paschali Judaorum Cyclo, chap. 3.

all



Constant. all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya ; o-  
ver all Greece, and the Provinces of Asia and Pon-  
tus, and throughout Cilicia, would also be most  
willingly received and embraced by You. Let this  
also be seriously considered, that not only the number  
of the Churches in the foremention'd places is far the  
greater ; but also that it is most just and equal that  
all Men's Wills should universally concur in that which  
strict Reason seems to require, and which has no  
Communion with the Perjury of the Jews. But, that  
We may speak more summarily and briefly, it was by  
a general consent agreed that the most sacred Festival  
of Easter should be solemnized upon one and the same  
day. For it is undecent that there should be any di-  
versity in so great and holy a Solemnity : And it is  
far better to adhere to that Opinion, in which there is  
no mixture of strange and absurd Error and Impiety.  
Since therefore these things are thus ordered, do You  
with joy receive this celestial and truly divine Com-  
mandment. For whatsoever is transacted [and deter-  
mined] in the sacred Assemblies of the Bishops, must  
be attributed to the Divine Will. Wherefore, when  
You have imparted to all Our beloved Brethren what  
has been prescribed, it is Your duty to embrace, and  
establish the foremention'd Rule and Observation of  
the most Holy Day : That when We shall come into  
the presence of Your Love (which We were long since  
desirous of,) We may celebrate the sacred Festival  
with You, on one and the same day : And that We  
may rejoice together with You for all things, be-  
holding the cruelty of the Devil totally removed by  
the Divine Power and Our Endeavours ; whilst Your  
Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flourish.  
God preserve You, beloved Brethren.

(n) This  
Letter of

(n) Another Letter to Eusebius.

the Emperor to Eusebius, and also the two next, are misplaced. For  
they have no Relation to the Council of Nice ; neither do they  
make the least mention of Arius or the Arians. Yea, the first of  
Constantine's Letters to Eusebius was written before the Council of  
Nice, as Eusebius himself testifies, in his 2d Book of Constantine's Life,  
Chap. 45. Valef.

### VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius.

We really believe and are absolutely persuaded  
(Dearest Brother) that, in regard an impious  
Desire and tyrannick Violence hath persecuted the  
Servants of God our Saviour even to this present  
time, the Edifices of all Churches, have either by  
neglect gone to ruin, or through fear of the immi-  
nent dangerousness [of the Times] have been adorn'd  
with less of stateliness. But now, since Liberty is  
restored, and that Serpent, (o) that Persecutor Li-  
cinius, is by Almighty God's Providence and  
Our instrumental Endeavours forced out of the  
Administration of publick Affairs, We suppose that  
the Divine Power hath been sufficiently manifested  
to all Men : And that all who either through fear  
or unbelief have fallen into any Sins, (p) having  
now acknowledged the only true God, will in future  
return to the true and right course of life. Do You  
therefore remind as well all [persons belonging to]

(o) We  
meet with  
this  
Letter of  
the Em-  
peror's to  
Eusebius  
at Book  
2. Chap.  
46. of Eu-  
sebius's  
Life of  
Constanti-  
ne ;

where these three words [that Persecutor Licinius] are wanting ; being  
added here, in stead of a Scholion by Socrates, or some other Scholiast.  
He terms Licinius a Serpent, by reason of his craftiness, and age.  
Hence we may conjecture, that this Letter was written soon after  
Licinius's deposition. See Valefius's Notes on Book 2. Chap. 46. of  
Eusebius's Life of Constantine.

(p) Here we made choice of this reading [ἐμψυχίας ἵδον, &c.  
having now acknowledged, &c.] By the term [fear] in the fore-  
going clause he means the Christians, who through fear of persecution  
had neglected the Churches, or renounced the Faith. The term  
[Unbelief] belongs to the Heathens, who had demolished the  
Churches, and divers ways vexed the Christians. See Valefius's notes,  
at the Book and Chapter before-cited.

the Churches over which You preside, as also all Constant.  
other Bishops presiding in other places, together with  
the Presbyters and Deacons, whom You know, that  
they use their utmost diligence about the Structures  
of the Churches ; either about repairing those that  
are still standing, or about enlarging others, or in  
building new ones, wheresoever it shall be found re-  
quisite. And You your self, and the rest by Your  
mediation may ask Necessaries [for that Work]  
both from Our Presidents of the Provinces, and also  
from the (p) Office of the Prætorian Præfecture. (p) τῆς  
For they are already empowered by Our Rescripts to the term  
be diligently observant about all Your Holiness's Or- here us'd,  
ders. God preserve You, Beloved Brother. signifies  
an Office,

Thus wrote the Emperor to the Bishops  
throughout every particular Province, concer- or company  
ning the Building of the Churches : But what of Appari-  
he wrote to Eusebius of Palestine about provi- tors atten-  
ding [some Copies of] the sacred Scriptures, ding on a  
we may easily collect from these his Works. Magi-  
strate, i.e.  
a certain

Soldiers waiting on the Judges. Valefius are the Præfects of the Prætori-  
um ; so termed, because they were τῶν πῶν ἀρχόντων, over the Presi-  
dents and Rectors of Provinces. Therefore τῶν πῶν ἀρχόντων (the Phrase  
here used) imports the Office of the Prætorian Præfecture, concerning  
which consult the Notitia Imperii Romani. Further, the Office (or  
Attendance) of the Præfect of the Prætorium was more honourable than  
the Offices of all the other Magistrates. For as the Præfect of the Præ-  
torium excelled all the other Judges, as well Military as Civil, in Digni-  
ty ; so his Officials or Attendants, were look'd upon to be more honou-  
rable than the other Officials. Hence, in the Chalcedon Council, Action 3,  
the Office of the Præfects of the Prætorium is called ἀρχὴ τῶν πῶν ἀρχόντων. See  
Valefius's Notes, at the before-cited Book and Chapter.

### VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius Bishop of Casarea.

By the assistance of God our Saviour's Providence,  
so great a multitude of Men have joyned themselves \* He  
to the most holy Church in that City which bears means the  
our \* Name ; that [Christianity seems] to have City or  
made its greatest progress and increase there. nople.

(r) It seems therefore very re-  
quisite that there should be  
more Churches erected in  
that City. Wherefore do You  
with the greatest alacrity ad-  
mit of what We have decreed.  
We thought fit to signifie

(r) In Eusebius's Life of Con-  
stantine, Book 4. Chap. 36. (where  
this Letter occurs) this place is  
far otherwise read and pointed,  
than it is here ; so also it is  
in Theodoret, Book 1. Chap. 16.  
Valef.

this to Your Prudence, that You should order fifty (s) Con-  
Copies of the sacred Scriptures (the Provision and Use cerning  
whereof You know to be most necessary for the instru- the Rati-  
ction of the Church, ) to be written on well prepared his Office,  
Parchment by artificial Transcribers of Books, most we have  
skilful in the Art of accurate and fair Writing ; which spoken  
[Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable, in before, in  
order to their being used. Moreover Letters are our Notes  
dispatch'd away from Our Clemency to the (s) Ra- on Euse-  
tionalist of the Diocesis to take care for provision of [Diocesis]  
all things necessary towards the preparing of the here meant  
said Copies. Let it therefore be the employment of Diocesis of  
Your Care to see that the foresaid Copies be provided the East.  
as soon as may be. You are also empower'd by this The old  
Our Letter to make use of two publick Carriages Romans  
for their conveyance. For by this means those which called a  
are fairest transcribed may be easiest convey'd even number  
to Our sight, to wit, if one of the Deacons of your of Pro-  
Church be employ'd in the Performances hereof : Who vinces  
when he comes to Us, shall experience Our Libera- (which,  
lity. God preserve You, Dear Brother. taken to-  
gether,  
were un-

der a Deputy of the Prætorian Præfecture) by this name [Diocesis].  
For the Præfect of the Prætorium had under his jurisdiction many Dia-  
ceses ; but the Deputies had each but one Diocesis. This term began  
to be used in this sense about Constantine's time, as appears from his  
Letters, and from some Laws in the Cod. Theod. See Valefius's Anno-  
tations on Eusebius's Life of Constant. B. 4. Chap. 36.



Constant.

## Another Letter to Macarius.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS,  
MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to  
Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem.

So great is our Saviour's Love and Favour, that no

\* He means our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre, which was hid under the Earth, should lie conceal'd for so many

(t) Constantine here terms Licinius the publick Enemy, after whose Destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of our Lord, which had been before conceal'd, was discover'd. Licinius was slain in the Year of Christ 326, as 'tis recorded in *Fast. Ital.* And on that very Year, when Helena came to Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of our Lord was found. By the name of the publick Enemy, the Devil might here be meant, were not this contradicted by the Expressions here us'd. For the Devil was not then vanquish'd and overcome, when the Sepulchre of our Lord was cleared from the Rubbish that cover'd it. Besides, the Term [*ὁ ἀπέναντι*, Slaughter] is more expressive, being meant of Licinius, than of the Devil. See *Valesius's Notes on Eusebius's Life of Constantine*, Book 3. Chap. 30.

\* *ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις*, the Faith, Authority, or Estimation of this Miracle, &c.

this is always our chief and only aim, that as the Authority of the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new Miracles, so the Minds of us all should with all Modesty and unanimous Alacrity become more careful and diligent about an Observation of the Divine Law. Which in regard we judge to be manifestly apparent to all Men, our Desire is you should most especially be perswaded of this, that it is altogether our chiefest Care, that that sacred Place (which by God's Command we have unburthened of

(u) He means the Temple built by Adrian the Emperor on Mount Calvary, in honor of Venus; which Receptacle of Paganism was demolish'd by Helena, Constantine's Mother, and in the room thereof was built a magnificent Temple, at this day called The Temple of the Sepulchre; The Description whereof you may see in *Sandy's Travels*, Book 3. p. 125, Gr. Edit. Lond. 1673.

and stately structures. Wherefore it does well become your Prudence so to order the matter, and to make such a Provision of Materials necessary for this Work, that not only the Temple it self may in stateliness excel all others in what place soever, but also that the other parts of it be made such, as that all the beautifullest Structures in every City, may be acknowledged far inferiour to this Fabrick. And as concerning the Workmanship and exquisite Beauty of the Walls, we would have you know that we have committed the Care thereof to our Friend † Dracilianus, Deputy to the most excellent the Prefects of the Prætorium, and to the President of the Province.

† There are two Laws made by

Constantine, extant in the *Cod. Theod.* (the one in *Tit. de usuris*, the other in *Tit. de Hereticis*,) written to this Dracilianus. The former of these Laws bears this Inscription, *Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum prat.* that is, Emperor Constantinus Augustus to Dracilianus Deputy to the Prefects of the Prætorium. This

Law was publish'd at Casarea in Palestine on the 15th of the Calends of May, when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls. The other is said to have been publish'd on the Calends of September, Constantinus Augustus being the seventh time, and Constantinus Caesar Cons. that is, in the Year of Christ 326. In which Year Constantine wrote this Epistle to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem. Further, we must remark, that the Prefects of the Prætorium are here stiled *clarissimi*, most excellents. For as yet they had not received the Title of *Most Illustrious*. Moreover, in other of Constantine's Laws, the Prefects of the Prætorium are stiled *Most Excellent*. Now, as the Prefects of the Prætorium were in Constantine's times allow'd only the Title of the *Most Excellent*, so the Deputies of the Prætorian Prefecture had in the said Constantine's times only the Title of *Most Perfect* given them, as the Epistle to Probianus Proconsul of Africa, shews, which we meet with in *Athanasius's Apology to Constantinus*, p. 794. See *Valesius's Notes on Book 3. Chap. 31. of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*.

For our Piety has taken order, that Artificers and Constant. Workmen, and whatever else they may be inform'd from your Prudence to be necessary for the Structure, shall by their Care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Pillars or Marbles, (and whatever

you your self on sight of the

(x) Model [of the building] shall judge to be more rich and useful,) make it your Business to inform us by writing: that when we shall understand from your Letter, how many, and what manner of Materials you stand in need of, they may be convey'd to you from all Parts. For it is but reasonable that that most admirable place of the whole World should be beautified according to its Dignity and Worth. We desire to know of you, whether you think good to have the inner Roof of the Church, (y) arched, or made of any other sort of Work. For if it be arched, it may also be gilded with Gold. It remains therefore, that your Holiness inform as soon as may be the foremention'd Judges, how many Workmen, and Artificers, and what Money for Expences you shall want. And be you careful to return Us a speedy Account, not only concerning the Marbles, and Pillars, but also concerning the arched Roof (if you shall judge that to be the more beautiful Work.)

Dearest Brother, God preserve you. The Emperour wrote several other Epistles in a more florid Stile like Orations, against Arius, and those that embraced his Opinion, and caused them to be (z) publish'd in every City; in

(z) Instead of [*ἀποδοθέντες*, He published.] For the Roman Emperours did usually propose to publick view those Rescripts they wrote to the Cities. Therefore, at the Close of the Rescript they added this word [*Proponatur, ut ita publish'd*]; as we have observ'd in our *Notes on Eusebius*. So Constantine, when he had wrote many Letters against Arius and his Followers, commanded they should be proposed to publick view in the Forum. Of this sort was Constantine's Epistle to Arius and the Arians, which Gelasius Cyzicenus has recorded in his third Book *De Gestis Synodi Nicenæ*: which Epistle Epiphanius mentions in *Heres. Arian.* It was written by Constantine after the Nicene Synod, and it contains the Punishment of those that would not recede from Arius's wicked Tenets. For at the Close of that Epistle, the Emperour commands, that, if they be Persons of the ordinary Rank, they shall pay tribute for ten Heads, besides their own Poll-Money. But if they be Descendants of the Curiales, (or Noble Men) they shall be deliver'd to the Court, and made liable to bear the publick Offices of the *Decurions*. This Letter therefore was like an Edict, and so ought to be publickly read and promulg'd. *Valef.*

(x) At this place the Term [*τύπος*] signifies the Model or Delineation of the Fabrick that was to be erected. It is taken in the same Sense, in the Epistle of Himerius Rhetorist of Alexandria to the Prefect of Mæcedonia; which Athanasius has recorded in his *Apology*, p. 803. For after he had said, that Augustus and the Cæsars had permitted Iſchyrus to build a Church in his Town, he orders the Governor of that Town, that he should forthwith draw a Model of the future Building, and transmit it to his Office; *ὁμοίωσιν* (says he) *τοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῶσι, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνεκταμένων.* See *Valesius's Notes*, at the Book and Chapter before cited.

(y) The inner Roofs of Churches were commonly fram'd two ways. For they were either beautify'd with arched or embowed Roofs, or else painted with Mosaick Work. Concerning the arched (or embowed) Roofs, this place of Constantine's Letter is an Evidence. Procopius evidences the Use of the Mosaick-work, in his first Book *De Fabricis Justiniani*, where he describes the Temple of Sancta Sophia. Now the arched Roofs were usually adorn'd two ways. For they were either gilded with Gold, or painted; which latter way was first invented by Pausias, as Pliny attests, Book 35. Chap. 11. *Hist. Natural.* See *Valesius's Notes*, at the Book and Chapter before cited.

which



*Constant.* which Epistles he represents [*Arius*] to be an infamous Person, and rebukes him sharply in an Ironical manner. Moreover, he wrote to the (a) *Nicomediens*, against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*: wherein he severely reprehends *Eusebius*'s wickedness, not only for his *Arianism*, but also because, having formerly been a Favourer of the Tyrants, Party, he had been a Traitor against [him and] his Affairs. He therefore advises them to elect another Bishop in his stead. But I thought it superfluous to insert his Letters concerning these Matters here, because they are long. They that are desirous [to inspect them] may easily find them out, and read them over. Thus much concerning these things.

(a) The greatest part of this Epistle is extant in the first Book of *Theodoret's Ecclesiastick History*, chap. 20. it is entire in Latin, in *Baronius*, at the Year of Christ 329; as *Justinian* the Emperor sent it to Pope *Vigilius*. Valef.

CHAP. X.

That the Emperour summoned to the Synod *Acecius* also, a Bishop of the Novatian Heresie.

**T**His great Diligence and Industry of the Emperour moves me to make mention of another thing, wherein his Mind is declared, and how careful and solicitous he was to procure Peace. For, consulting the Concord and Agreement of the Churches, he (a) summoned *Acecius*, a Bishop of the Novatian Heresie, to appear at the Council. When the Synod had drawn up a Form of the Creed, and subscribed it, the Emperor enquired of *Acecius*, whether he would also give his Assent to these Articles of the Creed, and also to the Determination about the Festival of *Easter*. He replied, O Emperor, the Synod has determin'd no new thing: for antiently, even from the [Churches] original, and the Apostolick Times, I have in this same manner received by Tradition both this Form of Faith, and also this time [for the Observation] of the Feast of *Easter*. When therefore the Emperor demanded of him again, what then should induce you to be a Separarist from the Communion [of the Church?] he related what was done under *Decius* in the time of the Persecution, and recited the Strictness of that severe Canon, [to wit,] that those who after Baptism had committed any such Sin, as the sacred Scriptures term a mortal Sin, ought not to be admitted to a Participation of the sacred Mysteries: They were indeed to be exhorted to Repentance, but ought not to entertain any Hopes

(a) *Sozomen* relates the same story in his first Book, chap. 22. but in such a manner, that 'tis sufficiently apparent, he had it out of *Socrates's History*. For *Sozomen* tells the whole Story more fully and elegantly. And after he has told it, says he had it from a credible Person, who lived in the times of the *Nicene Council*. But *Sozomen* begins this Relation thus, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ βασιλέως, &c. It's reported that the Emperor, &c. Nor does he confirm it by any Persons Authority. Besides, *Sozomen* has in a manner stole the very words of *Socrates*, making some small alterations and interpolations, as Plagiaries usually do. But this Story seems to me very improbable upon many accounts. First, because it is founded on the Authority of no antient Writer. Secondly, neither *Socrates* nor *Sozomen*, do say, of what City *Acecius* was Bishop, which was very necessary to confirm the Story. Thirdly, it is not at all likely, that an heretical Bishop should be summoned by *Constantine* to an Ecclesiastick Synod. For if *Constantine* had sent for *Acecius* in order to the restoring of Peace and Agreement to the Church, upon the same account he ought to have summon'd the Bishops of other Heresies also to the *Nicene Council*. Lastly, what *Socrates* says, to wit, that he had this story from a very old man who was at the Synod, seems to me altogether incredible. This person's name was *Auxano*, a Novatian Presbyter, who was at the Synod with *Acecius*, and lived until the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, as *Socrates* says, Chap. 13. of this Book. Now from the *Nicene Synod* to the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign, there are 83 Years. To which if you add 20 (for so old *Auxano* must needs be when he was present at the Council) *Auxano* must necessarily be above an hundred years old, when he told *Socrates* this Story. Let the Reader judge therefore, at what rate the Testimony of a decrepid old Heretick is to be valu'd. Valef.

of Remission from the Priests, but from God, who only is able, and has Power to forgive Sins. When *Acecius* had spoken thus, the Emperor reply'd, O *Acecius*, set a Ladder, and do you alone climb up to Heaven. This Story neither *Eusebius Pamphilus*, nor any other Author has mention'd. But I had it from a Person that was in no wise a Liar, one who was very aged, and related what he had seen transacted in the Council. Whence I conjecture, that the same Accident befell those who have omitted the Mention hereof, which happens to many other Writers of History. For they usually pass over many things, either because they are ill affected towards some, or have a Desire to gratifie others. Thus much concerning *Acecius*.

*Constant.*

CHP. XI.

Concerning Paphnutius the Bishop.

**N**OW because we have promised before, to make mention of *Paphnurius* and *Spyridon*, it will be seasonable to speak of them here. *Paphnutius* therefore was Bishop of one of the Cities in the upper *Thebais*; he was a Person so pious, that wonderful Miracles were wrought by him. In the time of the Persecution, one of his Eyes had been cut out: The Emperor had an high Esteem for the Man, and frequently sent for him to the Pallace, and kissed [the place of] that Eye which had been dug out. So great a Piety and Reverence was there in the Emperor *Constantine*. Let this therefore be one thing said by us concerning *Paphnutius*. This other (which was done by his Advice for the Utility and Advantage of the Church, and the Grace and Ornament of the Clergy,) I will now relate. The Bishops had a Design to introduce a new Law into the Church, to wit, That those who were in holy Orders, I mean the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (a) should abstain from lying with those Wives which they had married during the time they were Laicks. And when a Proposition was made to consult hereof, *Paphnutius* (b) rose up in the midst of the Assembly of Bishops, and cried out with a great deal of Earnestness, that such an heavy Yoke ought not to be imposed upon those Persons that were in sacred Orders, saying, That Marriage was honourable, and the Bed undefil'd; [so that they ought to be careful] lest they should rather incommode the Church, by their over-much Severity. For all Men [said he] cannot bear the Practice of so strict and severe a Continencie, nor is it likely that the Chastity of every one of their Wives should be preserved. (The Husband's keeping Company with his lawful Wife he termed Chastity.) It was sufficient [said he,] that they who had entred themselves into the Function of the Clergy before they were married, should afterwards (according to the antient Tradition of the Church) abstain from entering into a State of Matrimony: But that no Person ought to be separated from his Wife,

(a) The Florent. M. S. adds [x] *ἡ πορνεία*, and Sub-Deacons: and so the Reading is in *Sozomen*, Book 1. Chap. 23. where he tells this Story concerning *Paphnutius*, where also what we said before is apparent, to wit, that *Sozomen* borrow'd from *Socrates*. For he that adds to another's Relation, shews evidently that he wrote last. Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* (out of whom *Sozomen* had the former Story which he tells in this Chapter concerning *Paphnutius*) says not a word of this Speech of *Paphnutius*; see his first Book *Ecclesiastick Hist.* Chap. 4. But he relates, That *Paphnutius* was one of the Bishops in the Parts of Egypt, and that he was present at the *Nicene Council*.



*Constant* whom he had heretofore married, [to wit,] whilst he was a Laick. Thus he spake, though he was a Man, who had not experienced what marriage was, and (as I may truly aver) never knew a Woman, for from his childhood he had been educated in a \* place where the strictest exercises of Virtue and Abstinence were constantly practised, and was eminently famous above all Men for his singular continency. All the whole Assembly of the Clergy were perswaded to yield their assent, to what *Paphnutius* said; wherefore they silenced all further Debate concerning this Point, and left it to every Man's arbitrement whether he would [or would not] abstain from keeping company with his Wife. And thus much concerning *Paphnutius*.

\* *Εὐα-συντεταγ-*  
that is, in a place, where the *Ασκήσις* lived; concerning whom and their course of life, see *Euseb. Ecclesiast. Hist. book. 2. chap. 17. bet. Valef.* note (a) book 7. chap. 32. note (c.) in the second Alpha-

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning *Spyridon Bishop of the Cyprians.*

NOW [we come to speak] of *Spyridon*: So great a sanctity was in this Person whilst yet a Shepherd, that he was thought worthy to be made a Pastor of Men. He had obtained the Bishoprick of a City in *Cyprus* call'd *Trimithuntis*: But by reason of his singular humility he fed sheep during his being a Bishop. There are many things related of this Man: But I will only record one or two, that I may not seem to wander from my Subject. One time about midnight, thieves entring his sheepfold privately, and attempted to take away the sheep. But God who protected the shepherd, preserv'd his sheep also: For the thieves, were by an invisable Power fast bound to the folds. The Morning being now come, he went to his sheep, where finding the Men bound with their hands behind them, he perceiv'd what had hapned. And after he had prayed, he loosed the thieves, admonishing and exhorting them earnestly, to endeavour the procuring of a livelihood by honest Labours, and not by such unjust Rapine: He also gave them a Ram, and dismiss'd them with this facetious saying, *least, says he, you might seem to have watched all all night in vain.* This is one of *Spyridon's* Miracles. Another was of this sort. He had a Daughter, a Virgin, indued with her Father's piety, her name *Irene*. A Person well known to her, entrusted her with the keeping of an Ornament, that was of great value. The Maid, that she might with greater safety keep what was deposited with her, hid it in the Earth: And within a short time died. Soon after that, he who had committed this thing to her care, came [to demand it.] Not finding the Virgin, he involves her Father [in that concern,] sometimes accusing, another while entreating him. The old Man looking upon the Persons loss who had entrusted his Daughter, as his own misfortune, went to his Daughters grave, and did there beg of God, that he would shew him the promised Resurrection before the Time. And his hope was not frustrated. For the Virgin immediately revives, and appears to her Father, and having shewed him the place where she had hid the Ornament, immediately departed. Such Persons as these were during the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor eminent in the Church. These things I both heard from several *Cyprians*; and and also read them in a Book of *Rufinus* a Presbyter,

written in Latin, out of which I have not only collected what has here been said, but also some other Things, which shall a little after this be declared.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning *Eutychianus the Monk.*

I Have also heard of *Eutychianus*, a pious Man, who flourished at the same Time: Who although he was one of the *Novatian* Church, yet was admired for Works of the same Nature with those [we have mentioned.] I will sincerely confess who it was that gave me this Account of him: Nor will I conceal it, though I am sensible some will be offended with me for it. One *Auxanon* a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, was a Person of a very great Age: This Man, when he was very young, went to the Council of *Nice* with *Acecius*, from him I received what I have said before concerning *Acecius*. He lived from those Times to the Reign of *Theodosius* the younger, and rehearsed to me, though then very young, these [Memoirs] of *Eutychianus*: He discoursed much to me concerning the Divine Grace infus'd into him: But one thing he told me concerning him, more especially worthy of remembrance, which happened in the Reign of *Constantine*. One of those belonging to the Guard, whom the Emperor calls his (a) Domesticks, being suspected to have attempted some Tyrannick Designs, made his escape by flight: The Emperor, highly incensed thereat, gave order, that he should be put to death, wherever he could be found: Being apprehended about the mountain *Olympus* in *Bitlynia*, he was shut up in prison, and loaded with very heavy and painful chains; near these parts of *Olympus* *Eutychianus* then resided, leading a solitary Life, where he wrought many cures both upon Men's Bodies and Souls. The long lived *Auxanon* was with him at that time, being then very young, and was by him instructed in the Precepts of a solitary Life. Many did resort to this *Eutychianus*, beseeching him to release the Prisoner, by interceding for him with the Emperor. (For the fame of the Miracles wrought by *Eutychianus* was come to the Emperor's hearing.) He readily promised to make a Journey to the Emperor. But in regard the Prisoner suffered most acute tortures caused by his chains, those that did solicit for him, reported, that his death, hastned by [the tortures of] his fetters, would both prevent the Emperor's punishment, and *Eutychianus's* intercession for him. *Eutychianus* therefore sent to the keepers of the Prison, and intreated them to release the Man. But when they answered that it would be a very dangerous thing for them to release a Criminal, he, taking *Auxanon* only along with him, went to the Prison: And upon the Keepers refusal to open the Prison. the Grace which was in *Eutychianus*, did there most illustrate it self: For the Prison, doors opened of their own accord, whilst the Keepers of the Prison had the keys in their custody: And when *Eutychianus*, together with *Auxanon*, had entred the Prison, and a great amazement had seized those that were present, the

(a) By *δικοί* he means the *Proteiores Domestici*, or Guard of the Body, which waited on the Emperor's Person. They were Soldiers of a superior Order; who also had greater pay than the others. See *Valefius's* Notes, on *Amm. Marcellin.* book 14. pag. 33.



*Constant.* the Chains fell from the Prisoners [Members] of their own accord. Afterwards [Eutychianus] together with his Companion Auxantius travelled to the City heretofore named Byzantium, but afterwards called Constantinople, and being admitted into the Imperial Palace, he freed the Prisoner from [the danger of] Death. For the Emperor, having a great respect for Eutychianus, readily granted his request. This was done after [those times which we are now giving an account of.] But then, the Bishops that were present at the Synod, after they had drawn up in writing some things, which they usually term Canons, return'd to their respective Cities. Moreover, I look upon it as a thing advantageous to such as are studious of History, to insert here those Bishop's Names (as many of them as we were able to find,) that were convened at Nice, as also [the name of] the Province and City over which every one of them did preside, and likewise the time wherein they were assembled. (b) Hosius Bishop of Corduba in Spain. I do believe as is before written. (c) Vito and Vincentius Presbyters of Rome. Alexander [Bishop] of Egypt. Eustathius [Bishop] of Antioch the Great. Macarius [Bishop] of Jerusalem. (d) Harpocratio [Bishop] of Cynopolis: And the rest who are particularly and fully set forth in the (e) Synodicon of Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria. And the time when this Synod was convened was (as we found it in the (f) Notation of the time prefix'd before the Syn-

(a) We perfected this place by the assistance of the Florentine and Sforzian MSS. For in the common Editions of Socrates, after these words

[Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Κερδρῦβις, Hosius Bishop of Corduba] followed these [Βίτων καὶ Βικεντίου, Vito and Vincentius.] But those incomparable MSS. exhibited this place entire to us, after this manner: ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Κερδρῦβις Ἰσπανίας· ἕως πρὸς ὃν ὡς σεργίου· ἔστιν ὁ βίτων καὶ βικεντίου πρεσβύτεροι, &c. i. e. Hosius Bishop of Corduba in Spain. I do believe as it is before written. Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters of Rome, &c. This is the Series of the Bishops who subscribed the Nicene Council; which Socrates transcribed from Athanasius's Synodicon, as he himself attests hereafter. In the Greek Collections of the Canons this Series is wanting, nor is it extant in Dionysius Exiguus's Version. But in that ancient Collection lately published at Paris, (which the Western Church heretofore made use of, before Dionysius's Version) and in Isidorus's Collection, this Series occurs almost in the same words. In that ancient Collection the words are these: Et subscripserunt. Osus Episcopus civitatis Cordubensis, Provincia Spania dixit: Ita credo sicut superius scriptum est. Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri urbis Romæ. Alexander Alexandria magnæ. Alphocratio, &c. i. e. And they subscribed. Osus Bishop of the City Corduba, in the Province of Spain, said: I believe so, as it is above written. Victor and Vincentius, Presbyters of the City of Rome. Alexander of Alexandria the Great, Alphocratio, &c. The words in Isidorus's Collection are almost the same. But in Athanasius's Synodicon, Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, and Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem, are placed after Alexander Bishop of Alexandria. Valef.

Athanasius makes mention of this Vito the Presbyter, in His Apologetick against the Arians, and attests, that a Roman Synod consisting of fifty Bishops (by whom he was received into Communion) was convened in his Church. Valef.

(d) In the Latin Collections of the Canons, Harpocratio is stiled Bishop of Nauratis, and next to him is set Adamantius Cynopolites, or Cynensis, as it is in that forementioned ancient Collection. Valef.

(e) This Book of Athanasius's is not now (to my knowledge) extant. But 'tis probable that the names of the Bishops who subscribed the Nicene Council, were translated out of that Book. Valef.

(f) Παράσημειωσις (the term that occurs here) imports the Notation (or express Declaration) of the time usually prefixt before publick Acts. In the Greek Collection of the Canons (which Joannes Tilius first published) the notation of the time is prefixed, thus: Κανόνες ὅσιν τιν ἁγίων πατέρων, ὅσιν ἐν νικαία σιναιδόν· τοῖς ἐν ἑσπέρια παύλινε καὶ ἰουλιανῷ ὅσιν λαμπροεργάτων· ἔτος 318· ἐπὶ ἀλεξάνδρου· ἐν μηνὶ δεσίου ὡνακασδεκάτῃ, πρὸς δεκαπέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἰαλίον· i. e. The Canons of the 318. Holy Fathers, convened at Nice, in the Consulate of the most illustrious Paulinus Julianus, on the 636th year from Alexander, on the nineteenth day of the month Desius, before the thirteenth of the Calends of July. Valef.

nod) in the Consulate of Paulinus and Julianus, Constant. on the (g) twentieth day of the Month of May; that was the (b) six hundredth thirty sixth year (g) It is a from the Reign of Alexander the Macedonian. therwife Thus the Synod was concluded. We must also take notice, that after [the dissolution of] this Synod, the Emperor took his Progress in- which Ti- to the Western Parts [of his Empire. lius publi- shed, (see

the foregoing Note.) For 'tis said that the Synod was convened on the nineteenth Day of the Month Desius (which the Romans call June) on the thirteenth of the Calends of July. Which is confirmed by the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, by the Chalcedon Council, and by that Latin Collection which Baronius calls Cresconiana, which account I think is the truest. For, should we suppose that the Council of Nice was assembled on the twentieth day of May, there would be too narrow a space of time left for the transacting of those Affairs which Constantine did after his vanquishing of Licinius. Licinius was subdued in the last Engagement at Chalcedon, in the year of Christ 324, on the 15th. of the Calends of October, as 'tis recorded in Fastis Idatii, and in the Alexandrian Chronicle: On the day following Licinius (who made his escape to Nicomedia) yielded himself to Constantine the Conqueror. After this Constantine made his entry into Nicomedia: While he continued there, and halted to make his Progress into the Eastern parts, a Messenger arrived, declaring to him the Dissention of the Alexandrian Church, and of all Egypt, upon account of Arius's Opinion, and the disturbances of the Melitians, as himself attests in his Epistle to Alexander and Arius. And first he sends Hosius with his Letters to Alexandria, that he might compose those Differences by his Authority. But Hosius, after he had staid a little while at Alexandria, returns to Constantine without effecting his business. All this could in no wise have been done in a shorter space of time than three Months. Moreover, Constantine perceiving the mischief to increase daily, resolves upon calling a general Council of Bishops, that he might thereby restore Peace to the Church. Upon this account he dispatch'd away Couriers throughout all the Provinces, to convene the Bishops at Nice in Bithynia. Suppose therefore, that the Couriers delivered the Emperor's Letters to every one of the Bishops in the Month of March: It is scarce credible, that the Bishops could come from the remotest Regions, as well of the East as of the West, to Bithynia, before the Month July: Especially since they came by Land, and not by Water, as Eusebius attests, Book 3. Chap. 6. De Vita Constant. See Valefius's Notes on Euseb. Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 14.

(b) After these words [the six hundredth thirty sixth year from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian] I. m. Allat. MS. adds these [and it was the nineteenth year from the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Emperor,] which is very true. For when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls, (which was on the 325th year of Christ,) the Nicene Synod was (according to Socrates's Opinion) assembled in May, it being then the nineteenth year of Constantine's Reign. His 20th year began the same year, about the end of July following. Valef.

#### C H A P. XIV.

That Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis Bishop of Nice (who had been banish'd because they were Abettors of Arius's Opinion,) having afterwards sent a Libel of Repentance, and agreed to the Exposition of the Faith, were re-admitted to their Sees.

Moreover, (a) Eusebius and Theognis, (b) having sent a Libel of Repentance to the most eminent Bishops, were by an Imperial Order recall'd from Exile, and restored to their own Churches: For he says, that Eusebius and Theognis were recall'd from banishment almost before he had told us they were exiled. Sozomen therefore did better, who in this particular corrected Socrates's Relation. For, in the first Book of his History, Chap. 21. he relates that Eusebius and Theognis were banish'd by the Emperor Constantine a little after the Synod, and that other Bishops were put into their Sees. Then, in his second Book Chap. 16. he declares how they were recalled from their banishment. From which passage (that I may make this Remark by the way) it may be concluded, that Sozomen wrote his History after Socrates, in as much as he corrects and amends Socrates's Narration in many places. Further, Eusebius and Theognis were banish'd three Months after the Nicene Synod, as Philostorgius attests: and returned from their Exile (as the said Philostorgius relates) in the third year after that Synod, that is, in the year of Christ 328. which account agrees exactly with the History of Affairs transacted in that time. For all Historians agree that Eusebius, upon his return from banishment, entertained thoughts of confirming Arius's Opinion, and of thrusting out those that asserted the Nicene Faith. And, that his first attack was made against Eustathius



*Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch*, whom he caused to be expell'd [from his See] by feigned Calumnies, in the year of Christ 329, or 330. *Baronius* therefore did ill, to place *Eusebius Nicomedienfis*'s return from exile on the year of Christ 330. *Valef.*

(b) *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 325.) reproves *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, for saying, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were banish'd a little after the *Nicene Synod*; and that some few years after (having sent a Libel of satisfaction to the most eminent Bishops) they were recalled from their Exile. *Baronius* endeavours to prove, that this Libel was presented by *Eusebius* to the Bishops in the *Nicene Synod*. For he asserts, that the Rule of Faith was first written; which *Eusebius Nicomedienfis* (with four other Bishops) refused to subscribe: But, that the said *Eusebius*, having afterwards presented a Libel of Satisfaction, did subscribe what had been determined [in the Synod.] But, after this, when the Synod had *Anathematized Arius*, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* (says he) would not subscribe this *Anathematism*; and for that reason they were condemned and deposed, by the Synod, and *Amphion* and *Chrestus* were put into their Sees. But the Emperor *Constantine* (continues he) interceded that the sentence might not be put in execution, and persuaded the Synod that they should admit of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* upon their presenting a Libel of Repentance. This is *Baronius*'s Opinion. But he is out, first, in saying that there were two Libels presented by *Eusebius*: For of the former Libel no Body has ever made mention. Secondly, he cites no Author for what he says concerning *Eusebius*'s and *Theognis*'s Deprivation and Condemnation done in the *Nicene Council*. *Constantine* (in his *Epistle to the Nicomedians*, the latter part of which *Epistle* in Greek the Reader may meet in *Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 20*; it occurs entire at the close of *Gelasius Cyzicenus*'s 3d Book, pag. 217.) says not that it was then done, but only says, that *Eusebius* was afraid it would be done. Lastly, his saying that a Libel of Repentance was presented by *Eusebius* in the *Nicene Synod*, is manifestly refuted from the Libel it self. For this Libel was presented by *Eusebius*, when he was in banishment, as is attested by these words of it, *ἡ δὲ τὰ τε τῶ γενομένου πλὴν ὅσων τῶν συγκαταστάντων, ἡ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην ἐπέχει, ἀλλὰ τῶν, &c.* i. e. and by this Libel do fully declare and confirm our consent; [which we are induced to do] not because we look upon our Exile to be tedious, &c. Besides, this Libel was sent, when *Arius* was recalled from banishment; which is apparent from these words, *Ἀποστολὴ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀνακατανοήσας, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφότης, &c.* i. e. But it would be absurd (since he that seemed to be guilty, is recalled, and has made his defence in reference to, &c. Moreover, *Arius* was recalled from banishment by *Constantine* long enough after the *Nicene Synod*, &c. *Valef.*

*Constant.* those who had been Ordain'd in their places being removed by them; *Eusebius* [put out] *Amphion*, and *Theognis* [removed] *Chrestus*. This is the Copy of their Libel.

We having been some time since (c) condemned by Your Piety, (d) without having Our Cause declared or defended, ought quietly to bear what has been determined by Your Holy Discretion.

(c) In as much as *Eusebius* and *Theognis* do say in the beginning of this *Epistle*, that they were condemned by the Bishops: it is worth our making an enquiry, when and where they were condemned. *Baronius* says they were condemned, and deposed in the *Nicene Synod*. But this is contradicted by *St. Jerome*'s Authority; who, in his *Dialogue against the Luciferians*, does in express words attest, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* (with other Bishops of the *Arian* faction) were admitted of by the *Nicene Synod*. And this he proves both from the testimony of those that were present at the Synod, and also from the very Acts of the *Nicene Synod*; in which, amongst the names of those Bishops who subscribed the Synod, *Eusebius* and the others I have mentioned are reckoned. The same is attested by *Philostorgius*, who says that *Eusebius* was banish'd about three months after the *Nicene Synod*. Since therefore *Eusebius* and *Theognis* do confess themselves to have been condemned by the Bishops, and since 'tis manifest that was not done in the *Nicene Synod*; it must necessarily have been done in some other meeting of the Bishops. The reason of their being exiled, *Constantine* does declare in his *Epistle to the Nicomedians*, (the latter part whereof see in *Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 20*.) For he says, that he banish'd them, because they entertained certain Hereticks, (whom he had commanded to be sent to his Court from the City *Alexandria*.) and held communion with them. (*Baronius*, at the year of Christ 329, thinks these Hereticks were *Melitians*. But I do rather believe they were *Arians*: And this is expressly affirmed by the *Egyptian Bishops*, in their *Synodick Epistle*, which *Athanasius* has recorded in his *second Apology against the Arians*.) For this reason therefore *Constantine* ordered a Synod of some Bishops to be convened, by whom *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were condemned and deposed, after which the Emperor banished them. This is expressly affirmed by *Athanasius* (in his *Book De Synodis*.) and by *Theodoret* (*Book 1. Chap. 19. Eccles. Hist.*) *Valef.*

(d) *Christophorus* and *Musculus* omitted these words [*ἡ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, without having our cause declared or defended*] in their Version. They occur in *Sozomen* (*Book 2. Chap. 16*.) and *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has rendred them thus: *Dudum quidem ante iudicium condemnati à Reverentiâ vestrâ, patienter ferre quæ decreta sunt à sancto vestro con-*

*cilio debuimus*; i. e. Having been sometime since condemned by your Reverence before judgment, we ought patiently to bear what is decreed by your Holy Council. By these words *Eusebius* seems to intimate, that he was condemned without being heard, and by a rash judgment, or prejudice: To wit, because the Emperor had condemned him before, who was angry with *Eusebius* for several reasons, which you may meet with in *Constantine's Epistle to the Nicomedians*; see *Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 20. Valef.*

But because 'tis absurd, by silence to give an occasion of Calumny against our selves, for this reason we declare to You, that We have both unanimously agreed to the [Determination about the] Faith, and also (after We had made Researches into the Notion of Homœousios,) with Our utmost earnestness laboured for Peace, having never been Followers of any Heresie. And when We had suggested whatever came into our Minds upon account of the Churches security, and had fully satisfied those that ought to be persuaded by us, We subscribed the Faith, but have not subscribed the *Anathematism*; not that we had any thing to object against the Faith, but because We did not believe the Person accused to be such a one [as he was represented to be;] having been fully satisfied that he was no such Person, partly from the private Letters written to Us by Him, and partly from the Discourses he made in Our Presence. (e) But if Your Holy Council was [then] satisfied, We [now] make no resistance, but agree to what You have determined, and by this Libel do fully declare and confirm Our Consent; which We are induced to do] not because We look upon Our Exile to be tedious and burthensome, but that We might avoid the suspicion of Heresie. For if You shall now vouchsafe to let Us return to Your Presence, You shall find Us to be of the same Opinion with You in all Points, and quietly to adhere to what You have determined: Since it hath seemed good to Your Piety gently to treat even \* Him, who is accused for these things, and to (f) recall Him from Banishment. But it would be absurd (since He that seemed to be guilty is recalled, and has made his Defence in reference to those things laid to his charge,) that We should be silent, and muster up an Argument against Our selves, Do You therefore vouchsafe (as it befits Your Piety that loves Christ) to remind Our Emperor most dear to God, to offer up Our Supplications to Him, and speedily to determine concerning Us as shall be most agreeable to Your [Prudence.]

This is the Libel of *Eusebius* and *Theognis*'s Recantation. From the words whereof I conjecture, that they subscribed the Faith which had been published [in the Council;] but would not give their consent to the deposing of *Arius*: And it appears hence, that *Arius* was recalled from Banishment] before them: But although this seems to be so, yet he was forbid to enter *Alexandria*. Which is evident from this, [to wit,] that he afterwards invented a way for his own return into the Church and the City *Alexandria*, by having made use of a counterfeited Repentance, as we shall relate in its due place.

(f) That is attributed here to the Bishops, which had been done by the Emperor. For the Emperor, not the Bishops, had recalled *Arius* from his Exile. But Writers do usually speak thus; assigning that to the Bishops, which was the Emperors Deed; and on the contrary, that to the Emperor which the Bishops did. So *Socrates* said above, that the *Nicene Synod* forbade *Arius* to enter *Alexandria*; whereas this was the Emperor's doing, as appears from his *Epistle. Valef.*



Constant.

## CHAP. XV.

That Alexander dying after the [Nicene] Synod, Athanasius was consecrated Bishop of the City Alexandria.

(a) Socrates (as also Sozomen) Mistakes here in placing Alexander's death, and Athanasius's Ordination after Eusebius's and Theognis's return from exile. For Alexander Bishop of Alexandria dyed within five months after the Council of Nice, as Athanasius testifies in his second Apology against the Arians, where he speaks of Melitius. The same says Theodoret, in chap. 26. Alexander therefore died in the year of Christ 325. and Athanasius was Consecrated either at the latter end of the same Year, or in the beginning of the next. Valef.

passing by at that time, saw all their Play. And, having afterwards sent for the Children, he enquired of them what place had been allotted to ever one of them in the Play, supposing that from what had been done, some thing might be portended [concerning each of them.] And he gave order, that the Children should be educated in the Church, and instructed in Learning; but most especially Athanasius. Afterwards when he was come a maturity of Age, he ordained him Deacon, and took him along with him to Nice, that he might assist him in the Disputations there, at such time as that Synod was convened. These things Rufinus has related concerning Athanasius, in his (b) Books

[of Ecclesiastick History:] nor is it at all unlikely that these things hapned: For many such like Acts are frequently found to have been done. Thus much we have hitherto said concerning Athanasius.

(b) See Rufinus's Eccl. Hist. book 1. chap. 14. where Rufinus adds this circumstance to this story; that the Boys (upon Alexander's enquiry) confessed some Catechumens had been Baptiz'd by Athanasius, whom they had chosen Bishop in their sports. Then Alexander, having demanded of those said to be baptiz'd, what Questions they had been asked, and what Answers they made, and also having examined him who had asked them the Questions; found that all things had been done according to the Rites of our Religion: And, after a consult with his Clergy, 'tis said, he ordered, that those Boys (on whom water had been poured, after they were perfectly question'd, and had return'd compleat answers) should not be rebaptiz'd, &c. See Rufinus at the Book and Chapter now cited.

## CHAP. XVI.

How the Emperor Constantine, having enlarged the City heretofore call'd Byzantium, named it Constantinople.

THE Emperor, after the [Dissolution of the] Council spent his time in delight and pleasure. As soon therefore as he had finish'd the Publick Festivals of his (a) Vicennalia, he forthwith employ'd himself very diligently about re-edifying and erecting of Churches. This he did as well in other Cities, as in that that bore his own Name. Which City being formerly called Byzantium, he very much enlarged; he encom-

passed it with magnificent Walls, and beautified with several Edifices; and having made it equal to the Imperial City Rome, (b) he named it Constantinople, and did by a Law establish that it should be call'd New Rome. Which Law was engraven on a Pillar of stone, and (c) exposed to the publick view, being erected in the (d) Strategium, near to the Emperor's Statue on horseback. He also founded two Churches in the same City, the one of which he named Irene, and the other he called the Apostles: Nor did he only improve and enlarge the Affairs of the Christians, as I have said, but did also subvert [the Superstition] of the Gentiles. For [he took their] Images [out of their Temples] and set them up in the most Publick Places, that they might serve to beautifie the City Constantinople: He also expos'd the Delphick Tripods openly in the Hippodrome. But it will perhaps seem superfluous to mention these things now. For they are sooner beheld with the Eyes, than the relation of them can be heard. But at that time the Christian Religion was mightily propagated and increased. For the Divine Providence did (amongst other things) reserve that more especially for the times of Constantine: And thus has Eusebius Pamphilus in a magnifick stile recorded the praises of this Emperor. But yet we judge it not unreasonable for us to speak briefly of them according to our ability.

## CHAP. XVII.

How Helena, the Emperor's Mother, came to Jerusalem, and having there found Christ's Cross, which she had sought for a long time, built a Church.

HELENA the Emperor's Mother, (from whose name Drepanum, which was formerly only a Village, but made a City by the Emperor, was call'd Helenopolis) being admonished by God in her Dreams, travell'd to Jerusalem. And when she found that place which was formerly Jerusalem, desolate (as the Prophet predicted) \* like a lodge [set up] to preserve Apples, she searched diligently for Christ's Sepulchre wherein he was buried, and whence he arose, and though with great difficulty, yet by God's assistance she found it out. What was the reason of this Difficulty, I will in few words explain. Those that embraced Christ's Doctrine, did after the time of his Passion pay an high respect to that Monument. But the Heathens, who abhorred the Christian Religion, having covered the Place with an heap of Earth, erected thereon a Temple to Venus, and set up her image there, designing wholly to suppress the memory of that place. And this plot of theirs had for a long time succeeded. But the Emperor's Mother had notice hereof. Wherefore, having thrown down the image, remov'd the Earth, and wholly cleared the place, she finds three Crosses in the monument: One of them was that blessed Cross on which our Saviour

Constant. (b) This place, which was corrupted and obscured by an ill distinction, we have illustrated and restor'd, by blotting out the Particle *de*; which Particle is not to be found, either in the Florent. or Sforti-M.S. our correction is also confirm'd by Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version, who thus translates the passage, *Et denominatam Constantinopolim, appellari secundam Romanam lege firmavit.* Valef.

(c) Instead of [*παρέθηκε*, was set, or placed] it should be [*παρέθηκε*,] was exposed, or erected. This emendation is confirm'd by Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version. Valef.

(d) The Strategium was a publick edifice wherein the Strategoi, (i. e. the Duumviri, the two principal Magistrates that heretofore governed the City Byzantium) were wont to sit. It is mentioned in the old description of the City Constantinople, which is prefixt before the *Notitia Imperii Romani.* Valef.

\* See Esai. 1.8. where the Septuagint Version is, *ὡς ὅπου ἐσφυλάκιον ἐν σικυμβέρῳ*; which, in our English translation is thus worded, *as a lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers*; which Rendition does exactly agree with the original Hebrew.



*Constant.* had hung: The other two were those, on which the two *Thieves*, that were crucified with him, had died. There was also found with the Crosses *Pilate's Title*; whereon he had written in divers Languages, and proclaim'd that that *Christ* who was crucified; was the King of the *Jews*. But in regard 'twas dubious which of these was the Cross that was search'd for, the Emperor's Mother was not a little troubled hereat. This trouble the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by name *Macarius*, soon eased her of; and by [the power of] his *Faith* clear'd the doubt: For he requested a Sign of God and obtain'd it; the Sign was this: A certain Woman of that Vicinage, having been oppress'd with a tedious and lasting Distemper, was now just at the point of death. The Bishop therefore commanded every one of the Crosses to be applied to her now expiring, being perswaded in himself that if the Woman were touch'd by the precious Cross [of the Lord] she should recover: Nor was his Hope frustrated: For the two Crosses which were not our Lord's being applied, the Woman nevertheless continued in her dying condition; but when the third, the true and genuine Cross was applied, the dying Woman immediately recover'd and was made whole. After this manner was the Cross found out: But the Emperor's Mother erected over the place where the Sepulchre was,

(a) *Socrates* borrow'd this Story out of *Eusebius's* third Book of *Constantine's Life*, Chap. 33. But mistakes in saying that the Church which was built over our Saviour's Sepulchre by *Helena*, or rather by *Constantine*, was call'd *New Jerusalem*. For *Eusebius* says no such thing: But he only alludes to the *New Jerusalem*, which is mentioned in *St. John's Revelations*. See our notes on *Euseb. Life of Constant.* Book 3. Chap. 33. *Valef.*

(b) *Philostorgius* does report that the People us'd to come to this Pillar with their Tapers, and worship it; which is very strange and almost incredible: But *Theodoret* does by his authority confirm it, in the first Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and the last Chapter. *Valef.*

Story I have recorded as it has been related to me; but almost all the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* do affirm it to be true. *Constantine* having also receiv'd the Nails with which *Christ's* Hands were fastned to the Cross; (for his Mother, having found them also in the Sepulchre, sent them to him:) He order'd Bridles and a Helmet to be made of them, which he made use of in his Military Expeditions. Moreover, the Emperor gave large Supplies of all manner of Materials towards the building of the Churches, and wrote to *Macarius* the Bishop to hasten the Work. The Emperor's Mother, having finish'd the *New Jerusalem*, built another Church in no wise inferior in splendour to the former, in the Caveat *Bethlehem*, which was the place of *Christ's* Birth according to the Flesh: Besides, [she erected another Church] upon the Mount, from whence he was taken up into Heaven. And she was so religiously and piously affected towards these things, that she would pray in the Women's company together with the others: She also invited those Virgins that were enrol'd in the Catalogue of the Churches to an En-

tertainment: Where she herself waited, and brought the Meat to the Tables. Besides, she was very liberal both to the Churches; and also to the Indigent. [In fine,] having spent her life very piously, she died about the eightieth year of her age: And her Body was convey'd to the Imperial City *New Rome*, and deposited amongst the Imperial Monuments.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*How the Emperor Constantine abolish'd Gentilism, and erected many Churches in several places.*

AFTER this, the Emperor, becoming more solicitous about [the Propagation of] Christianity, abhorr'd the Superstitions of the Gentiles: And first he abolish'd the Combats of the Gladiators: Afterwards he placed his own Statues in the Temples. The Heathens affirming that it was *Serapis* that caused the Inundations of *Nile*, whereby the Fields of *Egypt* were water'd, because there was a Cubit usually carried into his Temple, the Emperor (a) order'd *Alexander* to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the *Alexandrians*,] hereupon 'twas generally reported, that, because *Serapis* was disgusted, the *Nile* would not overflow; nevertheless, there hapned an Inundation on the ensuing Year, and afterwards, which also does continue to this day: And thus it was really demonstrated, that the Inundation of the *Nile* hapned not by the means of their Superstition, but by the decree of Providence. About the same time, those barbarous Nations, the *Sarmatæ* and the *Goths* made Inroads into the *Roman Territories*, and yet the Emperor's forwardness in building of Churches was not in the least interrupted thereby, but he made a commodious provision for both those Affairs.

For, having put his confidence in the \* *Christian Banner*, he totally subdued those his Enemies; in so much that he took off the Tribute of Gold which had been customarily paid to the *Barbarians* by those Emperors who were his Predecessors; and that was the first time that they (being astonish'd at their prodigious Overthrow) were perswaded to embrace the Christian Religion, by which *Constantine* had been every where preserv'd. Again, he erected other Churches: One he built at that place call'd the *Oak of Mambre*, under which the sacred Scriptures tell us that the Angels were entertain'd by *Abraham*. For the Emperor being inform'd that Altars were erected under that *Oak*, and that Pagan Sacrifices were there perform'd, by his Letter he severely reprov'd *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*: And gave command that the Altar should be demolish'd, and an House of Prayer erected near that *Oak*. He also gave order for the building of another Church, in *Heliopolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, for this

(a) *Christophorson* and *Musculus* thought that these Words were transposed; they read them (as appears from their Version) thus, *εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὸ πύχυν μεταπέναι ἐκέλευσε*, [the Emperor] ordered that the Cubit should be removed into the Church of the *Alexandrians*. But, because the word [ἐκκλησίαν] cannot be taken in a passive sense, the place must be otherwise mended: Which from the *Sfortian MS.* we have thus restored: *αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πύχυν ἀλέξανδρον μεταπέναι ἐκέλευσε*; [the Emperor] ordered *Alexander* to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the *Alexandrians*.] Which emendation needs no confirmation. See *Rufin. Eccles. Hist.* Book 2. Chap. 23. This order of *Constantine's* lasted not long. For *Julian* commanded that the same Cubit should be carried back again into *Serapis's* Temple, where it seems to have continued till *Theodosius's* Reign, and the demolition of *Serapis's* Temple. *Valef.*

\* He means that Standard, or Banner, which the Emperor order'd to be made, in figure like to the Cross that appear'd to him in the face of the Heavens. See Chap. 2. of this Book.



*Constant.* this reason. What manner of Law-maker the Citizens of *Heliopolis* originally had, or what Person he was as to his Morals, I cannot certainly tell. But his Disposition is sufficiently demonstrated from that City: For the Law of their Country has commanded that the Women should be common among them, upon which Account the Children amongst them could not be known whose they were. For there was no distinction betwixt the Parents and the Children. Their Virgins they delivered to strangers that arrived amongst them, that they might deflower them. The Emperor made it his business to abolish this custom, which had so long prevailed amongst them. For having abrogated the flagitiousness of those unclean usages, by a discreet and chaste Law, he brought them to know and distinguish betwixt Families: And when he had built Churches, he took care that a Bishop should be ordain'd over them, and a sacred Clergy. Thus he reformed the impious usages of the *Heliopolites*, and made them more modest and civil. After the like manner also he demolish'd the Temple of *Venus* at *Aphaca* near [the mount] *Libanus*, and abrogated those impudent and obscene Mysteries there celebrated. What need I relate how he expell'd that Devil who pretended to utter Prophecies, out of *Cilicia*, commanding the house in which he lurked, to be demolished even to its very Foundations. Moreover, so ardent was the Emperors love for the Christian Religion, that being about to engage in a War with the *Persians*, he provided a Tabernacle made of Linen painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church (even as *Moses* did in the Wilderness) and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready. But this War went no further at that time: For it hapned to be immediately extinguish'd through the fear which the *Persians* had conceiv'd of the Emperor. But I think it unseasonable to relate here how diligent the Emperor *Constantine* was in repairing Cities, and how he turned many Villages into Cities; as for instance, *Drepane*, which bore his Mother's name, and *Constantia* in *Palestine*, so called from his Sister's Name *Constantia*. For our Design is not to recount all the Emperor's Actions, but them only which belong to the Christian Religion, and those more particularly which were done about the Churches. Wherefore, the Emperor's famous exploits, in regard they are of a subject different [from mine,] and require a peculiar Treatise, I leave to others, that are able to commit to writing such Matters. Indeed, I my self, had the Church continued undisturbed by Factions and Discord, had been wholly silent. For where the Subject affords not matter proper for a Narrative, the Relator's Words are superfluous and useless. But in regard a subtle, vain, and insignificant craftiness in disputing, hath disturbed, and at the same time also dissipated and distracted the Apostolick Faith of Christianity, I supposed it requisite to commit these things to writing; that so those Affairs which have been transacted in the Churches, might not be buried in silence. For the knowledge of these things does both procure great praise and commendation amongst most Men, and also renders him that is well versed therein much more solid and cautious; teaching him not to fluctuate or stagger [in his sentiments,] when any \* *vain babblings* about words and

\* *K: vopas* *vias* *τινδς*; terms shall happen to arise.  
See 1 Tim.  
6. 20.

CHAP. XIX.

*Constant.*

After what manner the Innermost Indian Nations were in the times of *Constantine* converted to Christianity.

NOW therefore we must record, how the Christian Religion was propagated in the times of this Emperor. For the innermost *Indians*, and the *Iberians* did then first embrace the Christian Faith. But we will briefly explain, what we mean by the addition of this Term, the *Innermost*. When the Apostles, about to take their Journey to the Heathens, in order to their preaching to them, had by lot divided them amongst themselves,

(a) *Thomas* received the Apostolate of the *Parthians*.

To *Matthew* was allotted *Æthiopia*. *Bartholomew* had that *India* assign'd to him which lyes upon the confines of *Æthiopia*. But this innermost *India*, which is inhabited by several barbarous Nations, who make use of different Languages, was not

enlightened with the Doctrine of Christianity, before the Times of *Constantine*. What was the cause of their embracing the Christian Religion, I come now to relate. One *Meropius*, a Philosopher, by birth a *Tyrian*, made it his business to see the Country of the *Indians*, emulating

herein (b) *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, who a little before him had travelled over that same Country. *Meropius* therefore taking along with him two Youths that were

related to him, who were in no wise unskill'd in the Greek Language, arrived in this Country in a Ship. And having seen what he desired, in order to his procuring necessary Provisions, he put to Land at a Place which had a safe commodious Harbour. It hapned, that a little before [his arrival there] the League betwixt the *Romans* and *Indians* had been broken. The *Indians* therefore took the Philosopher, and those that were in the Ship with him, and put them all to death, except his two young Kinsmen. Having saved the Lives of the two Youths, out of a compassion to their Age, they presented them to the King of the *Indians*. He, much pleased with the young Men's looks, made the one of them, whose name was *Ædesius*, the Cup-bearer of his Table: To the other, whose name was *Fru-*

*mentius*, he \* committed the custody of his Accounts and Evidences-Royal. Not long after this, the King dying (having left behind him a Son to be his Successor,

who was a minor, and his Wife,) gave these two Young Men their liberty. But the Queen, seeing her Son left in his minority, spoke to these two Persons to take care of him, till such time as he should come to maturity of Age. The young Men, in Obedience to the Queen, undertake the management of the King's Business. But *Frumentius* was the chief Person in managing the Affairs of State. And he was very earnest in

(a) See book 3, chap. 1. of *Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History*: To which add this place of an anonymous Author out of the second Homily upon *Matthew*. Denique cum post resurrectionem. Domini Thomas Apostolus isset in Provinciam illam, adjuncti sunt ei: & baptisati ab eo, facti sunt adjuvatores predicationis illius: Meaning the *Persian Magi*. Valef.

(b) This is *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, whom *Jerome* has mention'd in his *Chronicon*; who, returning from his Travails in *Indiz*, presented *Constantine* with many gems and pearls, and feigned that many more of greater value were taken from him by *Sapor* King of the *Persians*: which lie of his was the occasion of the *Persian* War, as *Am. Marcellinus* attests, book 25. pag. 295. Edit. Valef. See *Valesius's Notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 304.

\* *Rationes suas seriniaque commisit*; so *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* translated this story almost word for word) describes this young Man's Office; book 1. chap. 9. *Hist. Ecclesiast.*



*Constant.* enquiring of the Roman Merchants who then came to trade in that country, whether there were any that embrac'd Christianity to be found among 'em. Having found some, and inform'd them who he was, he exhorted them to make choice of (c) some private meeting places for the performance of prayers therein, after the manner of Christians. Afterwards, within some short interval of time he built an oratory: and they, having instructed some Indians in the principles of Christianity, brought them to prayers with thus, *Ut se-* them. But afterwards, when the young King came to a maturity of age, *Frumentius* resigning to him the administration of the affairs of the Kingdom, which he had well manag'd, petitioned for leave to return into his own Country. And tho' the King and his mother entreated him to stay, yet they could not perswade him, but being desirous to see his own Country, he, together with *Aedesius* return'd home. *Aedesius* hasten'd to Tyre to see his Parents and Kindred: but *Frumentius* arriving at Alexandria, related the whole story to *Athanasius*, (d) who was then newly dignified with that Bishoprick; informing him of the circumstances of his travels, and that there was good grounds to hope that the Indians would embrace Christianity: [He also desir'd him] that he would send a Bishop and a Clergy thither, and that he ought in no wise to neglect those that might be brought unto salvation. *Athanasius* having taken into consideration what was most expedient to be done, entreated *Frumentius* himself to take upon him the Bishoprick, telling him that there was no man better qualified for it than he. Which was done. (e) *Frumentius* therefore dignified with an Episcopate, returns again to those to

*πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας*, which *Rufinus* had termed *Conventicula*. Now *Conventicula* are properly private Places wherein Collects, or short Prayers are made; and from these places Churches are distinguished, which belong to the right of the Publick, and are not in the Power of any private Person. *Valef.*

(d) *Rufinus* says the same: *Tum vero Athanasius (nam is nuper sacerdotium suscepit,) i. e. But then Athanasius (for he had a little before undertaken the Episcopate, &c.)* But if we consider the matter more attentively, these things cannot be. For *Meropius* the Philosopher is said to have travel'd into India, in imitation of the Philosopher *Metrodorus*, who had taken a view of that Country before him. But *Metrodorus*, return'd not from his Indian Journey before the Year of Christ 325. For at his return from India he presented the Emperor *Constantine* with gifts which he had receiv'd from the King of the Indians, as we remarked before in note (b.) in this chapter. Which must necessarily happen after the conquest of *Licinius*. For then *Constantine* first receiv'd the Empire of the East. Now, *Licinius* was vanquish'd at the latter end of the Year of Christ 324. *Meropius* therefore, in regard, following *Metrodorus's* Example, he attempted to travel over India, must have undertaken this journey some Years after him. Let us then suppose, that *Meropius* went into India in the year of our Lord 327. On the year following, when he should have returned into his own Country, he was slain by the Barbarians. And *Aedesius* and *Frumentius*, being as yet youths, were presented to the Indian King; and one of them was made his Cup-bearer; the other was set over his Acts and Evidences Royal. In which Offices both continued to the Kings death. Now, suppose they served the King three years. After this the Indian King dies, leaving his Son very young. But the Queen his mother entreated *Aedesius* and *Frumentius* to undertake the Government of the Kingdom, till her Son were of Age. Let us also allow that the King's Son was about eight years old when his father died. In as much as *Frumentius* return'd not to Alexandria till the young King was grown a Man, it is wholly requisite that he should have manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom at least ten Years. So *Frumentius* return'd to Alexandria about the Year of our Lord 341; in which year *Athanasius* was not newly made Bishop, but had held that Bishoprick above fifteen Years. From what we have said 'tis apparent, that this conversion of the Indians by *Frumentius* hapned in the Reign of *Constantius*, not of *Constantine*, as *Rufinus*, and others that follow him, have related. *Valef.*

(e) *Athanasius* speaks of this *Frumentius*, in his *Apologetick* to the Emperor *Constantius*. And a little after mentions *Constantius's* Epistle to *Arianas* and *Saxanas* the Kings of *Auxumis*, wherein he commands them to send *Frumentius* (whom *Athanasius* had ordained Bishop of *Auxumis*) to Alexandria, to *George* Bishop of that

City, that he might receive from him the Doctrine of the true Faith. Whence it appears, that *Frumentius* was at that time but newly ordained by *Athanasius*. Now this Epistle was written in the Year of Christ 356. *Baronius*, (in his *Annotations on the Roman Martyrology*,) says that this *Frumentius* Bishop of *Auxumis* must be distinguished from the other *Frumentius* Bishop of the Indians. But I do assert, that he that was Bishop of *Auxumis*, and he that is styled the Bishop of the Indians, is one and the same *Frumentius*. For *Auxumis* is the Metropolis of *Æthiopia*. Now the *Æthiopians* are by the ancients usually confounded with the Indians. So *Philostorgius* calls the *Homeritæ* (who were the *Auxumites* neighbours) Indians. Also, the *Æthiopians* who are now call'd *Abyssines*, call themselves Indians, and do acknowledge *Frumentius* to have been the Apostle of their Nation; as *Lucas Holsteinus* attests in his *Notes on Baronius's Martyrology*, which were lately publish'd at Rome. *Valef.*

the Indians Country, and there became a preacher of the Christian Religion; he founded many Oratories, and being vouchsafed [the assistance of] Divine Grace, he wrought many Miracles, and cured many Men's Bodies together with their Souls. These things *Rufinus* says he heard from *Aedesius's* own mouth, who was afterwards dignified with a Presbytership in the Church of Tyre.

## C H A P. XX.

After what manner the Iberians were converted to the Christian Religion.

IT is now a fit opportunity to relate after what manner the Iberians were at the same time converted to Christianity. A Woman who led a religious and chaste life, was, by the disposal of Divine Providence, taken captive by the Iberians. These Iberians dwell near the Euxine Sea; they are a colony of the Iberians in Spain. This captive woman therefore, living amongst the Barbarians, devoted herself to a Philosophick course of life. For together with the strictest and severest exercises of Chastity, she used herself to most tedious and lasting fasts, and to continued prayer. The Barbarians seeing this, were amaz'd at the strangeness and novelty of her actions. It hapned, that \* the King's Son, being a very young child fell sick. The Queen, according to the custom of that Country, sent the child about to other women to be cured: if perchance by long experience they might know of any cure for the distemper. When the young child had been carried about by his nurse, and could find no cure from any of the women, he was at last brought to this captive Woman. She in the presence of many women, apply'd not any material remedy, for she had no knowledge of any such Medicines. But, having taken the child, she laid him upon her own bed, which was made of hair-cloath, and only spake these words: *Christ* (said she) *who healed many, shall also cure this Child.* Having added a prayer to these words, and invoked God's assistance, the child immediately recover'd, and from that time was very well. The report hereof was nois'd abroad among the Barbarian women, it came also to the Queen's ear; and the captive woman became more eminent. Not long after the Queen, being fallen into a distemper, sent for the captive woman. She having refus'd to go by reason of her modesty and bashful disposition, the Queen her self was convey'd to her. The captive woman does the same that she before had done to the child. And forthwith the sick Queen recover'd, and return'd her thanks to the woman. But she made her this answer, *it is not I that do this, but Christ, who is the Son of that God, who made the world.* She therefore exhorted the Queen to call upon

Constant.

\* See *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 10. *Eccles. Hist.* *Rufinus* does not say, that this child was the King's Son; but mulier quædam parvulum suum, &c. a certain woman (says he) carried about her Son, &c.



*Constant.* upon him, and to acknowledge the true God. The King of the *Iberians*, amazed at the suddenness of her recovery from the Disease, having enquired who it was that did these cures, presented the captive Woman with Gifts. She answered, that she stood not in need of wealth, for piety was her riches. But that she should accept it as the greatest present, if he would acknowledge that God who was set forth and declared by her. With this answer she return'd his presents. The King treasured up her words in his breast. The next day this accident befel the King going out a hunting: There fell a mist and a thick darkness upon the tops of the mountains and forrests where he was hunting, so that their sport was grown troublesom, and the way impassable. The King being in a very great straight, earnestly implored [the assistance of] those Gods whom he worshipped: But finding he was never the better, at last he bethought himself of the captive-womans God, and calls upon him to be his assistant. He had no sooner prayed, but the darkness caused by the mist was dispers'd. Admiring what was done, he he return'd home with joy, and having told his Queen what had befallen him, he forthwith sent for the captive woman, and enquired of her who that God was, whom she worshipped. When the woman was come into his presence, she made the King of the *Iberians* to become a Preacher of Christ. For, having been perswaded by this devout woman to believe in Christ, he convened all the *Iberians* that were his Subjects; and when he had related to them all things concerning the cure of his wife and his child, and also what had befallen him in his hunting, he exhorted them to worship the God of the captive-woman. Thus therefore they both became Preachers of Christ, the King preach'd to the men, and the Queen to the women. Moreover, the King, informed by the captive woman of the fashion of those Churches amongst the *Romans*, commanded an Oratory to be built; and order'd a provision of all materials towards the building to be forthwith made. Therefore a Church was erected; and when they went about raising of the Pillars, Divine Providence attempts somewhat that might perswade the inhabitants of that Country [to embrace] the Christian Faith. For one of the Pillars continued immovable. No engine could be invented, that was able to stir it. But the ropes were broken, and the engines torn in pieces. The work-men therefore, desponding and quite out of heart, went away. Then was the captive womans Faith openly manifested. For she goes by night to the place without any bodies knowledge, and there staid all night, spending the time in fervent prayer: and by God's Providence the Pillar was rais'd and stood fix'd in the air, higher than its basis, in such a manner that it did not in the least touch its basis. As soon as it was

(a) Instead of [*ἐμπροσθεν τῆς αὐτοῦ*, well skilled in *Architecture*] I had rather read *ἐμπεσόντις αὐτῷ*, being very anxious. I doubt not but Socrates wrote it thus. For in *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. from whom Socrates borrowed this Relation) the Words are these; *cum ecce matutinus & anxius cum suis omnibus ingrediens Rex, &c. when behold the King, perplex'd in his mind, coming in the morning with all his attendants, &c.* Valef.

day, the King, (a) well skilled in architecture, came to the building, and sees the Pillar hanging in the Air above its own Basis. Both he himself, and all his attendants were amaz'd at what had happen'd, for a little while after in their sight the Pillar descended upon its own Basis, and there stood fixt. Hereupon they all shout-

ed, cried out that the King's Faith was true,

and celebrated the praises of the captive-womans God. After this they believed [in Christ,] and raised up the rest of the Pillars with great alacrity of mind: and the whole building was in a short time perfectly finish'd. Afterwards an Embassie was sent from them to *Constantine* the Emperor, whereby they requested, that they might both in future be admitted to a confederacy with the *Romans*, and also have a Bishop and an holy Clergy sent to them. For they protested that they did sincerely believe in Christ.

This relation *Rufinus* says he had from (b) *Bacurius*, who had formerly been a Prince of *Iberia*: *Sfort. Flor. rent.* and but afterwards coming over to the *Romans*, he was (c) made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*. At length he was advanced to the Office of a General, and did the Emperor *Theodosius* extraordinary good service, in the (d) War against *Maximus* the Tyrant. After this manner were the *Iberians* converted to the Christian Religion in the times of *Constantine*. *SS. call this Persons name Bacurius. But in Rufinus, and others, his name is, more truly, Bacuri-*

*us.* *Zosimus* says, he was born in that *Armenia* which borders on *Iberia*, and that he was a man without all malice, or deceit, very expert in Military Affairs. But *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. and Book 2. Chap. 33. *Ecclef. Hist.*) affirms he was a Prince of the *Iberi*; that he was a Person of great fidelity, very studious of Religion and Truth: First made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*; afterwards Comes of the *Domesticks*; and lastly that he did *Theodosius* the Emperor great service in his War with *Eugenius*. Valef. See *Valesius's* notes on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 430, &c.

(c) At this place Socrates mistook *Rufinus's* meaning. For *Rufinus* says, that *Bacurius* was a Captain, *Palestini limitis*, of the *Palestinian* limit; when he told him these things. But Socrates seems to have read in *Rufinus*, *Palestini militis ducem*, that *Bacurius* was a Captain of the *Palestinian* Milice. Valef.

(d) Here also Socrates is out. For *Bacurius* served not *Theodosius* in the War against *Maximus*, but in that against *Eugenius*; as *Rufinus* attests, Book 2. Chap. 33. *Ecclef. Hist.* and *Zosimus*, Book 4. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Concerning Antonius the Monk.

IT would be superfluous for us to say any thing concerning *Antonius* the Monk, who at the same time lived in the Deserts of *Egypt*, [or to relate] what a man he was, how he openly strove with Devils, and detected all their stratagems and attempts; and how he wrought many miracles. For *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* has prevented us, having written a particular Book concerning his Life: Such a plenty of eminent Men was there, who lived at one and the same time, in the Reign of *Constantine*.

## CHAP. XXII.

### Concerning Manes the Author of the Heresie of the Manichees, and whence he had his Original.

BUT it is usual for cockle to grow up amongst the good corn, for the envy [of the Devil] loves to lay snares for the righteous. Not long before *Constantine's* reign, there sprung up a kind of heathenish Christianity, together with the true Christian Religion, as heretofore false Prophets arose up together with the Prophets, and Pseudo-Apostles amongst the Apostles. For in those days one *Manichæus* attempted clandestinely to introduce the Opinion of *Empedocles* the Hea-then Philosopher, into Christianity. This *Manichæus* indeed has mention'd in the *seventh book of his Ecclesiastick History*, but has not ac-

\* See *Eusebius Ecclef. Hist.* book 7. curately chap. 31.



*Constant.* curately explained all things concerning him. Wherefore I judge it requisite to supply what he has omitted. For thereby it will be manifested, who this *Manichæus* was, whence he came, and how he arrived at so high a degree of audaciousness. One *Scythianus* a *Saracen*, married a captive Woman, a Native of the *Upper Thebais*. Upon her account he lived in *Egypt*, and having been instructed in the Literature of the *Egyptians*, he introduced the Opinion of *Empedocles* and *Pythagoras* into the Christian Religion: Asserting that there were two Natures, the one Good, the other Evil, (as *Empedocles* also did); the evil Nature he termed *Discord*; the good he called *Friendship*. One *Buddas*, heretofore named *Terebinthus*, was this *Scythianus*'s Scholar. This Man travelling into the Country of *Babylonia*, which is inhabited by the *Persians*, told many strange and prodigious things of himself, saying, that he was born of a Virgin, and educated in the Mountains. Afterwards he wrote four Books, one he entitled [the Book] of *Mysteries*; another, the *Gospel*; the third he called the *Thesaurus*, and the fourth *Heads*. But as he was counterfeiting the Performance of some mysterious sacred Rites, he was thrown down headlong by the Devil, and so died. The Woman, at whose House he sojourned, buried him. She having possessed herself of his Money, bought a Boy, about seven years old, by name *Cubricus*: This Boy she made free; and when she had bred him a Scholar, she died soon after, and left him all *Terebinthus*'s Estate, and the Books also which he had written, being instructed by *Scythianus*. *Cubricus*, now a Free-man, takes these Goods along with him, and travelling into *Persia*, changes his Name, calling himself *Manes*. Where he distributed *Buddas*'s, or *Terebinthus*'s Books, as his own genuine Works, amongst his seduced Followers. Now these are the Subjects of those Books; in the Words they seemingly assert the Christian Religion, but [if] the Opinions [contained in them be attentively considered] they are [near a kin to] Gentilism. For *Manichæus*, being an impious Person, does incite [his Disciples] to worship a Plurality of Gods. He also teaches,

(a) It is most apparent that the *Manichæans* adored the Sun. *Libanius* relates the same concerning them, in Book 4. Epist. 140. wherein he commends the *Manichæans* that were in *Palestine* (but suppresses their name) to *Priscianus* the President of *Palestine*: οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἔτοιμαζον, &c. i. e. Those men that worship the Sun without blood, and honour God with the second appellation, who chastize their belly, and account the day of their death to be gain; are found to be in many places, but are every where few in number. They injure no Man, but are molested by some. I doubt not but by these Words *Libanius* means the *Manichæans*; for they cannot be agreeably attributed to any other Persons besides them. But he designedly omitted the mention of their name, because the name of the *Manichæans* was odious. Concerning the feigned fasts of the *Manichæans*, see *Cyrill*, in his sixth *Catechesis*. Valef.

\* That is, he had only the form and figure of a man; was imaginarily, not really such.

Father, desirous to save the life of his Son, left no

stone unturned, as the common saying is. Having heard of *Manichæus*, and supposing the wonders he did to the real and true, he sends for him, as if he had been an Apostle, hoping that he might preserve his Son's life. When he was come, in a fictitious and pretended manner he takes in hand to cure the King's Son. But the King, seeing that his Son died under his hands, clapt him in Prison, with a design forthwith to put him to death. He made his escape [out of Prison] into *Mesopotamia*, and saved himself: But when the King of *Persia* had intelligence of his abode in those Parts, he [caused him] to be brought from thence by force, and hanged him alive: And having stuffed his skin with chaff, he hanged it up before the City Gates. These things, which we relate, are no forgeries of our own, (b) but (b) The we collected them out of a Book we read over, reading [intituled] *The Disputation of Archelaus, Bishop of Cascharum*, one of the Cities of *Mesopotamia*. For this *Archelaus* says, that he disputed with *Manichæus* face to face, and what we have written above concerning *Manichæus*'s Life, *Archelaus* himself does relate. Thus therefore does the envy [of the Devil,] as we said before, delight to entrap good Affairs when in their most flourishing posture. But, for what reason the goodness of God should permit this to be done, (whether it be that he is desirous to have the true Opinion of the Church brought to the test and examined, and wholly to extirpate arrogance, which usually grows up together with Faith, or for what other reason) is a question that cannot be solved without great difficulty and tediousness: Nor can it now be opportunely discuss'd by us. For, it is not our design to examine [the truth] of Opinions, or to make researches into the abstruse Accounts of Providence and the Judgment of God; but, according to our ability, to compose a narrative of the Affairs that have been transacted in the Churches. After what manner therefore the superstition of the *Manichæans* (c) sprang up a little before the times of *Constantine*, it has been sufficiently declared. Let us now return to [the Series of] those times, that are the proper subject of the History we design.

tests, in his Book de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. *Cyrill* of *Jerusalem* has mentioned this dispute, in his sixth *Catechism*. A fragment of this Work is in my hands, wherein is contained the History of the impious and perfidious *Manichæus*. But his disputation with *Archelaus* the Bishop, which was annexed to the close of this History, is wanting. In the room whereof is added *Archelaus*'s Epistle to *Diodorus* the Presbyter. I am beholden to the eminent *Emericus Bigotius* for this monument, as also for many others. Valef. Valefius has publish'd this Disputation of *Archelaus*'s in Latine, at the close of his Annotations upon *Sozomen*, pag. 197, &c.

(c) In the *Arab. M. S.* the reading is [παραρῥύει, sprang up;] which is better than [προεφύει, sprang up before.] After the same manner *Socrates* expresses himself in the beginning of this chapter. 'Tis a metaphor taken from *Cockle*, which is wont to grow up with the Corn. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIII.

How *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, taking courage again, endeavoured to subvert the *Nicene Creed*, by plotting against *Athanasius*.

*EUSEBIUS* and *Theognis*, being returned from exile, recovered their own Churches, having (as we said before) extruded those that had been ordained [Bishops] in their Places: Moreover, they acquired great Interest and favour with the Emperor, who had an high esteem for



But



*Constant.* But how can it be, that *Cyrus* should accuse *Eustathius*, for being a *Sabellian*, who was himself a favourer of that Heresie? It is probable therefore that *Eustathius* was Deposed for some other Reasons. Moreover, at such time as *Eustathius* was Deposed, there was a very great Sedition raised in *Antioch*. And afterwards, [at the Conferences] about the Election of a Bishop, there was frequently kindled so great a flame [of Dissention,] that it wanted but little of destroying the whole City, the Populace being divided into two Factions: One Party of them contended vigorously for the Translation of *Eusebius Pamphilus* from *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* to [the See of] *Antioch*; the other Faction was very earnest to have *Eustathius* restored. The whole City in general favoured the one or the other Party [of the Christians.] The Military Forces also were drawn up in Battle array [on both sides] as it were against Enemies, in so much that they were just about making use of their Swords, had not God, and the fear of the Emperor repressed the Violence of the Multitude.

(c) The meaning of this place is this. The Emperor, by his Letters written to *Antioch*, and *Eusebius*, by his refusing the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, appeased that tumult. Therefore these words [appeased the tumult and sedition] must in common belong to both the preceding clauses. *Valef.*

For the Emperor by his Letters, (c) and *Eusebius* by his refusal of the Bishoprick, appeased the Tumult and Sedition. Upon which Account the Emperor admired him greatly, and writ a Letter to him, in which he commends his prudent resolution, calling him happy, be-

cause he was judged worthy to be Bishop not of one City, but almost of the whole World. It is recorded therefore that after this the See of *Antioch* was (d) vacant eight Years. But at length,

(a) What *Socrates* by the diligence of those that plotted the sub-  
here says, version of the *Nicene Faith*, (c) *Euphronius* is ordained Bishop. Let thus much be related concerning the Synod convened at *Antioch* upon *Eustathius's* Account. Soon after these things, *Eusebius* of *Antioch* (who had long before left *Berytus*, and was years after now posses'd of the Church of *Nicomedia*,) made it his business, together with his confederates, to bring *Arius* again into *Alexandria*. But how they prevailed to effect this their Design, and after what manner the Emperor was perswaded to admit *Arius* and *Euzoius* into his presence, we are now ejected; to relate.

when *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* had refused that See; *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre* was translated to that See, in the Year of Christ 329: As I before noted in the Tenth Book of *Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History*, chap. 1. note (a.) Afterwards *Euphronius* succeeded *Paulinus*; or, as some will have it, *Eulalius*. After whom *Flaccillus* was advanced to the See of *Antioch*, who (as *Athanasius* attests in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*) was at the Synod of *Tyre*. *Valef.*

(e) *Sozomen* says the same; and *Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (apud *Nicæam* in *Thesauro Orthodox. fidei*.) Which is also confirm'd by *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, in his *Encomium* of *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Socrates* quotes his Words, in Book 2. Chap. 9. (*Eccles. Hist.*) But *Theodoret* (Book 1. Chap. 22. *Eccles. Hist.*) puts *Eulalius* between *Eustathius* and *Euphronius*, and says that he presided but a very short time. *Philostorgius* agrees with *Theodoret*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Presbyter, who made it his business to get *Arius* recalled.

THE Emperor *Constantine* had a sister whose name was *Constantia*. She had been married to *Licinius* who was heretofore colleague in the Empire with *Constantine*, but afterwards he became a Tyrant and was therefore put to death. She had a confident, a Presbyter, one that

was a favourer of *Arianism*, who was reckoned amongst her Domesticks. This Man, prompted thereto by *Eusebius* and those of his Faction, did in his familiar Discourse with *Constantia* let fall some Words concerning *Arius*, saying, that the Synod had done him wrong, and that his sentiments were not such as Report represented them to be. *Constantia* having heard this was easily induced to give credit to the Presbyter. But she had not confidence to declare it to the Emperor. It happened that *Constantia* fell dangerously sick. The Emperor came daily to visit her in her sickness. But when she was brought into so dangerous a condition by her Distemper, that she expected to die immediately, she recommends the Presbyter to the Emperor, declaring to him his industry, piety; and how well affected he was towards his Government: And immediately after she died. The Presbyter was [after this] made one of the Emperor's greatest Confidants. And having by degrees got a greater liberty of speaking, he relates to the Emperor the same things concerning *Arius*, that he before told his Sister; affirming that *Arius* had no other sentiments than what were agreeable to the Synod's determination: And that if [the Emperor] would admit him to his presence, he would give his consent to what the Synod had decreed: (a) Moreover, that he was falsely accused without the least of Reason. These Words of the Presbyters seemed strange to the Emperor. Thus therefore he answered [the Presbyter,] if *Arius* does consent to the Synod's determination, and has the same sentiments with that, I will both admit him to my presence, and also send him back to *Alexandria* with Reputation and Honor. Thus he answered, and immediately wrote to *Arius* after this manner.

*Christopherson* read [ἐν ἀλόγως συκοφαντεῖσθαι, Moreover that he was falsely accused without the least of reason.] This story concerning the *Arian* Presbyter (whom *Constantia Augusta* recommended to her brother *Constantine*) *Socrates* borrowed out of *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 11. *Eccles. Hist.* But I suspect the truth of it, for these reasons. First, because *Athanasius* (who does usually detect all the frauds of the *Arians*) has nowhere made mention of it. Secondly, in regard the name of this Presbyter is suppressed: For, if this Presbyter were in so great favour and authority with *Constantine*, that (as *Rufinus* relates in the book and chapter now cited,) when the Emperor died, he should leave his Will, which he had written, in the hands of this Presbyter; doubtless, he was worthy to have had his name mentioned. But, in my judgment, *Rufinus's* authority is but small; for he wrote his History very carelessly, not from the Records of Affairs transacted, but from fabulous stories, and relations grounded barely on report.

## VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to Arius.

It has been sometime since made known to your Gravity, that you should repair to Our Court, in order to your being admitted to the enjoyment of Our presence. But we much admire, that you have not immediately performed this. Wherefore ascend forthwith a publick Chariot, and come with speed to Our Court: That having experienced Our benevolence and care, you may return to your own Country. God preserve you, beloved Brother. Dated before the fifth of the Kalends of December. This was the Emperor's Letter to *Arius*. Here I cannot but admire the Emperors care and zeal for Religion. For 'tis evident by this Letter, that he had before frequently exhorted *Arius* to a \* Recantation, in regard he reproves him, that after his frequent writing to him, *Arius* had not forthwith returned to the Truth. *Arius* therefore having receiv'd the Emperor's Letters, came soon after to *Constantinople*. There came along



*Melitar*



*Constant.* Melitian Hereticks, who bring in several Accusations against *Athanasius*. And first they frame (b) We a complaint [against him] by (c) *Ision*, *Eudemon* find these and *Callinicus*, who were Melitians, as if *Athanasius* had ordered the *Egyptians* to pay a Linnen-Garment [under the notion of tribute] to the logue of

the Melitian Bishops which *Alexander* procured from *Melitus*. This *Ision* was Bishop in *Attribis*, *Eudemon* in *Tanis*, and *Callinicus* in *Pelusium*. See *Athanasius's* second Apologetic. Valef.

(d) *Athanasius* (in his Apologetic) calls this Man *Apis*, not *Alypius*. But names not the place, wherein *Constantine* took cognizance of this matter. Yet *Socrates* affirms it was at *Nicomedia*. Further, *Baronius* relates that these Affairs were transacted in the Year of Christ 329. But I would rather choose to place them on the Year following. For these things hapned after *Eusebius's* deposition, when *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, (returned from their Exile) had procured a great authority and Interest with *Constantine*. But what the same *Baronius* says (to wit, that *Constantine's* Letter, concerning *Arius's* readmission into the Church, was written to *Athanasius* in the year of Christ 327,) is a palpable mistake; and he differs from *Athanasius*, whom notwithstanding he professes to follow in all things. For *Athanasius* relates, that soon after *Constantine's* Letter, and *Arius's* repulse, the Melitians accused him of these Crimes before the Emperor. Valef.

\* *Ἐπιβλαύων τοῖς βασιλέας πειράσας*; which words, *Valesius* has thus rendred, *conspirans adversus Principem, conspiring against the Emperor*.

been comely and decent to have passed over in silence those calumnies, which the *Eusebians* afterwards framed against *Athanasius*, lest Christ's Church should be condemned by those that do not embrace his Doctrine. But in regard they have been committed to Writing, and exposed to the view of all Men, I therefore judged it necessary to treat of these Matters as compendiously as may be, which [if particularized] would require a peculiar Volume. Wherefore I will give

(e) This a short Account, whence both the Subject of the passage of calumny itself, and also the contrivers of the false *Socrates's* Accusation had their Original. (e) *Mareotes* is a very much Region of *Alexandria*: There are in it a great many, and those very populous Villages, and in them many and stately Churches. All these in his Churches are under [the jurisdiction of] the

cond Apo-  
logetic against the Arians. Whose Words, because they are misunderstood by his Translator, I will here set down. *Ὁ μαρεώτης χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ καὶ ἐδέποτε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπισκοπὴ, ὅθεν χαρρηγόνοισιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπων αἱ ἐκκλησίαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐποικούνται ἐκαστὸς δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μεγίσται καὶ ἀειμῶ δέκα πρὸς καὶ πλεονάς.* That is, *Mareotes* is a Region of *Alexandria*. In that Region there never was a Bishop, or Deputy-Bishop. But the Churches of that whole Region are subject to the Bishop of *Alexandria*. Each of the Presbyters hath peculiar Villages, (which are very great,) sometimes ten in number, or more. From these words it appears, that every Village of *Mareotes* had nor its particular Presbyter; but that one Presbyter govern'd ten Villages and sometimes more. That Village, wherein *Ischyrras* was, in regard it was the least of all, undoubtedly had neither its peculiar Church, nor Presbyter. To that Epistle which all the Presbyters and Deacons of *Mareotes* wrote to the Synod of *Tyre* (which Letter is recorded by *Athanasius* in the Book now cited) there subscribed fourteen Presbyters, and fifteen Deacons. Valef.

Bishop of *Alexandria*, and subject to his City like Parishes. In this Country of *Mareotes* there was a Man, by name *Ischyrras*, who had committed a Fact worthy of a thousand deaths. For, whenas he had never been admitted into sacred Orders, he [nevertheless] took upon himself the name of a Presbyter, and was so audacious as to perform the Office of a Presbyter. This *Ischyrras* therefore, detected in the commission of the foresaid crime, made his escape thence, and arriving at *Nicomedia*, for refuge fled to the *Eusebian* Faction. They, in regard of their hatred towards *Athanasius*, receive him as a Presbyter; and promise to prefer him to the dignity of a Bishoprick, if he would frame an Accusation against *Athanasius*, they deriving a pretence [for this calumny] from those stories which *Ischyrras* had contrived. For he gave out, that he had suffered most miserably by an assault made upon him: And that *Macarius* running furiously [into the Oratory] as far as the Altar, overturned the Table, broke the mystical Cup, and burnt the sacred Books. For this Accusation (as I have said) the *Eusebians* promised him a Bishoprick as his reward, being sensible that this Accusation against *Macarius*, would (together with him that was accused) overthrow *Athanasius* also who had sent *Macarius*. This Accusation therefore they charged him with afterwards. But before this [calumny, they framed] another stuffed with all manner of hatred and maliciousness, which we must now speak of. Having got a Man's hand (whence they had it, I know not, whether they had murdered any Man and cut off his hand; or whether they had cut it off from some dead body, God only knows, and they that were Authors of this Fact,) they produced it [pretending] it to be the hand of one (f) *Arsenius*, a Melitian Bishop: The hand they exposed to all Men's view, but kept *Arsenius* concealed. And they reported that *Athanasius* had this hand in his custody, and made use of it in the performance of some Magical Delusions. This therefore was the chiefest and most important point of the Accusation which these Sycophants had forged [against *Athanasius*.] But (as it usually happens in such cases) other Persons accused him of other matters. For all those who had been his Enemies before, did at this time most especially make use of their utmost force against him. The Emperor, having intelligence of these Proceedings, writes to (g) *Dalmatius* the Censor, his Brother's Son, who then kept his residence at *Antioch* in Syria; that he should command the Persons accused to be brought before him, and (after he had in his mistaken cognizance of the Case) order them that were convicted to be punish'd. He also sent *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, that *Athanasius* might be tried before them. When *Athanasius* knew that he was to be summon'd to appear before the Censor, he sent into *Egypt* to find out *Arsenius*. He had certain information that the Man was concealed: But he could not apprehend him because he frequently changed his lurking-holes by removing from one place to another. In the interim, the Emperor suppressed the trial which should have been before the Censor, upon this Account.

(f) This *Arsenius* was a Bishop of the Melitians in the City *Hypselis* which is in *Thebais*. In his Epistle, which he wrote to *Athanasius*, he assumes to himself this title of honour, *Ἀθανασίῳ παραειώ, Πάπᾳ Ἀρσένιῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ᾧ ποτὲ καὶ μελίτιον τῆς ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως*, i. e. To *Athanasius* the blessed, Pope *Arsenius* Bishop of the City *Hypselis*, one of those sometimes under Melitians. But in the Catalogue of Bishops of the Melitian faction, which *Melitus* deliver'd to *Alexander*, no *Arsenius* can be found. Valef.

(g) *Socrates* took this out of *Athanasius's* second Apologetic against the Arians; are these; *Γεγονὸς δὲ καὶ Κανσερίῳ, &c.* *Constantine* wrote to *Dalmatius* the Censor, [ordering

him] to bear the Cause concerning the murder. The Censor therefore sent to me, to prepare for my defence. *Socrates* thought that this *Dalmatius*



matius was the Son of Constantine's Brother, he that some years after was made Caesar by Constantine. But that is a great mistake. For Dalmatius the Cenfor was Constantine's Brother, and the Father of Dalmatius the Caesar. The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle confirms this, who writes thus concerning Constantine. Καὶ Δαλματίου τὸν ὄντι ἀδελφεὸς αὐτοῦ Δαλματίου τὸν κένσας καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμυρόμενος; i. e. and he created Dalmatius (the Son of his Brother Dalmatius the Cenfor) Caesar. Certainly, Dalmatius the Son of Dalmatius was (when these things were done which are related by Athanasius) very young, and could not sit as judge in so weighty an Affair. Besides; he lived at that time at Narbona, and (together with Hannibalianus his brother) was an Hearer of Exuperius the Rhetorician. For from that City he was sent for by Constantine, and created Caesar when very young (as Ausonius affirms in his Book de Professor. Burdigal.) in the year of Christ 325. But that trial concerning the murder of Arsenius was before Dalmatius the Cenfor at Antioch, (as Athanasius attests,) in the year of Christ 332, according to Baronius's Opinion. Valef.

Constant.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of Bishops should be convened at Tyre, upon account of the accusations brought against Athanasius.

THE Emperor had ordered a Synod of Bishops to meet, that they might be present at the Consecration of the Church which he had erected at Jerusalem. He therefore issued out an Order, that those Bishops [before they met there] should first be convened at Tyre, and by the by make researches into Athanasius's case: That so [all occasions of] contention being by this means wholly taken away, they might more peaceably perform the Solemnities of the Churches Dedication, and consecrate it unto God. (a) This was the thirtieth Year of Constantine's Empire. Moreover there were assembled at Tyre Bishops out of divers places, to the number of sixty, upon the summons of Dionysius, a Person that had born the Consecration fullhip Macarius the Presbyter was brought from Alexandria, bound in iron chains, under the custody of a guard of Soldiers. But Athanasius would not have come thither (not that he so much dreaded the accusations brought against him: For he was not conscious to himself that he was guilty of those things he was accused for: But he was afraid lest they should make any innovations there in opposition to what had by common consent been approved of at the Synod of Nice.) But yet he dreaded the Emperor's menacing Letters. For he had written to him, that if he would not come voluntarily, he should be brought by force. Therefore Athanasius also was present there, being necessitated to it. This was the 28th year of Constantine's Empire. His 29th Year began (during the same Men's Consulates) on the 8th of the Calends of August, on which day Constantine celebrated his Tricennalia (i. e. the Festivals for his having arrived to the 30th Year of his Empire) as Idacius attests, (in Fast.) anticipating that Solemnity one whole Year. This anticipation of his Tricennalia has induced not only Socrates, but several others also, into a mistake. Valef.

\* T. 67. p. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Arsenius, and his Hand which was reported to have been cut off.

MOREOVER, Divine Providence forced Arsenius to go to Tyre. For having neglected the commands which the Sycophants, whose hireling he was, had given him, he came in a disguise, to see what would be done there. It accidentally hapned, that the Servants of (a) Archelaus (who was the Consularis) heard some Persons in (a) Rufinus in book 1. chap. 15. of his Ecclesiastick History, says that this Archelaus was not the Consularis (or President) of Phœnicia, but the Comes of the East. Valef.

an Inn say, that Arsenius (the Person reported to have been murdered) was there kept concealed in some [Citizens] house. When they had heard this, and had taken good notice of them that spoke these Words, they gave their Master an Account of what they had heard. He, without the least delay, immediately searched for the Man, and found him: And when he had found him, ordered he should be secured. And gives notice to Athanasius not to be in the least disturbed: For Arsenius was alive and present there. Arsenius being apprehended, denied that he was [Arsenius.] But Paul Bishop of Tyre, who had formerly known him, made it appear that he was the Person. Divine Providence having before hand disposed of these things after this manner, soon after Athanasius was summoned by the Synod. And when he had made his appearance, the Sycophants produced the hand, and enforced their Accusation [against him.] But he \* de- \* Σότας meant himself prudently. For he enquired of those that were present, and of his Accusers, whether any of them knew Arsenius. When a great many answered that they knew him very well, he caused Arsenius to be brought in before them, having his hands hid under his upper long Garment: Then he asked them again; is this the Man that hath lost his hand? Hereupon, they (excepting those that knew whence the hand had been cut off) were astonish'd at the strangeness of the thing. For all the rest thought that Arsenius had really wanted a hand, and they expected that Athanasius would make his own Defence some other way. But he took Arsenius's Garment and turning it on one side, shews the Man's hand. Again, when some supposed that his other hand was wanting, he made a short stay, permitting them to continue dubious. Immediately after, without any further delay, he turned aside the other part [of his garment] and shewed Arsenius's other hand: After which he thus addressed himself to the company; Arsenius, as you see, is found to have two hands: As for the third, let my Accusers shew the place whence it was cut off.

CHAP. XXX.

That Athanasius being found innocent, after his first Accusation, his Accusers made their escape by flight.

THESE Affairs concerning Arsenius having been thus transacted, they who had contriv'd this fraud, were reduc'd to a straight. But (a) Archab, (who was also called John) Athanasius's Accuser, slipped away out of the Court of Judicature, and made his escape in the tumult. Thus Athanasius cleared himself from this accusation, without making use of any \* exception. For he was confident, that the bare sight of Arsenius being alive would abash the Sycophants.

who is also called John. In the Epistle of Alexander Bishop of Thessalonica to Athanasius, he is also called Archaph. Therefore, this Man had two Names, he was called Archaph, by the Egyptians, which was his Country name: John was his Monastick Name. He was a Bishop of the Melitian faction at Memphis. Athanasius relates, that he was commanded by Constantine to agree with his Arch-Bishop. Athanasius means Constantines Letter to John, which he gives an Account of, at Pag. 787. of his second Apologet. Edit. Paris. Valef.

\* Παρεσχησέν. See Calvin. Lexic. Juridic. in the Word Paragraph.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XXXI.

*That Athanasius fled to the Emperor, upon the Bishops not admitting of his Defence at his second Accusation.*

**B**UT in his disproof of the false accusations brought against *Macarius*, he made use of legal exceptions. And first he excepted against *Eusebius* and his companions, as being enemies, alledging that no man ought to be judged by his adversaries. Afterwards he said, that it must be demonstrated, that *Ischyra* the Accuser had really procured the dignity of a Presbyter. For so it was written in the Libel of Accusation. But when the Judges would not allow of any of these exceptions, *Macarius's* cause was brought in. After that the Accusers were almost wearied out and quite faint, the further hearing of the cause was deferred till such time as some Persons should make a journey into *Mareotes*, that they might make inquisition upon the place concerning all matters that were doubtful. But when *Athanasius* perceiv'd that those very persons were ordered to go, whom he had excepted against; (for *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Theodorus*, *Macedonius*, *Valens*, and *Ursacius* were sent:) he cried out that their proceedings were treacherous and fraudulent. For it is unjust [said he] that *Macarius* the Presbyter should be kept in bonds, and that his Accuser, together with his Adversaries the Judges should go; and [that this was done [for this reason, [to wit,] that the memorials of the Acts might be made up [in favour] of one side only. After *Athanasius* had spoke these words aloud, and made protestation before the whole Synod and *Dionysius* the president, when he saw that no body took notice of him, he privately withdrew. Those therefore that were sent to *Mareotes*, having registred the Acts in favour of one side only, as if those things had been most certainly true, (a) which the Accuser had deposed; [their return to Tyre.]

(a) This place is imperfect, as

any one may perceive. It may be made perfect, if instead of [ἐξελθόντες] we make this addition [ἐξελθόντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας, made their return to Tyre:] which we have followed in our Version. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXXII.

*That after Athanasius's departure, he was deposed by the Vote of the Synod.*

**A**THANASIUS being gone away, fled immediately to the Emperor. The Synod in the first place condemn'd him in his absence for deserting his cause. But when the Acts, which had been made up in *Mareotes* arrived, they passed the sentence of deposition against him; loading him with reproaches in the (a) Libel of his deposition but mention'd not a word how shamefully the *Sycophants* had been vanquish'd in the accusation of the murder. *Arsenius* also, who was reported to have been murdered, was receiv'd by them.

(a) Musculus and Christophorus render these

words [ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πρῶτον] thus, *depositionis causas, the causes of his deposition*. But I suppose, that by these words is meant the Libel of his deposition, or the Synodical Epistle concerning the condemnation and deposition of *Athanasius*. *Socrates* uses the same term, in his second Book Chap. 1. If any one be desirous to peruse a copy of these Epistles, there is extant a Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Antioch*, concerning the deposition of *Paul of Samosata*; also, the Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Sardis*, concerning the deposition of *Gregorius Alexandrinus*, *Valens*, *Ursacius*, and other *Arian* Prelates. *Valef.*

He had at first been a Bishop of the *Melitan* Constant. Herefie: But he subscrib'd *Athanasius's* deposition, as being at that time Bishop of the (b) *Hypselites*. And thus (which was very strange) he (b) In *Athanasius* that was reported to have been murdered by the reading is *Athanasius*, being alive, deposed *Athanasius*. *truer, thus*

[ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, of the City of the Hypselites,] as we noted before. *Stephanus* (de Urbibus) says *Hypselis* is a Town in *Egypt*; and that the inhabitants thereof are called *Hypselites*. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*How the Synod, having left Tyre, came to Jerusalem, and after the Celebration of the Feast of Dedication of the New Jerusalem, readmitted Arius to Communion.*

**I**N the interim the Emperors Letters arrived, commanding the Synod to give their speedy attendance at *New Jerusalem*. And immediately with all possible expedition they hastened from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*. Where after they had finished the solemnities of the consecration of the places, they (a) readmitted *Arius* and his associates into the Church, saying, that they did it in obedience to the Emperor's Letters, by which he had signified to them that he was fully satisfi'd as touching *Arius* and *Euzoius's* faith. Moreover, they wrote Letters to the Church of *Alexandria*, that all envy and hatred was now banish'd, and that the affairs of the Church were in a peaceable and sedate posture: and that *Arius*, in regard by his repentance he had acknowledg'd the truth, was in future to be receiv'd by them, and that deser-

(a) In *Athanasius's* second Apology against the *Arians*, and in his book de Synodis Ariani and Seleucia, his Synodical Epistle of the Jerusalem

lem Council is recorded; in which Epistle the Bishops who had been convened there for the Dedication of *Constantine's* Church, do attest, that they had received into Communion τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρεῶν, *Arius* and his followers: Which they had done according to the Emperor's command, who by his Letters had signified to them, that he himself knew that those Mens Faith was true and Orthodox, both from their own attestation by word of mouth, and also from the Libel of Faith which they presented to him. Which Libel *Constantine* had annex'd to his Letters. Now, he means that Libel of Faith, which *Arius* and *Euzoius* had presented to *Constantine*, mentioned by *Socrates* before, at the 26 chapter of this first Book; and by *Sozomen*, Book 2. Chap. 27. For when *Arius* had presented a Libel of his Faith to *Constantine*, *Constantine*, believing his Doctrine to be agreeable to the *Nicene Faith*, would not himself give his Judgment concerning this matter; but remitted him to the examination of the *Jerusalem Council*, as *Rufinus* and *Sozomen* do relate. *Athanasius* also (in his Book de Synodis) affirms expressly, that *Arius* and his associates were received into communion by the *Jerusalem Synod*: his words are these, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας ἀδελφόν, ὡς ἔδειξε δὲν δεχθῆναι ἀρεῶν καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν, and after the banishment of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, writing that they should admit to communion *Arius* and his followers, &c. But I suppose that *Arius* the Arch-Heretic is not to be meant here, but another *Arius*, his name sake, who had been condemn'd by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, together with *Arius* his Ringleader. For *Arius* the Arch-Heretic died long before the *Jerusalem Synod*, as I have evidently prov'd in my second Book of Ecclesiastick Observations, chap. 2. [The Learned Reader will find three Books of Ecclesiastick Observations written by *Valefius*, and publish'd at the latter end of the second Vol. of his Greek Ecclesiastick Historians.] Therefore, that *Arius*, who together with *Euzoius*, presented a Libel of his Faith to *Constantine*, is a different Person from *Arius* the Arch-Heretic. Which may be demonstrated by another Argument. This *Arius* who presented a Libel to *Constantine* together with *Euzoius*, was not restored before the *Jerusalem Synod*, that is, before the year of Christ 335; nor joyned to the Catholick Church. For he requests of the Emperor in the foresaid Libel, that all altercations being taken away by his piety, he may be united to the Catholick Church. But *Arius* the Arch-Heretic was recalled from exile long before, and readmitted to communion, as the penitentiary Libel of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* doth attest. For *Eusebius* and *Theognis* do say there expressly, that the Author of the whole controversy (to wit, *Arius*) having given satisfaction, was entirely restored. Further, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* sent that Libel to the Bishops in the year of Christ 328. as I shew'd before. Therefore *Arius* the Haresiarch must necessarily have been recalled at the beginning of the same Year. *Valef.*

vedly,



Constant. vedly, as being a member of the Church. (b) [But] they obscurely intimated that Athanasius was deposed from his Bishoprick [by their saying that all envy and hatred was now banished.] Moreover they wrote to the Emperor, informing him of the same Affairs. Whilst the Bishops were transacting these things, other Letters came unlookt for from the Emperor, which signifi'd to them that Athanasius was fled to him for refuge: and that upon his account they must necessarily come to Constantinople. Now the Emperor's intervening Letter is as followeth.

in their Synodical Epistle, do obscurely mean Athanasius, when they say, that all envy and hatred now was banish'd, &c. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

That the Emperor by his Letter summoned the Synod to attend him, that Athanasius's Case might be accurately discussed in his presence.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
the Bishops Assembled at Tyre.

IT is indeed unknown to Us, what hath tumultuously and tempestuously been determined by your Synod. But the Truth seemeth in a manner to be perverted by a certain turbulent disorder, to wit, whilst by reason of your mutual contention, which you are desirous should be insuperable, you consider not those things that are well pleasing to God. But it will [We hope] be the Work of Divine Providence, to dissipate the mischiefs of this pertinacious contentiousness, after they are manifestly detected; and to make it perspicuous to Us, how great a care you that have been convened have had of the Truth, and whether you have determined the matters that have been discussed by you without any favour or malice. Therefore, all of you must of necessity with speed attend upon Our Piety, that you your selves may render an accurate Account of what hath been done by you. Now, for what reason we thought it requisite to write these things to you, and to summon you before our selves by this Letter, you shall understand from the sequel. As We were making our entry into Constantinople, the City that bears Our name, [situate in] Our own most flourishing Country; (it hapned that We then rode on Horse-back: ) on a sudden Athana-

sius the Bishop, together (a) with some Presbyters whom he had about him, approacht Us in the midst of the high way so unexpectedly, that he put Us into a consternation. For God the Inspector of all things is our witness, that at first sight We were unable even to discern who he was, had not

some of Our [Servants] upon Our enquiry told Us (as it was meet) both who he was, and what injuries he had suffered. At that time We neither spoke to, nor had any discourse with him. But when he requested that he might be heard, and We had refused that, and in a manner ordered he should be removed from our presence; with a greater confidence he said, that he desired nothing else but your appearance here, that (being necessitated thereto) he might in Our presence make a complaint of his sufferings. Wherefore in regard this seemed reasonable to Us, and a matter besitting Our times, We willingly gave order for the writing

of these things to you: That all you, who made up the Synod convened at Tyre, should without delay hasten to the Court of Our Piety, in order to your making a real Demonstration of the integrity and unbyassedness of your determination; to wit, in the presence of Us, whom none of you can deny to be a genuine Servant of God. For by the worship we exhibit to the Deity, Peace doth every where flourish, and the name of God is sincerely praised even by the (b) Barbarians themselves, who till this time have been ignorant of the truth. Moreover, it is manifest, that he who knows not the truth, acknowledges not God. Nevertheless, as we said before, even the Barbarians have (upon Our Account, who are Gods genuine servant) acknowledg'd the Deity, and have learned to pay a Religious worship to him, by whose Providence, as they have been really and truly made sensible, we are every where protected and provided for. Upon which account chiefly they have been brought to the knowledge of God; whom they worship out of a dread towards Us. But (c) we, who seem to have a greater esteem for, (for We will not say, to defend) the holy mysteries of his Church: We say, We do nothing else, but what belongs to discord and hatred, and (to speak plainly) what tends to the destruction of mankind. But, as we said before, come all of you to Us speedily; with a full assurance, that with our utmost vigour we will endeavour the accomplishing of this, [name-ly] that those things [comprehended] in the Law of God may most especially be preserv'd firm and unshaken (on which no reproach or ill opinion can possibly be fixt,) to wit, by dissipating, breaking to pieces, and utterly destroying the Enemies of the Law, who under the covert of [Christ's] holy Name introduce various and different sorts of Blas-

phemies. (c) In Leo Allatius's M. S. and in Athanasius, the reading of this place is [oi ra re, who seem to have a greater esteem for the holy mysteries of his clemency.] Epiphanius Scholasticus read this passage thus also, as appears from his Version: where, instead of [We, who seem, &c.] it is [Ye, who seem, &c.] which is confirmed by the Florent. M. S. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXV.

That, when the Synod came not to the Emperor, the Eusebians accused Athanasius, as if he had threatned, that he would prohibit the carriage of that Corn, with which Alexandria furnish'd Constantinople. Whereupon the Emperor, being incens'd, banished Athanasius, confining him to the Gallia's.

THIS Letter put those present at the Synod into a great perplexity of mind. Wherefore most of them returned to their own Cities. But Eusebius, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius and Valens, going to Constantinople, would not suffer any further enquiry to be made concerning breaking the Cup, overturning the [Communion] Table, and the murdering of Arsenius: but they proceeded to another calumny, having informed the Emperor, that Athanasius had threatned to prohibit the sending of the Corn, which was usually convey'd from Alexandria to Constantinople: And that these words were said by Athanasius in the hearing of Adamantius, Anubion, (a) Arbathion and Peter, all Bishops. For a calumny hath a greater force and prevalency, when the false Accuser is a person of repute and credit. The Emperor thus circled Arbathion. But it must be read with a Diphthong, thus, Arbathion. For 'tis a Greek name derived from Arbatus; of which name there was a Consul in Constantius's reign, as I have observed in my Notes on Amm. Marellin. Valef.

cum vented



*Constant.* cumvented and incensed, punisheth *Athanasius* with banishment, ordering him to inhabit the *Gallia's*. There are those that say this was done by the Emperor, with a design thereby to procure a general Union in the Church, in regard *Athanasius* had wholly refused to communicate with *Arius* and his followers. But he lived [in exile] at *Triers* a City of *Gallia*.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning *Marcellus* [Bishop] of *Ancyra*, and *Asterius* the *Sophista*.

THE Bishops that were convened at *Constantinople* did also depose *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the less, upon this Account. There was one *Asterius*, a Professor of Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, who left the teaching of that Art, and owned himself a Professor of the Christian Religion. He also took in hand to write Books (which are extant to this Day) wherein he asserted *Arius's* Opinion, saying, that Christ is the Power of God in the same sense that the Locust and Palmer-worm are in *Moses* said to be the Power of God, and other such like [Blasphemies] as these. This *Asterius* was continually in company with the Bishops, and with those Bishops most especially that were not disaffected to *Arianism*: Moreover, he came frequently to Synods, being very desirous to creep into the Bishoprick of some City. But he got not so much as a Presbytership, because he had sacrificed in the time of Persecution. He went up and down to the Cities of

(a) *Athanasius* (in his Book *De Synodis*) says that this *Asterius* sat in the Church amongst those that were of the Clergy, and recited his Books in publick. *Vales.*

(b) In the *Allat. M. S.* the reading is [*ἀντιρρόπον*, to write against him.] So *Epiphanius*. *Scholast.* seems to have read.

*Paul* of *Samosata* did.

Which when the Bishops then convened at *Jerusalem* had intelligence of, they took no notice of *Asterius*, because he was not enrolled in the Catalogue of the Presbyters. But they required of *Marcellus*, as being a Priest, an Account of the Book (c) written by him. And when they found that he held *Paul* of *Samosata's* Principles, they commanded him to alter his Opinion. He, ashamed [of what he had done,] promised to burn his Book. But the convention of Bishops being hastily dissolved, upon the Emperor's summoning of them to *Constantinople*; when the *Eusebians* came to *Constantinople*, *Marcellus's* Case was again discussed. And upon *Marcellus's* refusal to burn his impious and unhappy Book according to his promise, the Bishops there assembled deposed him, and sent *Basilus* in his room to *Ancyra*. Moreover, *Eusebius* wrote three Books by way of Answer and Confutation of this Book, [of *Marcellus's*,] in which he manifestly laid open and reproved his false Opinion. But *Marcellus* afterwards recovered his Bishoprick in the Synod of *Sardis*, saying, that his Book was not rightly understood, and therefore he was judged to favour *Paul* of *Samosata's* Doctrine. But we will speak of this in its proper place.

(c) This Book of *Marcellus's* that he held *Paul* of *Samosata's* Principles, they was intitled, *De subjectione Christi*, concerning Christ's subjection; as *Hilarius* informs us, in the fragment of his book, *de Synodis*. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XXXVII.

*How, after Athanasius was exiled, Arius, being sent for from Alexandria by the Emperor, raised Disturbances against Alexander Bishop of Constantinople.*

WHILE these things were transacted, the thirtieth Year of *Constantine's* Reign was compleated. (a) *Arius* and his followers being returned to *Alexandria*, caused a general disturbance in that City again. For the populace of *Alexandria* were very much troubled both at *Arius* and his Complices's return, and also at the exile of their Bishop *Athanasius*. But when the Emperor understood the perverseness of *Arius's* mind, he ordered him to be sent for again to *Constantinople*, thereto give an Account of the disturbances he had endeavour'd to rekindle. *Alexander*, who had some time before that succeeded *Metrophanes*, did then preside over the Church of *Constantinople*. The conflict this Man had with *Arius* at that time, was a sufficient Proof of his Piety and Acceptableness to God. For upon *Arius's* arrival there, both the People were divided into two Factions, and there also arose an universal commotion all the City over: Some of them affirming, that the *Nicene Creed* ought to continue unshaken and without any alteration; and others pertinaciously asserting that *Arius's* Opinion was consonant to Reason; *Alexander* was hereupon reduced to a great straight. And more especially, because *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* had sorely threatned him, saying, that he would forthwith cause him to be deposed, unless he would admit *Arius* and his followers to Communion. But *Alexander* was not so solicitous about his own Deposition, as he was fearful of the enervating of the Doctrine of Faith, which they earnestly endeavoured to subvert. For looking upon himself as the Keeper and Patron of the Determinations made by the [*Nicene*] Synod, he made it wholly his business to prevent the wresting and depravation of those Canons. Being therefore reduced to those extremities, he entirely bad farewell to [the assistances of] Logick, and made God his Refuge. He devoted himself to continual Fasts, and omitted no form or manner of Praying. Now, he made this resolution within his own mind, and what he had resolved he secretly perform'd. Having shut up himself alone in the Church which is called *Irene*, he went to the Altar, laid himself prostrate on the Ground under the (b) Holy Table, and poured forth his Prayers [to God] with tears: he continued doing this for many Nights and Days together. Moreover, he asked of God, and received [what he had desired.] His Petition was this; That if *Arius's* Opinion were true, he might not see the Day appointed for the Disquisition thereof: But, if that Faith which he professed were true, that *Arius* (in regard he was the Author of all these mischiefs) might suffer condign punishment for his impiety.

(a) *Socrates* does here follow *Rufinus*, who says that *Arius* (after the Synod at *Jerusalem*) return'd to *Alexandria*; and a little after that (when his devices would do no good there) was recalled to *Constantinople* by *Eusebius*. But all this is false, as we intimated before, in regard *Arius* died long before the *Jerusalem Synod*. *Vales.*

(b) *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 12.) *Ecclesiastical Hist.* from whom *Socrates* borrowed this passage thus, sub altari jacent, lying under the altar.

*Sozomen* tells the same story; Book 2. Chap. 29. *Vales.*



Constant.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

## Concerning Arius's Death.

THIS was the subject of *Alexander's* Prayer. Now the Emperor, desirous to make trial of *Arius*, sends for him to the Palace, and enquired of him, whether he would give his assent to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Synod. He, without any delay, readily subscribed in the Emperor's presence, making use of evasive shifts to elude and avoid what had been determined concerning the Faith. The Emperor, admiring hereat, compelled him to swear. This he also did, by making use of fraud and deceit. Moreover, the manner of artifice he made use of in subscribing was, as I have heard, this. *Arius*, they say, wrote that Opinion he maintain'd in a piece of paper, and hid it under his armpit: and then swore that he did really think as he had written. What I have written concerning his having done this, is grounded on hearsay only. But I have collected out of the Emperor's own Letters, that he swore, besides his bare subscribing. Hereupon the Emperor believed him, and gave order to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* to admit him to Communion. It was then the Sabbath-day, and on the day following he expected that he should be a Member of the assembly of Believers. But Divine Vengeance closely follow'd *Arius's* audaciousness. For, when he went out of the Imperial Palace, he was attended by the *Eusebian* Faction, like Guards, through the midst of the City; in so much that the eyes of all people were upon him. And when he came near that place which is called *Constantine's Forum*, where the pillar of *Porphyrie* is erected, a terror [proceeding] from a consciousness [of his impieties] seiz'd *Arius*, which terror was accompanied with a looseness. Hereupon he enquir'd whether there was an House-of-office near, and understanding that there was one behind *Constantine's Forum*,

(1) In *Leo Allatius's* M. S. (or in *Theoderus Lector's Tripartite History*) this place is worded thus, [ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ διαχωρίσματος παραίτησις ἢ ἐξουσία, τὸ τε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι ἀπέφθεον, παραυτίκα δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐξήντησε, αἵματι δὲ πλῆθους ἐπικλύετο, καὶ τὰ λίπυα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ σπλίνι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπατὶ, and together with his excrements his fundament slid secretly down, and that termed by Physicians the Apephthesma fell immediately through his fundament; which was followed by a great flux of Blood, and his small guts ran out, together with his spleen and liver.] Which passage is in my judgment incomparably well expressed. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius Scholasticus* does in part confirm this reading. Also, in the *Sfortian* M. S. it is [παρεκπίπτει, slid secretly down] instead of [ἐκπίπτει, fell down.] Valef.

over the City, nay I may say over the whole World. But the Emperor did more zealously adhere to Christianity, and said that the *Nicene* Faith was now truly confirmed by God himself. He was also very glad, both at what had happened, and also upon the account of his three

sons, whom he had proclaimed *Cæsars*: each of them was created at every \* *Decennialia* of his Reign. The eldest of them (called *Constantine* after his own name) he created Governour over the Western parts of the Empire, in the first tenth year of his Reign. His second son, *Constantius* (who bore his Grandfathers name) he made *Cæsar* in (b) the Eastern parts of the Empire, in the twentieth year of his reign. The youngest, called *Constans* he created [*Cæsar*] in the thirtieth year of his Empire.

[τὸν δὲ πρῶτον] but [τῶν δὲ, &c. in the Eastern parts.] And, a little before, it must be [τὸν πατέρα ὁμώνυμον, of the same name with his Grandfather:] as it is in the *Allat.* M. S. But the vulgar reading is tolerable. For the Greek term [ἐπώνυμος] is used not only to signify him who gives his name to another; but in respect to him also, who takes his name from another. So *Socrates* does usually stile *Constantinople* ἐπώνυμον Κωνσταντίνου, a City that took its name from *Constantine*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

How *Constantine*, falling into a Distemper, ended his Life.

THE year after, the Emperor *Constantine*, having just entred the sixty fifth year of his age, falls sick. He therefore left *Constantinople*, and went by water to *Helenopolis*, to make use of the medicinal hot Springs, situate in the Vicinage of that City. But when he was sensible that his distemper increased, he defer'd bathing. And removed from *Helenopolis* to *Nicomedia*. He kept his Court there in the Suburbs, and received Christian Baptism. He was hereupon very chearful, and made his Will, wherein he left his three sons Heirs of the Empire, allotting to every one of them their part, as he had done in his life-time. He left many Legacies both to (a) *Rome* and to *Constantinople*, and he intrusted his Will with that (b) Presbyter, by whose intercession *Arius* was recalled, of whom we spoke something\* before: enjoining him not to deliver it into any man's hands, except his Son *Constantius's*, whom he had constituted Governour of the East. After he had made his Will, he lived some few days and then died. Moreover, none of his Sons were with him at his death: Therefore there was one immediately dispatcht into the East, to inform *Constantius* of his Father's death.

(a) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*, Book 1. *Eccles. Hist.* Chap. 11. But this story seems to me very improbable. For who can believe that the Emperor *Constantine*, who then had many Bishops about him, (for so *Eusebius* says expressly;) as also Grandees and great Officers, should make choice of one Presbyter, an unknown Person, (for his name is always concealed) to whom he might commit the keeping of his Will, when he died. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Philostorgius* here, who says, that *Constantine* delivered his Will to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by whom he had been baptized a little before. Valef.

## C H A P. XL.

Concerning *Constantine* the Emperor's Funeral.

THEY that were about the Emperor, put his Corps in a Coffin of Gold, convey'd it to *Constantinople*, and placed it [on a Bed of State] on high in the Palace; and there they paid their honorary respects to it, and set a guard about it, as when he was alive. This course they continued, till one of his Sons came. But when

Y

Constan-



*Constant.* *Constantius* arrived out of the Eastern parts, he was honour'd with an Imperial Sepulture, and deposited in the Church called *The Apostles*; which he himself had erected for this reason, that the Emperors and Prelates (a) might not be far inferior to the Reliques of the Apostles. The Emperor *Constantine* liv'd to the age of sixty five years: he reigned one and thirty years: and died in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, upon the twenty second day of *May*: which was the (b) second year of *Constant.* the two hundredth seventy eighth *Olympiad*. Now, this Book contains in it the space of thirty one years.

(a) *Museus* and *Christophorus* have rendered this place thus: *Antistetes reliquiis apostolorum destituerentur, that the Emperors and Prelates might not be deprived of the Apostles reliques.* But I cannot approve of this Version. For *Constantine* had deposited no reliques of the Apostles in that Church. I would therefore rather translate it thus, that the Emperors and Prelates there to be buried, might not be far inferior to the Apostles Reliques; but might be affected with the same degree of honour with them. Which interpretation *Eusebius* confirms, in Book 4. Chap. 40. *Concerning the Life of Constantine* Valef.

here. For in the consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus* (which was the year of Christ 337) on the eleventh of the *Calends of June* (i. e. on the 22d of *May*) the fourth year of the 278th *Olympiad* was current. Which may be demonstrated by most evident reasons. But *Socrates* seems to have made use of a corrupt Copy of *Eusebius's Chronicle*, wherein the year of the *Olympiad* was erroneously set. But, at this place of *Socrates*, we ought rather to read *The third Year*. For *Socrates* says, that this first Book of his *History* contains the space of One and thirty years. For he begins from the beginning of *Constantine's* Reign, who, as he says, reigned One and thirty years. The beginning of his Reign he places on the first year of the 271 *Olympiad*, as we saw before. Now from this year to the second year of the 278th *Olympiad* there are but thirty years, including therein the two terms. Wherefore, there must necessarily be a mistake in this place of *Socrates*. Valef.

(b) *Socrates* makes



THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## CHAP. I.

*The Preface, wherein he gives an account, why he made a new Edition of his First and Second Book.*

*Constantine.* **R**ufinus (he that wrote an Ecclesiastick History in the Latin tongue,) has erred concerning [the notation of] the times. For he supposes, that what was done against *Athanasius*, hapned after the death of *Constantine* the Emperor. He was also ignorant of his banishment into the *Gallia's*, and of several other things. We having at first follow'd *Rufinus* [as our Author,] wrote the first and second Book of our History according to his authority. But from the third to the seventh Book, we have made a collection of some passages, partly out of *Rufinus*, and partly out of various other Authors, and related others from those which do yet survive; and so have compleated our work. But when we had afterwards procured *Athanasius's* Books, wherein he laments his own calamitous sufferings, and how he was banish'd by the calumny of the *Eusebian* faction; we thought it more expedient to credit him (who had suffer'd these hardships) and those who had been present at the transacting of these matters; rather than such as have followed conjectures [in their relations] thereof, and for that reason have been mistaken. Besides, having gotten [several] Letters of persons at that time very eminent, to our utmost ability we have diligently traced out the truth. Upon which account we have been necessitated \*entirely to dictate again the first and second Book [of this Work,] making use [nevertheless] of those passages, in the relation whereof *Rufinus* hath not forsaken the truth. Moreover, notice is to be taken, that in our former Edition we had not inserted *Arius's* Libel of Deposition, nor the Emperor's Letters; but had only set forth a bare relation of the affairs transacted, that we might not dull our Readers by a prolix and tedious Narration. But in regard that this also was to be done in favour to you

(a) O sacred Man of God, *Theodorus* ! ) that you might not be ignorant of what the Emperors wrote in their Letters, nor of what the Bishops (changing that Faith by little and little) promulged in divers Synods: wherefore, in this latter Edition we have made such alterations and insertions as we judged to be necessary. And having done this in the first Book, we will also make it our business to do the same in that now under our hands, we mean the second. But we must now begin [ the following Series of ] our History.

*Con-*  
*stanti-*  
*(a) Our*  
*Eusebius*  
has given  
the same  
title to  
*Paulinus*  
Bishop of  
*Tyre*, at  
the be-  
ginning  
of the  
*tenth Book*  
*of his Ec-*

*clesiastick Hist.* whose Example *Socrates* here follows. Who this *Theodorus* was, to whom *Socrates* dedicated his *History*, is uncertain. For I cannot think that *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia* is here meant. *Valef.*

## CHAP. II.

*How Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia with his Accomplices, earnestly endeavouring to introduce Arius's Opinion again, made disturbances in the Churches.*

THE Emperor *Constantine* being dead, *Eusebius* [Bishop] of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, supposing they had now gotten a very seasonable opportunity, made use of their utmost diligence and attempts to expel the \* *Homoöusian* Faith, and introduce *Arianism* in its stead. (a) But they [supposed] it impossible for them to effect this, if *Athanasius* should return [to *Alexandria*.] Moreover, in order to their forming and carrying on of their design in this matter, they made use of that Presbyters assistance, who had a little before been the cause of *Arius's* being recalled from banishment. But, how this was effected, we must relate. That Presbyter [we have mention'd] presented *Constantine's* last will and commands, which he had received from the Emperor at his death, to the Emperor's Son *Constantius*. He having found that written in the Will which he was very

\* That is, the Faith  
fessed Christ to be of  
Substance or Essence  
Father.

(a) This place is im-  
perfect. It may be made  
incommodiously, thus; *π*  
*ὅτι τὸν συνήσαν ὁ ἐκ*  
*ὁ; εἰ ἐπιστῇ Ἀθ*  
but they understood that  
not effect this, if *Athanasius*  
return. Vale.

Y 2 desirous

\* That is, the Faith that professed Christ to be of the same Substance or Essence with the Father.

(a) This place is imperfect, and faulty. It may be made good nor incommodiouſly, thus; *περερεαδαι* εἰς τὴν συνήσαν α. ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς; *ei* ἐπορεύθησαν Ἀθανάσιον; but they understood that they could not effect this, if Athanasius should return. Valeſ.



Constantinus.

desirous of; (for by the Will the Empire of the East was committed to him) had an honorary respect for the Presbyter, allow'd him a great liberty of speaking, and order'd he should freely and with confidence come into the Palace. This liberty therefore being allowed [the Presbyter,] made him in a short time well known both to the Empress, and also to her Eunuchs. The principal person of the Emperor's Bed-chamber at that time was an Eunuch, whose name was *Eusebius*. The Presbyter perswaded this person to embrace *Arius's* opinion. After which, the rest of the Eunuchs were prevailed with to be of the same opinion. Moreover, the Emperor's Wife also, by the perswasion of the Eunuchs and this Presbyter, became a favourer of *Arius's* Tenets. Not long after, this question came to [the hearing of] the Emperor himself. And by degrees it was spread abroad, first amongst

(b) *Christopherson* rendered these words [αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ σπασσεν] thus, *Imperatoris satellites, the Emperor's Guards*: which is ill translated. For by this term all the *Palatini* are meant; not only the *Protectors*, the *Domestici*, and the rest of the *Scholares*, (see *Valesius's* notes on *Amm. Marcellin.* pag. 31. &c.) but the *Ministeriani*, and *Scriuarii* also. For this was termed the *Palatine Milice*. *Valef.*

of the *Milice* in the Palace; and afterwards it was divulged amongst the multitudes of the [Imperial] City. Those of the Bed-chamber together with the women discoursed concerning this opinion in the Imperial Palace: and in the City, throughout every private family, there was a logical war waged. Moreover, the mischief soon spread itself over other Provinces and Cities. And (like a spark) this controversy taking its rise from a small beginning, excited the hearers minds to a most pertinacious contention. For every person that enquired the reason of the disturbance, immediately had an occasion of disputing given him; and at the very interim of his making an enquiry, he resolved upon entering into a wrangling dispute. By this contention all things were subverted. These [alterations] were started in Eastern Cities only. For the Cities of *Illyricum*, and those [situated] in the Western parts [of the Empire] were in that interim at quiet: for they would by no means disannull the determinations made at the *Nicene Synod*. When therefore this mischief, thus kindled, increased and grew daily worse and worse, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and his Faction began then to think the disturbance of the Vulgar to be their gain. For [they were in hopes] of being enabled by this means only, to constitute a Bishop of *Alexandria*, that should be of the same opinion with them. But *Athanasius's* return at that time to *Alexandria* prevented this their design, who came thither fortified with one of the *Augustus's* Letters, which *Constantinus the Younger* (who bore the same name with his Father) sent from *Triers* a City in *Gallia* to the people of *Alexandria*. [A Copy of] which Letter I have here subjoined.

## C H A P. III.

How *Athanasius*, confiding in the Letter of *Constantine the Younger*, returned to *Alexandria*.

CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR,  
to the People of the Catholick Church  
of the *Alexandrians*.

Constantinus.

It has not, we suppose, (a) escaped the knowledge of your Sacred Mind, that *Athanasius* an Interpreter of the venerable Law, was therefore sent into the *Gallia's* for a time, lest (in regard the Barbarity of his blood-devouring Enemies and Adversaries continually menaced his sacred Head with imminent danger,) he should undergo incurable Mischiefs through the perverseness of wicked Men. In order therefore to his frustrating of this [Barbarity,] he was snatch'd out of the Faws of those persons that designed his ruin; and enjoined to live under our District, in such a manner that, in that City wherein he was ordered to make his residence, he should abound with all manner of Necessaries: although his most eximious Virtue, having put its confidence in the Divine Assurances, esteems as nothing the Troubles of a rougher Fortune. Wherefore, although our Lord and Father *Constantinus Augustus* of blessed memory, had determined to restore this Bishop to his own \* See, \* Place, and [return him] to your most amiable Piety: Yet in regard, being prevented by human chance, he died before the accomplishment of his desire; We being his Successor, thought it agreeable to fulfil the mind of that Emperor of sacred memory. [Moreover,] how great a reverence and respect he has procured from us, you shall know from himself, as soon as he shall come into your presence. Nor is it a wonder that We have done any thing in favour to him: for both the representation of your Love, and also the aspect of so great a Personage moved and excited Our Mind hereto. May the Divine Providence preserve you, dearest Brethren.

in the year of Christ 338, to wit, the year after *Constantine's* death; who perceiving the foresaid Prelate to be pressed on every side by the Calumnies of his Adversaries, had for a time banished him into the *Gallia's*. But I do maintain, that *Athanasius* was restored in the year of Christ 337, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were Consul, in that very year wherein *Constantine* died: which I can make evident, as I suppose, by a most demonstrable argument. For *Athanasius* (in his second Apology against the *Arians*, pag. 805.) relates, that he was released from his banishment, and restored to his Country by *Constantine the younger*, who also wrote a Letter in his behalf to the Populace and Clergy of the *Alexandrian Church*. This Letter [as *Socrates* does here, so] *Athanasius* there recites: the inscription of it is this; *Constantinus Cæsar, to the People of the Catholick Church of Alexandria*. The subscription of this Letter is thus, dated at *Triers* the fifteenth of the Calends of July. As well the inscription, as subscription of this Letter, does attest what I say, to wit, that *Athanasius* was released from his exile soon after the death of *Constantine the Great*, in the year of Christ 337. For if he had been restored on the year following, then *Constantine the younger* would not have called himself *Cæsar*, but *Augustus*. Nor would *Athanasius* have been restored by *Constantine the younger*, but by *Constantius*, to whom was allotted the Eastern part of the Empire. Wherefore, in regard *Constantine* styles himself only *Cæsar* in that Letter, and since *Athanasius* attests, that he was restored by *Constantine the younger*, 'tis apparent, that that was done, before the Sons of *Constantine the elder* were by the Soldiers proclaimed *Augusti*. For, upon *Constantine's* Death, there was a certain interregnum: and the Roman World continued without an Emperor almost three Months; until the Brethren (who under the name of *Cæsars* Governed divers Provinces) had met together, in order to their making a division of the whole Roman Empire. *Constantine* died on the eleventh of the Calends of June, and on that very year there were three *Augusti* proclaimed, to wit, *Constantinus*, *Constantius* and *Constans*, on the fifth of the Ides of September; (as it is recorded in the *Old Fasti*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* published under the false name of *Idarius*. This is that which *Eusebius* writes in his fourth Book of *Constantine's* Life, chap. 71. to wit, that *Constantine* retained his Empire after his death, and that all Rescripts and Edicts bore his name, as if he had been yet alive. For this reason therefore *Constantine the younger* styles himself *Cæsar* only, in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, in regard he was not yet proclaimed *Augustus*. For the Letter was dated on the fifteenth of the Calends of July. But he was created *Augustus* (together with his brethren) on the fifth of the Ides of September. Moreover, at that time (whilst the Brothers were styled *Cæsars* only) *Constantinus Junior* was the chief in Authority, because he was the eldest Brother. See *Valesius's* first Book of *Ecclesiastick Observations on Socrates and Sozomen*. Chap. 1.

Upon



*Constan-*  
s*ius.* Upon the confidence of this Letter *Athanasius* comes to *Alexandria*, and the people of *Alexandria* most willingly received him. But as many as were followers of *Arius's* Opinion, entered into a combination and conspired against him. Hereupon continual Seditions arose, which gave an occasion to the *Eusebian* faction of accusing him before the Emperor, because upon his own inclination and award (without the determination of a general Council of Bishops) he had return'd and taken possession of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. And they made so great a proficiency in their calumnies, that the Emperor, being incensed, expelled him out of *Alexandria*. But, how that was effected, I will a little after this relate.

C H A P. IV.

*That upon Eusebius Pamphilus's Death, Acacius succeeded in the Bishoprick of Cæsarea.*

**D**URING this interval of time, *Eusebius* (who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and had the surname of *Pamphilus*) departed this life, and *Acacius* his Scholar succeeded him in that Bishoprick. This *Acacius* published many other Books, and also wrote [particularly] concerning the Life of his Master [*Eusebius*].

C H A P. V.

*Concerning the Death of Constantine the Younger.*

**N**OT long after this, the Emperor *Constantius's* Brother, (who bore the same name with his Father,) *Constantine the Younger*, invading those parts [of the Empire] that belonged to his younger brother *Constans*, and engaging with his Soldiers, is slain by them, in the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*.

C H A P. VI.

*How Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, at his Death, proposed Paulus and Macedonius to be elected into his Bishoprick.*

**A**T the very same time, the City *Constantinople* was involv'd in another tumult (which follow'd on the neck of those [disturbances] we have before related,) raised upon this account. (a) *Alexander*, who presided over the Churches in that City, [a Prelate] that (a) *Socrates* mentions here, (and all those that follow him,) in placing the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* on the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*, in the year of Christ 340. In the second Book of my *Ecclesiastick Observations upon Socrates and Sozomen* [the Learned Reader will meet with *Valesius's* *Ecclesiastick Observations upon Socrates and Sozomen*, at the close of *Valesius's* second Volume of the *Greek Ecclesiastick Histories*; he may find the matter discussed at the first Chapter of the second Book of those *Observations*.] I have by most evident arguments demonstrated, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* died in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and that *Paul* succeeded him, during the Reign of the said *Constantine*. *Baronius*, who places *Alexander's* death on the year of Christ 340, does manifestly contradict himself. For he says, that the Synod of the Bishops of *Egypt* (which was summoned to confute the Calumnies brought against *Athanasius* by the *Eusebian* Faction,) was convened in the year of Christ 339. But those Bishops do expressly attest, in their *Synodick Epistle*, that at that very time *Eusebius* had left *Nicomedia*, and had left into the *Constantinopolitan* See. 'Tis needless to quote the words of that Epistle here, in regard they are produced by *Baronius* himself, at the year of Christ 340. Now, if *Eusebius* had gotten the See of *Constantinople* in the year of Christ 339. *Alexander* must necessarily be supposed to have been dead before this year. *Vales.*

had courageously opposed *Arius*, departed out of this life, after he had spent twenty three years in that Bishoprick, and had lived ninety eight years compleat, having ordained no body [to succeed] in his place. But he commanded those to whom the power of electing belong'd, to make choice of one of those two whom he should name. And if they were desirous of having one that should be both skilful in teaching, and also of an approved piety and uprightness of life, [he advised them] to make choice of *Paulus*, one that he had ordained Presbyter; a person that was a young man indeed in respect of his age, but old in understanding and prudence. But if they would rather have one commendable for an external shew of piety only, they might elect (b) *Macedonius*, who had long since been made a Deacon of that Church, and was now grown aged. Hereupon there hapned a great contest concerning the Ordination of a Bishop, which very much disturbed that Church. For the people were divided into two \* Factions; \* Parts. the one side adhered to the *Arian* Opinion; the other embraced the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. And as long as *Alexander* continued alive, the † *Homoousian* party prevailed; † That is, the *Arians* disagreeing and contending daily amongst themselves concerning their own Opinion. But after *Alexander's* death, the success of the peoples contest was dubious. Therefore, the *Homoousian* party proposed *Paulus* to be ordained Bishop. But those that embraced *Arianism*, were very earnest to have *Macedonius* elected. And in the Church called (c) *Irene* (which is near that Church now named *The Great Church*, and the Church of *Sophia*,) *Paulus* is ordained Bishop; in which [Election] the Suffrage of *Alexander*, then dead, seem'd to have prevailed.

(b) This Person was afterwards promoted to the degree of Presbyter under *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and accused his own Bishop, as *Athanasius* relates, in his *Epistle ad Solitar*. *Vales.*  
\* Parts. those that owned Christ to be of the same Substance with the Father.  
(c) There were two Churches of this name in *Constantinople*, the one called

the Old, the other the New *Irene*; as it is recorded in the Life of *Paul* the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop, which *Photius* relates in his *Bibliotheca*. Moreover, the Old Church called *Irene* was contiguous to the *Great Church*, which was afterwards named *Sophia*; nor had it separate Clergy-men; but the Clergy of the *Great Church* by turns ministered in that Church. The Emperor *Justinian* informs us of this, in the third Novel. In the old description of *Constantinople*, which is prefixt before the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, this is called the Old Church, and 'tis placed in the second Ward of the City, together with the *Great Church*. The Church *Irene* (to wit, *The New Irene*,) is recounted in the seventh Ward of that City. *Socrates* hath made mention of *The Old Irene*, in his first Book, Chap. 37. It is termed the Church of *Saint Irene*, after the same manner that the Church *Sophia* is called *Saint Sophia*; not that there was a Virgin, or Martyr, called by that name. *Vales.*

C H A P. VII.

*How the Emperor Constantius ejected Paulus, who had been ordained Bishop: and, having sent for Eusebius from Nicomedia, entrusted him with the Bishoprick of Constantinople.*

**B**UT the Emperor, arriving not long after at *Constantinople*, was highly incensed at this Ordination [of *Paulus*]. And having convened a Council of Bishops that embraced *Arius's* Opinion, he vacated *Paulus's* [Bishoprick.] And he translated *Eusebius* (a) from *Nicomedia*, and constituted him Bishop of *Constantinople*. (a) The M. S. inserts some words here, after When the Emperor had performed these things, he went to *Antioch*.  
after this manner: 'Εὐσέβιον δὲ ἐκ τῆς νικαυμένης καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐπίσκοπον ἀναδεδέχοντο; i. e. and having through *Eusebius's* own ambition removed him from *Nicomedia*, he constituted him Bishop of the Great City [*Constantinople*]. *Vales.*



Constantinus.

## CHAP. VIII.

How Eusebius assembled another Synod at Antioch of Syria, and caused another Form of Faith to be published.

**B**UT Eusebius could by no means be at quiet: but (as the common saying is) moved every stone, that he might effect what he had designed. Therefore, he procures a Synod to be assembled at Antioch in Syria, under a pretence of dedicating a Church, which [Constantine] the

\* That is, he means Constantinus, and Constantius, Sons to the Emperor Constantine the Great; who had a little before this been proclaimed Augusti. Constantine, the other Son of Constantine the Great, was now dead. See Chap. 5. of this Book.

Father of the \*Augusti had begun to build: (after whose death, Constantius his son finish'd it, in the tenth year after its foundation was laid:) but in reality, that he might subvert and destroy the Homœusian

Faith. At this Synod there met ninety Bishops, [who came] out of divers Cities. But Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem, who had succeeded Macarius, was not present at that Synod, (a) having consider'd with himself that he had been before induced by fraud to subscribe Athanasius's Deposition. Neither was Julius Bishop of Rome the Great present there: Nor did he send any body to supply his place. Altho' the Ecclesiastick Canon doth order, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of Rome's opinion. This Synod therefore is convened at Antioch (the Emperor Constantius himself being there present,) in the (b) Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus. This was the (c) fifth year from the death of Constantine the Father of the Augusti. At that time (d) Placitus, Successor to Euphronius presided over the Churches in Antioch. The Eusebians therefore made it their principal business to calumniate Athanasius, [saying,] in the first place, that he had done contrary to that Canon, which they had then constituted, because he had recover'd his Episcopal Dignity without the consent of a general Synod of Bishops. For, returning from his Exile, he had upon his own arbitrement and award rush'd into the Church: [Secondly,] that a tumult being rais'd at his entrance, (e) many had lost their lives in that sedition; and that some persons had been scourged by Athanasius, and others brought before the seats of Judicature. Moreover, they produced what had been done against Athanasius in the City of Tyre.

In regard of his sorrow for doing this, he refused afterwards to be present at the Council of Antioch; as Sozomen relates, in his third Book, Chap. 6. near the end. Valef.

(b) Athanasius (in his Book de Synodis) set forth the time of this Council by these Notes: ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες, &c. Those Bishops that met at the Dedication were ninety in number; [they were convened] in the Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, in the tenth Indiction, the most impious Constantius being there present. Valef.

(c) In the Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, on the eleventh of the Calends of June was completed the fourth year from Constantine's death. The Synod of Antioch therefore was convened after this day, if it be true which Socrates here says, to wit, that it was convened in the fifth year after Constantine's Death. Valef.

(d) In Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version, this persons name is truer written, thus, Flaccillus. Nor is he otherwise called in Pope Julius's Epistle to the Bishops convened in this Synod of Antioch. This person had been present before, at the Council of Tyre, and had with the Arians conspired against Athanasius, as the Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops to Dionysius the Comes doth inform us, which Epistle Athanasius has recorded, in his second defence against the Arians. Eusebius of Casarea dedicated the Books he wrote against Marcellus to this same Flaccillus. But instead of Flaccillus, he is almost every where called Placitus: only in the following chapter, the Allatian M. S. terms him Flaccillus. Valef.

(e) These Calumnies of the Eusebians are incomparably well refuted by the Egyptian Bishops, in their Synodick Epistle, which Athanasius records, in his second defence against the Arians. Valef.

## CHAP. IX.

Concerning Eusebius Emisenus.

**A**FTER the framing of these Calumnies, they propos'd one to be made Bishop of Alexandria, and in the first place [they named] Eusebius Emisenus. Who this person was, Georgius of Laodicea, one that was present at this Synod, informs us. For he says (in the Book he wrote concerning his Life) that this Eusebius was descended from noble Personages of Edessa in Mesopotamia: and that from his Childhood he (a) learned the sacred Scriptures: that he was afterwards instructed in the Grecian Literature by a Master who then lived at Edessa; and in fine, that he had the sacred Scriptures interpreted to him by Patrophilus and Eusebius; the latter of which persons presided over the Church in Casarea, and the former over that in Scythopolis. After this, when he came to Antioch, it hapned that Eusebius, being accused by Cyrus of Beræa, was deposed, as being an assertor of Sabellius's opinion. Wherefore Eusebius afterwards lived with Euphronius, Eusebius's Successor. Afterwards, that he might avoid being made a Bishop, he betook himself to Alexandria, and there studied Philosophy. Returning from thence to Antioch, he conversed with Flaccillus, Euphronius's Successor, and was at length promoted to the See of Alexandria by Eusebius Bishop of Constantinople. But he went thither no more, because Athanasius was so much beloved by the people of Alexandria. He was therefore sent to Emisa. But when the Inhabitants of that City rais'd a Sedition at his Ordination, (for he was reproach'd, as being a person studious of, and exercis'd in the Mathematicks,) he fled from thence, and went to Laodicea, to Gregorius, who hath related so many passages concerning him. When this Georgius had brought him to Antioch, he procured him to be sent back again to Emisa by Flaccillus and Narcissus. But he afterwards underwent another accusation; for being an adherent to Sabellius's Principles. Georgius writes at large concerning his \*Ordination: \* Or, Restoration, And in fine adds, that the Emperor, in his Expedition against the Barbarians, took him along with him, and that miracles were wrought by him. But hitherto we have recorded what Georgius hath related concerning Eusebius Emisenus.

(a) Sozomen (in his third book, chap. 6.) explains this Passage in Socrates; where he speaks thus concerning Eusebius Emisenus: ἐν τῇ δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ τῷ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παιδείας ἐκμαθὼν λόγους, &c. i. e. from his childhood (according to the custom of his own Country) he learned the sacred Scriptures by heart. Therefore the Boys of Edessa got by heart the books of sacred Scripture, according to the usage of their Ancestors. Indeed, Ecclesiastick Writers do attest, that the Edessens were most ardent lovers of the Christian Religion. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

That the Bishops convened at Antioch upon Eusebius Emisenus's refusal [of the Bishoprick] of Alexandria, ordained Gregorius, and altered the Expressions of the Nicene Faith.

**B**UT when Eusebius, who had been chosen Bishop of Alexandria at Antioch, was afraid to go thither, they then propos'd Gregorius to be ordained Bishop of Alexandria. And having done this, they alter'd the \* Creed, \* Or, the finding Faith,



finding fault indeed with nothing [that had been determined] at Nice; (a) but in reality [their design was] to subvert and destroy the *Homoousian* Faith, by their continual assembling of Synods, and by their publishing sometimes one, sometimes another form of the Creed; that so by degrees [all persons] might be (b) perverted to the *Arian* Opinion. Moreover, how these things were done [by them,] we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But the Epistle M. S. has they publish'd concerning the Faith runs thus. *giving the beginning to a pretext by their continual, &c.]* and so Epiphanius. *Schol. read it, as from his Version appears. Valef.*

(b) In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [fall into.] Valef.

We have neither been Arius's Followers: (for how should we that are Bishops be the Followers of a Presbyter?) Nor have we embraced any other Faith, than what was from the Beginning set forth. But, being made Inquirers into, and Examiners of his Faith, we have (c) admitted and entertained, rather than followed him. And this you will understand from what shall be said. For we have learned from the Beginning to believe in one *supream* God, the Maker and Preserver of all things, as well intelligible as sensible. And in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all ages, existing together with the Father that begat him; by whom all things visible and invisible were made: who in the last days, according to the Father's good pleasure, descended, and assumed flesh from the Holy Virgin; and when he had compleatly fulfilled all his Father's will, he suffered and arose, and ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father: and he shall come to judge the Quick and Dead, and continues a King and God ever. We believe also in the Holy Ghost. And (if it be requisite to add this) we also believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting. and entertained in the Jerusalem Synod, but his Followers only. For Arius himself was dead long before. Should any one maintain, that these Words of the Bishops of the Antiochian Council are to be understood of Arius himself, then I will answer, that the Jerusalem Synod is not meant here, but some other more ancient Synod, which admitted Arius to communion: for the Eusebian party had done that before the Synod of Jerusalem, as Athanasius attests, in his Book de Synodis, not far from the beginning. Valef.

Having written these things in their first Epistle, they sent them to [the Bishops] throughout every City. But, when they had continued sometime at Antioch, condemning as it were this [their former] Epistle, they again publish another, in these very words.

#### Another Exposition [of Faith.]

Agreeable to Evangelick and Apostolick tradition, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Framer and Maker of all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, God, by whom all things were made: begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only of Only, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord: the Living Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the True Light, the Way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate: immutable and inconvertible: the most express Image of *Essence.* *mage of the Father's Deity, \* Substance, Power, Council, and Glory: the First begotten of every Creature: † Who was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, according as 'tis said in the Gospel: And the Word was God, by whom all things were made, and in whom all things have subsisted. Who in the last days came down from Heaven, and was born of the Virgin according to*

the Scriptures. And was made Man, the Mediator of God and Men, the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of Life, as he himself says, \* For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. Who suffer'd for us, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into the Heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory and power, to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, who is given to Believers in order to their Consolation, Sanctification, and Perfection: according as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his Disciples, saying, † Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: to wit, of the Father being truly the Father, and of the Son being truly the Son, and of the Holy Ghost being truly the Holy Ghost: which terms are not simply or insignificantly \* made use of, but they do accurately manifest the proper and peculiar Person, Glory, and Order of each of those that are named. So that they are three in person, but in consent one. (d) We therefore holding this Faith, in the presence of God and of Christ, do anathematize all manner of heretical and ill Opinions. And if any one shall teach (contrary to the sound and true Faith of the Scriptures,) saying, that there is, or was, a time, or an age, (e) before the Son of God [was begotten;] let him be Anathema. And if any one says, that the Son is a Creature, as one of the Creatures, or that he is a \* Branch as one of the Branches; and [shall not hold] every one of the foresaid Points according as the sacred Scriptures have set them forth: Or if any one teaches or preaches any other thing than what we have received, let him be Anathema. For we do truly, (f) clearly believe and follow all things delivered by the Prophets and Apostles in the sacred Scriptures, and holding it from the beginning to the end:] which ought not to have been omitted. Hilarius (in his Book de Synodis) has translated this form of the Creed into Latin; in which Version of his, these Words occur. Valef.

(e) I corrected this place by the assistance of the Florentine M. S. wherein it is written thus [πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, before the Son of God.] The Verb [γενόμενος, was begotten] which preceded, is to be understood here. In Athanasius's Book de Synodis, the reading is [πρὸ τοῦ ἡνικάνηκεν, before he was begotten.] But our reading pleases us better, because it comes nearer the sense of the Arians: who asserted that the Son of God was made. Valef.

(f) In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [ἐκ φόβου, and with fear:] 'Tis also in Athanasius, and in Hilarius's Version. Valef.

Such were the Expositions of the Faith, [published] by those at that time convened at Antioch: to which also Gregorius (altho' he had not then made his Entry into Alexandria, yet) subscribed as a Bishop of that City. The Synod at that time assembled in Antioch, having done these things, and made some other Canons, was dissolved. The state of the publick affairs in the Empire hapned to be disturb'd at the very same time also. A nation (they are called The Franci) made an incursion into the Roman Territories in Gallia. At the same time also, there were terrible earthquakes in the East: (g) especially at Antioch, which City was shaken thereby [continually] for the space of one whole year. free from this earth-quake. For so 'tis recorded in those incomparable Fasti Consulares, (which Sirmondus has published under the name of Idatius;) in these words: Marcellino & Probinus Cons. His consulibus pugna facta est cum gente Francorum a Constante Augusto in Galliis. Et ipso anno terra motus fuit ad orientem per totum annum præter Antiochiam: i. e. in the consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, there was a fight between the Nation of the Franci and Constant Augustus in the Gallia's. And in the same year there was an earthquake in the East throughout the whole year, except at Antioch. Valef.



## CHAP. XII.

*How, after Eusebius's Death, the People of Constantinople restored Paulus to his See again. And that the Arians made choice of Macedonius.*

year of Christ 356. *Gregorius*, concerning whom *Socrates* speaks here, was brought to *Alexandria* by *Balacius* the Captain, and *Philagrius* Prefect of *Egypt*, as *Athanasius* relates, in his *Epistle ad Solitar*. But *Athanasius* departed from *Alexandria* before their arrival, and went to *Rome*, whither he had been invited by Pope *Julius's* Letters. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Athanasius's* *Apology* concerning his own escape, about the close of it. Where *Athanasius's* Words are these: *τὸ ἔσθ' ἔστι νύκτις ἡ, καὶ τὰ λατὶ τινες ἐπαυρῶντιζον προσδοκῶντες συνδ-  
ξεως*, i. e. *it was now night, and some of the people lay in the Church all  
night, a communion being expected.* But in his *Apologetic* to the Empe-  
ror *Constantius*, he shews manifestly that *Syrianus* made this irruption  
in the night, and not in the evening, as *Socrates* here says. *Valeſ.*

(c) Our *Socrates* does mistake here also. For *Eusebius of Nicomedia* did not send Embassadors to Pope *Julius*, to incite him against *Athanasius*, after the Council at *Antioch*, but a long time before. But when the Presbyters sent by *Athanasius* had confuted *Eusebius's* Embassadors in all points before *Julius*, at length *Eusebius's* Messengers referred the decision of the whole matter to *Julius*. *Julius* therefore, according to the request of the Embassadors, wrote Letters, both to *Athanasius*, and also to *Eusebius* and the rest of *Athanasius's* adversaries, by which he invited them to an Ecclesiastick judicature at *Rome*. But this was done before the Council at *Antioch*, as *Athanasius* informs us, (in his second Apologetick against the Arians,) and *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, (in his Epistle to the Bishops convened in the Council at *Antioch*.) This Epistle of *Julius's* *Athanasius* has inserted at the 739th page of his works, Edit. Paris. 1627. Moreover, *Socrates's* relation here may be refuted also by these arguments. For, if these things had been done after the Council at *Antioch*, not only *Eusebius*, but the whole Synod would have sent an Embassy, and Letters, to *Julius*. Besides, it would have been altogether ridiculous and unseemly, after the matter was determined in a Council, and put in execution, (*Athanasius* being now expelled, and *Gregorius* put into his See,) to write to *Julius*, that he would be judge, and remove the Controversie in order to its being discuss'd before him; as if the matter were still wholly undetermined. *Sozomen* (Book 3. Chap. 7.) has followed *Socrates's* mistake in this relation. *Vale!*

**B**UT *Eusebius* could never understand what *Julius* had determined concerning *Athanasius*. For having survived the Synod some small time, he died. Wherefore the people of *Constantinople* introduce *Paulus* into the Church again. But at the same time the *Arians* ordain *Macedonius*, in the ( *a* ) Church dedicated to *Paul*. And this was done by those, who formerly had been assistants to *Eusebius* that disturber of all things, but were then his successors in power and authority. These are their names, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum* in the *Upper Mysia*, *Valens* of *Mursa* in the *Upper Pannonia*. Indeed, *Ursacius* and *Valens* changing their Opinions afterwards, delivered their penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop ; and having consented to the *Homoöusian* Opinion, were admitted to Communion. But at that time they were hot maintainers of the *Arian* Religion, and \* framed no trivial commotions against the Churches. One whereof was that made by *Macedonius* in the City of *Constantinople*. For from this intestine War amongst the *Christians* there hapned continual Seditions in the City, and many persons, oppressed by the violence of what was done, lost their lives.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Concerning the Slaughter of Hermogenes the Lieutenant-General, and how Paulus was for that reason turned out of the Church again.*

BUT, what was done came to the hearing of *Constantius* the Emperor, who then made his residence at *Antioch*. Therefore he orders *Hermogenes* the Lieutenant-General, (whom he had sent into the Coasts of *Thracia*,) that he should incidently pass through [*Constantinople*,] and turn *Paulus* out of that Church. He arriving at *Constantinople*, disturbed the whole City, by endeavouring to cast out the Bishop by force. For there immediately followed a Sedition amongst the people, and all persons were ready to defend [the Bishop.] But when *Hermogenes* with much earnestness endeavour'd to expel *Paulus* by his Military forces, the Populace being exasperated (as in such like cases it usually happens,) made a more inconsiderate and rash attack against him. In the first place they set his House on fire: then, having (a) drawn him about by the heels, they killed him. These things were done in the Consulate of the *Two Augusti*, *Constantius* being then the third, and *Constans* the second time *Consul*. At the same time, *Constans*, having vanquish'd the nation of the *Franci*, made them enter into a league with the *Romans*. But the Emperor *Constantius* being informed of *Her-*

*Books of his History which are lost.* But he has by the by mentioned it in his 14th Book, pag. 23. *Edit. Paris. 1636.* Libanius means this tumult in his *Oration*, entitled *Bacchanals*, and says it was a most violent Seditious. It hapned in the third Consulate of *Constantius*, and in *Constant's* second; which was the year of Christ 342. as it is recorded in *Euseb. Idat. Valesf.* See *Valesfius's Annotat. on Amm. Marcellinus*, page 47.



Constantinus. *Hermogenes's murder, rode post on horse-back from Antioch, and arrived at Constantinople: out of which City he expelled Paulus. He also punish'd that City, taking away more than forty thousand [bushels] of that bread-corn daily distributed, which was his Father's donation [to those Citizens.] For before that time, near eighty thousand [(b) Bushels] of wheat, brought thither from the City of Alexandria, were bestowed [amongst the Inhabitants of that City.] Moreover, he deferr'd the constituting of Macedonius Bishop of that City. (c) For he was incens'd against him, not only because he had been ordained contrary to his will, but also in regard upon account of the seditions rais'd betwixt him and Paulus, Hermogenes his Lieutenant, and many other persons had been slain. Having therefore given him permission to gather assemblies of the people in that Church wherein he was ordained, he departed again to Antioch.*

(b) It is doubtful, whether Socrates means here bushels of Bread-corn, or Loaves of Bread. The Author of the Life of Paulus Bishop of Constantinople (which occurs in Photius's Bibliotheca, pag. 1421. Edit. David. Hoeft. bell. 1611.) supposed, that in this place Loaves were meant. For thus he says: *ἡν δὲ τὸ ὅλον τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἡμερῶν ἀποτο μύρια ἑξήκοντα* i.e. the whole donation was, eighty thousand loaves daily [distributed.] But I am rather of opinion, (and so Epiphanius Scholasticus understands it,) that Bushels are meant. For the term *σῖτος*, of wheat imports bushels of wheat, rather than loaves. Besides, how could eighty thousand loaves be sufficient for that multitude of Citizens which inhabited Constantinople? Should any one wonder at this vast quantity of bread-corn usually distributed every day, let him hear Eusebius in the Life of Aedius, pag. 38. Edit. Comm. 1596. thus: *ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ ἡμῶν καίτοις, &c.* i.e. But in our age, neither the Ships laden with Corn which come from Egypt, nor that vast quantity of Wheat brought out of all Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, and the rest of the Provinces (upon the consideration of tribute) is sufficient to fill and satisfy that drunken multitude of people, which Constantine (by emptying of other Cities) hath transported to Byzantium. Concerning this prescript about bread-corn for the supply of Constantinople, (appointed by Constantine of blessed memory, and afterwards increased by Theodosius,) See the second Law in Cod. Theod. de frumento urbis Constantinop. Valef.

(c) From the Authority of the Allat. M. S. this place is to be amended, thus; *ἀπὸ ἰστοῦ καὶ καὶ αὐτῶν, ὃ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ γράμην, &c.* For he was incens'd against him, not only because he had been ordained, &c. Thus also the reading is in the Life of Paulus Constantinop. Valef.

C H A P. XIV.

That the Arians, having removed Gregorius from [the See of] Alexandria, put Georgius into his place.

(a) Socrates mistakes here also. For Gregorius (who was created Bishop of Alexandria in the Synod of Antioch) held that Bishoprick six years, until the Council of Serdica: in which he was deposed, and excommunicated, as it is related in the Synodical Epistle of that Council. And when he had survived this sentence about six months, he died, as Athanasius attests, in Epistol. ad Solitar. Theodoret has corrected this mistake of Socrates's and Sozomen's, in Book 2. of his Eccles. Hist. Georgius was made Bishop of Alexandria by the Arians long after Gregorius, in the year of Christ 356. Valef.

(b) This place was corrupted by a transposition of the words; which gave Translators an occasion of mistaking here. But the words might have been easily put into their order, after this manner; *ὡς μισήσαντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπρησμόν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ ὅτι, &c.* as being a person odious, both upon account of his burning the Church; and also because, &c. Socrates does here assign two reasons, why the Arians deprived Gregorius of his Bishoprick. The first is, because Gregorius was a person hated by all Men, upon account of his burning Dionysius's Church; which Socrates has mentioned before; Athanasius also takes notice of it, in Epist. ad Solitar. The other reason is, because he seemed not zealous enough in defending their opinion. The same is confirmed by Sozomen, Book 3. Chap. 7. Eccles. Hist. Valef.

C H A P. XV.

How Athanasius and Paulus going to Rome, and being fortified with Bishop Julius's Letters, recovered their own Sees again.

Moreover, Athanasius with much difficulty at last gat over into Italy. Constantine the youngest of Constantine's sons had then the sole power in the Western parts [of the Empire,] his brother Constantine having been killed by the Soldiers, as we have before related. (a) At the same time also Paulus Bishop of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra a City of Galatia the Less, and Lucius of Adrianople, having been accused, one for one thing, another for another, and driven from their Churches, arrived at the Imperial City Rome. They acquaint therefore Julius Bishop of Rome with their case. He (in regard the Church of Rome's privilege is such,) fortified them with his Letters, where-in he made use of a great deal of liberty, and sent them back into the East, (b) restoring to each of them his own See, and sharply rebuking those who had inconsiderately deposed them. They, having left Rome, and confiding in Bishop Julius's Letters, possess themselves of their own Churches, and send the Letters to those whom they were written to. These persons having received [Julius's Letters,] look'd upon his reprehension as an injury and reproach to them. And having assembled themselves in a (c) Synod called at Antioch, they most severely rebuke Julius in a Letter written by the joyn't consent of them all, making it apparent, that it ought not to be determined by him, if they should have a mind to expel some [Bishops] from their Churches. For [they said] that they did not make any opposition when Novatus was by \*them ejected out of the Church. Thus \*The Church of Rome. See what Sozomen. Eccles. Hist. here says book 6. is false, to wit, that Paulus was at Rome at the same time that Athanasius was there. Indeed, Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra was at Rome together with Athanasius; as we are informed from Julius's Letter to the Eastern Bishops; which is also ascertained from Marcellus's Libel which he presented to Julius. But Julius speaks not a word concerning Paulus in his foresaid Epistle; whom he would doubtless have mentioned, had he been then at Rome with Athanasius and Marcellus. Valef.

(b) Julius restored not one of the forementioned Bishops, not Athanasius himself, to his own See. For, in the Roman Synod, wherein Athanasius's and Marcellus's cause was discuss'd, Athanasius was only pronounced innocent, and admitted to communion by Julius and the rest of the Bishops. But against Athanasius's accusers, who refused to make their personal appearance in judgment, nothing was determined; as I have observed out of Athanasius in my first Book of Ecclesiastick Observations. Nor was Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, or Lucius restored before the Synod of Serdica. Valef.

(c) After the Roman Synod, wherein Athanasius was pronounced innocent, when Julius had sent a Letter by Gaius to the Eastern Bishops, who had met in a Synod at Antioch at such time as the Church was dedicated; (see Chap 8. of this Book,) the Eastern Bishops, in order to their answering of this Letter, were convened again at Antioch in the year of Christ 343. And they wrote back an elegant and sharp Letter to Julius, the sense whereof Sozomen relates, Book 3. Chap. 8. Valef.

(d) What Socrates here says, to wit, that Athanasius returned at that time to Alexandria, is false. For Athanasius went not back to that City, till after the Council at Serdica, that is, till after the year of Christ 348. Valef.

thereof;



Constantinus.

thereof; it is requisite that we speak briefly concerning these things. Indeed, God, the Judge of truth it self, only knows the true causes hereof. But, that such accidents do frequently and usually happen, when the multitude is divided into intestine factions, is a thing not unknown to prudent persons. In vain therefore do *Athanasius's* slanderers attribute the cause hereof to him; and especially *Sabinus* a Bishop of the *Macedonian* Heresie. Who (had he considered with himself, how great mischiefs the *Arians* have wrought against *Athanasius* and the rest that embrace the *Homoousian* Faith; or (e) how many complaints the Synods convened upon *Athanasius's* account have made thereof, or what *Macedonius* himself, (f) that Arch-heretick, has practised throughout all the Churches) would either have been wholly silent; or, if he had spoken any thing, (g) would instead of these [reproaches] have highly commended [*Athanasius*]. But now, having [designedly] passed all these things over in silence, he falsely accuses the affairs [done by *Athanasius*]. Nor has he made the least mention of that Arch-heretick [*Macedonius*], being desirous wholly to conceal his tragick and audacious villanies. And (which is much more wonderful,) he has not spoken ill of the *Arians*, whom notwithstanding he abhorred. But the Ordination of *Macedonius* (whose Heresie he was a follower of,) he has silently concealed. For had he mention'd that, he must necessarily have recorded his impieties, which those things done at that Ordination do sufficiently demonstrate. But thus much concerning this person.

(e) We follow *Christopherson's* and *Sir Henry Savil's* reading here; which is, *ἡ ὁσα αὖ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνατολίῳ, &c.* or how many complaints the Synods, &c. *Valef.* (f) In the *Allat. M. S.* the reading is, *ἡ ἀποστολὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνατολίῳ, &c.* i.e. his [that is, *Sabinus's*] Arch-heretick. *Valef.*

(g) The amendment of this place we owe to the *Allat. M. S.* wherein 'tis thus written [*ἐν ὧν αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνατολίῳ, would instead of these reproaches,*] &c. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XVI.

*That the Emperor sent an Order by Philippus Præfect of the Prætorium, that Paulus should be ejected and banished, and that Macedonius should be enstalled Bishop in his See.*

(a) *Socrates* (as also *Sozomen*) is mistaken here. For *Paulus* was by *Philippus* Præfect of

the *Prætorium* banished not to *Theffalonica*, but to *Cucusus*, and was there strangled by the *Arians*; as *Athanasius* informs us, in his *Epist. ad Solitar.* But these things hapned a long while after this, to wit, when *Constantinus Augustus* was dead, in the year of our Lord 350, or 351. as *Baronius* will have it, who long since perceived this error of *Socrates's*. Further, 'tis ealie to confute *Socrates* out of *Athanasius*. For *Athanasius* relates, that *Philippus* (after he had banished *Paulus*, and caused him to be cruelly murdered by the *Arians*) was within less than a year deposed from his Prefecture, deprived of his Goods, and ended his life miserably. Now, *Philippus* was Consul in the year of Christ 348, and on the year following he bore the Office of Præfect of the *Prætorium*, as may be collected from the Laws extant in the *Theodosian Code* directed to him. The same *Philippus* was after this sent Ambassador by *Constantinus* to *Magnentius*, a little before the fight at *Mursa*, as *Zosimus* relates in his second Book. Which hapned in the year of Christ 351. Let us therefore suppose that *Philippus* died on the year following, which was the year of Christ 352. Then *Paulus* might have been banished by him in the year of our Lord 351; which is *Baronius's* opinion. And from this year *Macedonius's* Presidency over the *Constantinopolitan* Church must be begun. *Valef.*

to circumvent *Paulus* by subtlety. He keeps the Emperor's Order conceal'd in his own possession: and, pretending to take care of some publick affairs, he goes to the publick Bath, called *Zeuxippus*. Thither he sends for *Paulus* with a great shew of respect and honour, [acquainting him] that he must necessarily come to him, and he came. After he was come upon his being sent for, the Præfect immediately shews him the Emperor's Order. The Bishop patiently bore his being condemned without having his cause heard. But the Præfect, fearing the rage of the multitude that stood round; (for great numbers of persons had flock'd together about the publick Bath, [whose meeting there was caused] by the report of a suspicion) orders one of the Bath doors to be open'd, (b)

through which *Paulus* was carried into the Imperial Palace, put into a ship provided for that purpose, and forthwith sent away into banishment. The Præfect commanded him to go to (c) *Theffalonica* the chief City of *Macedonia*, wherein *Paulus* had had his original extract from his Ancestors: in that City [he order'd him] to reside, and gave him the liberty of going to other Cities also, [to wit] those in *Illyricum*: but he forbade his passage into the Eastern parts [of the Empire.] *Paulus* therefore being (contrary to expectation) cast out of the Church, and at the same time also [driven] from the City, was immediately carried away. But *Philippus* the Emperor's Præfect went forthwith from the publick Bath into the Church. *Macedonius* was with him, being \* thrown into his presence by an engine as it were; he sat with the Præfect in his chariot, and was exposed to the view of all men: they were surrounded by a military Guard with their swords drawn. [Upon sight hereof] a dread forthwith seiz'd the multitude: and all of them, as well the *Homoousians* as the *Arians*, flockt to the Church; every one earnestly endeavouring to get in thither. When the Præfect together with *Macedonius* came near the Church, an irrational fear seized both the multitudes and also the soldiers themselves. For, because the persons present were so numerous, that there could be no passage made for the Præfect to bring in *Macedonius*, the soldiers began to thrust away the crowd of people by violence. But when the multitude wedg'd together in a crowd, could not possibly retire by reason of the places narrowness; the soldiers, supposing that the multitude made a resistance, and designedly stopp'd the passage, made use of their naked swords, as if they had been engaging an enemy, and began to cut those that stood in the way. There were destroy'd therefore, as report says, about three thousand one hundred and fifty persons: some of whom the soldiers slew; others were killed by

Constantinus.

(b) At this place there was wanting this whole line [*ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπαχθεί, through which [Paulus] was carried into the Imperial Palace*] which I have made good from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian M. S.* In *Leo Allatius's M. S.* there is something more added here, after this manner: *συνεληλυθῶσαν περὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἐν φήμῃς ἀποπτοῦ συληθῆναι, ἐμφορῶναι διὰ τὸ εἶναι πᾶσι τὰς ἑξέτας τὸν δῆμον, μίαν τὴν αὐτῇ συνελεῖν, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀνδρὶ ἀχθεί. ὁ Παῦλος, &c.* i.e. They had flockt about the publick Bath, being gathered together there by the report of a suspicion; because the people environed all the passages out, he ordered one of the Bath doors to be opened, through which *Paulus* was conveyed into the Imperial Palace, &c. *Valef.*

(c) How *Philippus* could banish *Paulus* to *Theffalonica*, I see not. For *Socrates* relates these things as done whilst *Constantinus* was yet living, and before the Council of *Serdica*. But at that time *Theffalonica* was under the Government of *Constantinus Augustus*. How therefore could *Philippus* (who was Præfect of the *Prætorium* to *Constantinus*) banish *Paulus* to *Theffalonica*, and permit him to live in the Cities of *Illyricum*; but wholly forbid him entering into the Eastern parts [of the Empire.] *Valef.*

\* See *Euseb. Eccles. History*, Book 6. Chap. 43. Note (c.) Pag. 113.

Churches



by the Crowd. After such brave exploits as these, *Macedonius*, as if he had done no mischief at all, but were clear and guiltless of what had hapned, was seated in the Episcopal Chair by the Præfect, rather than by the Ecclesiastick Canon. Thus therefore did *Macedonius* and the *Arians* take possession of Churches by so great and numerous slaughters of men. At the same time also, the Emperor built (d) *The Great Church*, which is now called *Sophia*. It was joyned to that Church named *Irene*, which, being before a little one, the Emperor's Father had very much beautified and enlarged. And both of them are to be seen at this present time, encompassed within one and the same wall, and called by the name of one Church.

(d) This Great Church was consecrated by Eusebius Bishop of Constantinople, (he that before had been Bishop of *Nicomedia*) if we may credit *Cedrenus*. For at the ninth year of *Constantius* he writes thus: *ὁ συνέλεξε τὴν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ κωνσταντίας, &c. i. e. And Eusebius consecrated the Church of God, called the Great Church, which was finished by Constantius, according to the order of Constantine the Great in his Will. And he brought the reliques of the holy Martyr Pamphilus, and those of his Companions, Theodulus, Porphyrius, and Paulus, from Antioch, and deposited them therein. But Cedrenus mistakes in his notation of the time. For if this Consecration were performed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, it must be placed on the third or fourth year of Constantius, at which time Eusebius governed the See of Constantinople. The same Cedrenus relates, that this Church, being afterwards ruined, and re-edified by Constantius, was consecrated by Eudoxius. Valef.*

## C H A P. XVII.

That Athanasius, being afraid of the Emperor's Menaces, returned to Rome again.

AT the same time, there was another false accusation patcht together against *Athanasius* by the *Arians*, who invented this occasion for it. The \* Father of the *Augusti* had heretofore given a yearly allowance of Bread-corn to the Church of *Alexandria* for the relief of those that were indigent. It was reported by the *Arians*, that *Athanasius* had usually sold this Bread-corn for money, and had converted the money to his own gain. The Emperor therefore, having given credit to this report, threaten'd *Athanasius* with death. He, being made sensible of the Emperor's menaces, made his escape, and absconded. But when *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* understood what the *Arians* had done against *Athanasius*, having also received *Eusebius's* Letter who was now dead, he (a) invites *Athanasius* to come to him; being informed of the place where he lay concealed. At the same time arrived the (b) Letter, which those [Bishops] that before that had been

(a) Socrates does here confound all things, and repeats the same things twice, as if they had been done again. For he says that *Athanasius* fled to *Rome* twice. The same is asserted by *Baronius* (in his *Annals*) by *Petavius* (in his *Rationarium Temporum*), and by *Blondellus* in his *Book de primatu*. But we have sufficiently refuted this mistake, in our first *Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*, Chap. 6. *Socrates* makes the same mistake, in his asserting that *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* came twice to *Rome*. Moreover, *Julius* received *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia's* Letter, before that Council of *Antioch*, which was held at the Consecration of the *New Jerusalem*, as we remarked before. And at the same time he invited *Athanasius* and his adversaries to *Rome*, in order to the discussion of their cause, as 'tis manifest from *Athanasius's* relation. Valef.

(b) The Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch* at the Consecration, having received *Julius's* Letter written to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, (in which he invited him and the rest of the *Eusebians* to *Rome*, in order to the having their cause discussed there on a set day, whereon a Council was there to be held:) detained *Julius's* Messengers (*Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*;) beyond the day appointed. Then, after they had held their Synod, they dismissed the Messengers, and gave them a Letter to *Julius*. Upon receipt whereof he wrote back that famous Letter, which *Athanasius* hath inserted, in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*; pag. 739, &c. Edit. Paris. 1627. Valef.

convened at *Antioch*, wrote to him. Another (c) Letter also was sent to him by the Bishops in *Egypt*, informing him, that those things ob-

jected against *Athanasius* were false. These Letters so directly contradicting one another, having been sent to *Julius*, he returned an answer to those [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*, wherein he (d) blamed them, first for the bitterness of their Letter: then [he told them] they had done contrary to the Canons, because they had not called him to the Synod; it being commanded by the Ecclesiastick Rule, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of *Rome's* sentiment. [He complained] also, that they had clandestinely adulterated the Faith. And moreover, that what was heretofore done at *Tyre*, had been fraudulently and corruptly transacted, in regard the Memorials of the Acts done at *Mareotes* had been made up of one side only. Further, that what had been objected concerning *Arsenius's* murder, was apparently demonstrated to have been a false accusation. These, and such like passages as these, *Julius* wrote at large to the [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*. Moreover, we had inserted here the Letters to *Julius*, and his answer also; had not the prolixity thereof hindred that design of ours. But *Sabinus*, a follower of the *Macedonian* Heresie, whom we have mention'd before, has not put *Julius's* Letters into his Collection [of the Acts] of Synods. Although, he has not left out that [Epistle] written from those [convened] at *Antioch* to *Julius*. But this is usually done by *Sabinus*. For, such Letters as either make no mention at all of, or reject the term *Homoousios*, those [Epistles, I say,] he carefully inserts: but the contrary hereto he voluntarily and on set purpose omits. Thus much concerning these things. Not long after this, *Paulus* pretending a journey to *Corinth*, arrived in *Italy*. Both the [\* Bishops] therefore make their condition known to the Emperor of those parts.

(c) He means the Synodical Epistle, which the Bishops of *Egypt* wrote to all the Bishops every where: which is inserted in the first place by *Athanasius* in his forecited *Apology* pag. 722. Edit. ut prius. *Julius*, speaks concerning this Synodical Epistle, in that Letter he wrote to the Eastern Bishops convened at *Antioch*: ἐγγράφον δὲ καὶ πλεῖστον, &c. Moreover, many Bishops (says he) wrote from *Egypt* and from other Provinces, in defence of *Athanasius*. Valef.

(d) I read [ἐμμέλειτο, he blamed] not [ἐπέμειλετο, he sent:] Sir Henry Savil hath mended this place, in the Margin of his Copy, and made it agreeable to our reading. In the *Allat. M. S.* this place is written thus: ἐπεμείνετο πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπαχθὲς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς; i. e. in the first place he found fault with the bitterness of their Epistle. This Letter of *Julius's* is still extant, preserved for us by *Athanasius*, in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*: pag. 739, &c. Edit. ut prius. In that Letter *Julius* reprehends the Insolency and Pride, which the Eastern Bishops had used in their Letters to him. But, that which *Socrates* here adds (to wit, that *Julius* complained, because they had not invited him to the Synod: and that it was the Ecclesiastick rule, that nothing should be determined in the Church without the Bishop of *Rome's* consent:) is not to be found in that Letter. Indeed, *Julius* complains in that Epistle, because the Eastern Bishops (upon their receipt of his Letter, wherein he invited them to the Synod at *Rome*;) disregarding this his invitation, had ordained *Gregorius* Bishop in *Athanasius's* See. But he says not one word concerning this Ecclesiastick Rule or Canon. And yet *Sozomen* (Chap. 2. Book 10. *Eccles. History*) says the same that *Socrates* does here Valef.



Constantinus.

## C H A P. XVIII.

How the Emperor of the Western parts requested of his Brother, that such persons might be sent, as could give an account of [the Deposition of] Athanasius and Paulus. And, that they who were sent published another Form of the Creed.

\* That is, Paulus and Athanasius's sufferings. **B**UT the Emperor of the Western parts, being inform'd of \*their sufferings, (a) sympathized with them. And he sends a Letter to his Brother, signifying his desire to have three Bishops sent to him, who might give an account of Paulus's and Athanasius's Deposition. (b) The persons sent were Narcissus the Cilician, Theodorus the Thracian, Maris the Chalcedonian, and Stephens Marcus the Syrian. Who being arrived, would in no wise admit of a Congress with Athanasius. But, having suppress'd the Creed publish'd at Antioch, and patch'd up another Form, they presented it to the Emperor Constantine; the words whereof were these.

should be thus [*γυνὲς τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν, ἰδιονπαθεῖν*, understanding their sufferings, sympathized, with them:] for the word *ἰδιονπαθεῖν* has the same import with *συμπάθειν* to suffer with. But the reading may be [*διωπαθεῖν* was very much troubled at:] which Emendation is the best. *Valef.*

(b) Some few months after the Synod at Antioch, which was held at the Dedication, the Eastern Bishops made another form of the Creed, and sent it to Constantine Augustus, and to the Western Bishops, by Narcissus, Theodorus, Maris, and Marcus, as if it had been dictated by the Synod at Antioch. So Athanasius attests in his Book de Synod. Arimin. and Seleuc. This therefore hapned in the year of Christ 342. Socrates does evidently agree with Athanasius. For he says, that those Messengers sent by the Eastern Bishops suppressed that form of the Creed composed by the Antiochian Synod; and instead thereof produced another, which themselves had made. *Valef.*

## [Another Exposition of the Faith.]

\* Ephes. 3. 15. *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. And in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in Heaven and Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wisdom: and the Power, and the Life, and the True Light. Who in the last days was for our sakes made Man, and was born of the Holy Virgin. He was crucified and died: and was buried, and arose from the dead on the third day; and ascended into the Heavens, and was seated at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of World, to judge the Quick and Dead, and shall render to every person according to his works; whose Kingdom being perpetual, shall continue unto infinite ages. For He shall sit at the right hand of the Father, not only in this present World, but in that also which is to come. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost; that is, in the † Paraclete: whom [Christ] having promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into the Heavens, he sent him, || That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. By whom also those Souls who have sincerely believed in him, shall be sanctified. But those who say that the Son [existed] of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God; and that there was a time when he was not, these persons the Catholick Church hath determined to be Aliens [from it.]*

† Or Comforter.

|| See John 14. 26.

Having delivered these things, and exhibited many other to the Emperor, they departed without doing any thing further. Moreover, whilst there was hitherto an inseparable Communion between the Western and Eastern [Bishops,] another Heresie sprang up at Sirmium, which is a City of Illyricum. For Photinus, (who presided over the Churches there,) a person born in Galatia the Less, a Disciple of that \* Marcellus who had been deposed, following his Master's steps, asserted the Son [of God] to be a meer Man. But we will speak concerning these things in their due place. Constantinus. See Socrates, Book 1. Chap. 36.

## C H A P. XIX.

## Concerning the large Explanation [of the Faith.]

(a) **T**H E space of three years being completely passed after these things, the Eastern Bishops having again assembled a Synod, and composed another [Form of] Faith, send it to those in Italy, by Eudoxius at that time Bishop of Germanicia, Martyrius and Macedonius who was Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. This [Form of the] Creed, being written a great deal more at large, and containing many more additions than those Forms published before, was set forth in these very words. (a) Athanasius (in his Book de Synodis) says the same: his Words are these: *Ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μεταγενέτερος, συλλέγουσι τὸ*

*συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔτη τέσσα, &c. i. e. Afterwards, repenting as it were [of what they had done,] they again assemble a Synod of their own party, three years after. And they send Eudoxius, Martyrius, and Macedonius of Cilicia, and some other persons with them, into the parts of Italy; who carried along with them a prolix [form of] faith, &c. Baronius (in his Annals) says, that this second Council of Antioch (wherein that prolix form of faith was promulged) was convened in the year of Christ 344. And he thinks that he proves this from Athanasius and Socrates. But, in my judgment, he is much mistaken. For first, this expression of Athanasius's [*μετὰ ἔτη τέσσα, after three years*] signifies the fourth year, not the third. For it denotes, that years were now past. In this sense also Socrates understood the passage in Athanasius; in regard he says [*τρεῖς δὲ ἐν τοῖς μέσσοις διασποράντες χρόνοι, i. e. the space of three years being completely passed after these things*]. Since therefore that Synod of Antioch which had been convened at the Consecration, was held in the year of Christ 341; this second Antiochian Synod ought more truly to be placed on the year of Christ 345. Secondly, Athanasius does not say, that the second Antiochian Synod (wherein the large form of Faith was composed,) was assembled three years after that Synod at the Consecration had been convened there: but he says, it was assembled three years after Narcissus, Theodorus, Maris, and Marcus had brought that new form of Faith to Constantine Augustus, pretending it to have been composed at Antioch. Now, he says that this was done some few Months after the Antiochian Synod held at the Consecration. From whence that which I have said is made apparent; to wit, that that Council (in which the large form of Faith had been composed,) was convened in the year of Christ 345; not in the year 344, as Baronius would have it. *Valef.**

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, \* Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. And in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord; begotten of the Father before all ages. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in the Heavens and in Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, the Life, and the True Light. Who in the last days was for our sakes made Man, and was born of the holy Virgin: He was crucified, and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. He shall come at the end of the world to judge the Quick and the Dead, and shall render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual,*



perpetual, shall continue unto infinite Ages. For he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, not only in this present World, but in that also which is to come. We believe likewise in the Holy Ghost, that is, in the \* Prælete. Whom [Christ] having promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into Heaven he sent him † That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. By whom also those Souls that sincerely believe in him are sanctified. But those who assert that the Son [existed] of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a Time or Age when he was not, the Holy Catholick Church hath determined to be aliens [from it.] In like manner also, those that affirm there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God before [all] Ages, or that he is not Christ, or the Son of God, or that the same Person is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or that the Son is not begotten, or b) that the Father begat not the Son of his own Will and Pleasure; [these Persons] the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematizes. For neither is it safe to assert, that the Son [existed] of things which are not: in regard this is nowhere declared concerning him in the divinely inspired Scriptures. Nor have we learned, [that he had his essence] from any other pre-existing substance besides the Father, but that he was truly and genuinely begotten of the Father only. For the Divine Word teacheth, that there is one unbegotten [Principle which is] without beginning, [to wit] the Father of Christ. Nor must they (who without the Authority of Scripture do dangerously assert this [proposition,] there was a time when he was not) preconceive in their minds then any foregoing interval of time, but God only who begat him without time. For both times and Ages were made by him. (c. Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an Original, or unbegotten as the Father is. For no Father, or Son can properly be said to be co-inoriginate and co-unbegotten. But we have determined, that the Father, being alone without an Original and Incomprehensible hath incomprehensibly and in a manner to all men imperceptible begotten: but that the Son was begotten before Ages, and that he is not unbegotten like the Father, but hath a beginning, [to wit,] the Father who begat him. \* For the Head of Christ is God. Nor although we acknowledge three things and Persons, [to wit,] of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to the Scriptures; do we therefore make three Gods. For we know, that there is one only God, perfect of himself, unbegotten, inoriginate, and invisible, [that is,] the God and Father of the only begotten, who of himself only hath his own existence, and who only does abundantly and freely give existence to all other things. But, although we do assert that there is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only is unbegotten; we do not therefore deny Christ to be God before Ages, as the Followers of \* Paul of Samosata do, who affirm that after his incarnation he was by a promotion deified, whereas by Nature he was a meer Man. For we know that he (although he hath been made subject unto the Father and unto God, yet nevertheless) was begotten of God, and is by nature true and perfect God,

(c) In Robert Stephens's Edition of Socrates (Fol. 197. Edit. Paris. 1594.) these words [ὅτι μὴ συνάραχον, ἵνα συνάραχον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, νομισέον, i. e. Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an Original, or unbegotten as the Father is] are wanting. The said Robert Stephens's Edition does in the following Words also differ something from this Copy of the Creed here. Athanasius has inserted this whole Creed, in his book de Synod. Armin. & Seleuc. pag. 896, &c. Edit. Paris 1627. Athanasius's copy and this in Valesius's Edition of Socrates do agree: whom we have follow'd in our Version.

\* 1 Cor. 11. 3. \* For the Head of Christ is God. Nor although we acknowledge three things and Persons, [to wit,] of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to the Scriptures; do we therefore make three Gods. For we know, that there is one only God, perfect of himself, unbegotten, inoriginate, and invisible, [that is,] the God and Father of the only begotten, who of himself only hath his own existence, and who only does abundantly and freely give existence to all other things. But, although we do assert that there is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only is unbegotten; we do not therefore deny Christ to be God before Ages, as the Followers of \* Paul of Samosata do, who affirm that after his incarnation he was by a promotion deified, whereas by Nature he was a meer Man. For we know that he (although he hath been made subject unto the Father and unto God, yet nevertheless) was begotten of God, and is by nature true and perfect God,

\* See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. book 7. chap. 27. &c.

and was not afterwards made God of \* Man: But was for our sakes made Man of God, and that he hath never ceased to be God. Moreover, we anathematize and anathematize those who falsely stile him the bare and meer word of God, [and men: but affirm] that he has no real existence, but hath his Essence in another: One while [terming him] as it were that Word called by some (d) The Word outwardly utter'd by the mouth; at another, as it were the mental or internal Word: Being of Opinion, that before Ages he was not Christ, nor the Son of God, nor the Mediator, nor the Image of God: but that (e) he was made Christ, and the Son of God, from such time as he took our flesh from the Virgin four hundred years ago. For from that time they assert Christ to have had the beginning of his Kingdom, und that it shall have an end after the Consummation and the Judgment. Such manner of Persons as these are the followers of Marcellus and Photinus the Ancyro-Galatians: who reject the Eternal existence and deity of Christ, and his endless Kingdom, in like manner as do (f) the Jews, upon a pretence of seeming to constitute a monarchy. For we understand him to be, not barely The word of God outwardly uttered by the mouth, or his mental or internal Word, but the Living God the Word, and subsisting of himself; and the Son of God, and Christ: who existed with his Father and was conversant with him before Ages, not by fore knowledge only, and ministered unto him at the Creation of all things whether visible or invisible: But is the Word of God really subsisting, and is the God of God. For it is he to whom the Father said, \* Let us \* Gen. 1. make man in our Image, after our likeness: Who in his own Person appeared to the Fathers, gave the Law, and spake by the Prophets; and being at last made Man, he manifested his Father to all men, and reigns unto perpetual Ages. For Christ hath attained no new dignity: But we believe him to have been perfect from the beginning, and in all things like unto his Father. We also deservedly expel out of the Church those who affirm, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the same Person, impiously supposing the three names to mean one and the same Thing and Person; because by an incarnation they make the incomprehensible and impassible Father subject to be comprehended, and to suffer. Of which sort [of Hereticks] are those termed amongst the Romans (g) Patropassians, but

the Patropassians (or Patripassians) was very ancient, and far diffused. Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heresie upon Praxeas. The same was maintained by Hermogenes, whence they were termed Hermogeniani. After whom Noëtus maintained the same, who (says Epiphanius) lived 130 Years before his time: (See Epiphanius. Heres. 57.) From Noëtus they had the name of Noëtiani; and from Sabellius, Noëtus's Disciple, they were called Sabelliani. After whom succeeded Priscillianus in the same Heresie; from him

(g) The Heresie of the Patropassians (or Patripassians) was very ancient, and far diffused. Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heresie upon Praxeas. The same was maintained by Hermogenes, whence they were termed Hermogeniani. After whom Noëtus maintained the same, who (says Epiphanius) lived 130 Years before his time: (See Epiphanius. Heres. 57.) From Noëtus they had the name of Noëtiani; and from Sabellius, Noëtus's Disciple, they were called Sabelliani. After whom succeeded Priscillianus in the same Heresie; from him

Constans. *Εξ αὐτοῦ* renders it, *ex homine*, of Man.

(d) Instead of [ὡς τὸ προσκεκρυμένον λεγόμενον] it should be [ὡς τὸν προσκεκρυμένον, &c. and ὡς τὸν ἠνυστάθετον] as it is in the Allat. M.S. and in Athanasius, in his book de Synodis. By [λόσος προσκεκρυμένος] Philosophers mean, That word which is uttered by the mouth. Hilarius calls it Verbum prolativum. To which is opposed [ὁ ἀδιάθετος λόσος,] which modern Philosophers do term the word of the mind. Vales.

(e) By these words the Eastern Bishops mean, the Heresie of Marcellus Ancyranus, who asserted that Christ's Kingdom began from his Nativity, about four hundred years before that time; making use of a certain number for an uncertain. The Synodick Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at Serdica informs us hereof; which Epistle Hilarius has inserted, in his fragments. For these are their words in that Letter. Extitit namque temporibus nostris Marcellus, &c. i. e. For there hath risen up in our days one Marcellus of Galatia, the most execrable pest of all Hereticks, who with a sacrilegious mind, and impious mouth, and a wicked Argument, will needs set bounds to the perpetual, eternal, and timeless Kingdom of our Lord Christ, saying, that he began his reign 400 Years since, and shall end it at the Dissolution of this present World. Vales.

(f) We made good this place, by adding the Word [ἰσχυρίσας, the Jews:] which is not in Robert Stephens's Edit. but it occurs in Athanasius, and in the Allat. M.S. Vales.

(g) The Heresie of the Patropassians (or Patripassians) was very ancient, and far diffused. Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heresie upon Praxeas. The same was maintained by Hermogenes, whence they were termed Hermogeniani. After whom Noëtus maintained the same, who (says Epiphanius) lived 130 Years before his time: (See Epiphanius. Heres. 57.) From Noëtus they had the name of Noëtiani; and from Sabellius, Noëtus's Disciple, they were called Sabelliani. After whom succeeded Priscillianus in the same Heresie; from him they



they had the name of Priscillianists. The sum and substance of this Heresie, thus propagated by these succeeding assertors, of it, was this: They affirmed there was but one Person in the Deity, to wit the Father; that he only subsisted, and was the Maker of all Things; that he came not only into the World, and was incarnate, and did all things which we say were done by the Son. In order to the Exclusion of these Hereticks, the Aquileian Church added these two terms [invisible and impassible] to the first Article of the Creed; shewing by the first, that the Father was not incarnate, and by the second, that he was not crucified.

amongst us they are called \* Sabellians. For we know, that the Father, who sent, continued in the proper nature of his own immutable Deity: But the Son who was sent, fulfill'd the † Oeconomy of his incarnation. In like manner, we determine those to be Persons most impious and strangers to truth, who irreligiously assert, that Christ was begotten not by the will and pleasure [of the Father,] to wit, attributing to God an unwilling and involuntary necessity, as if he had begotten the Son by constraint: Because they have audaciously determined such things as these concerning the Father, which are contrary both to the common notions of God, and also to the sense and meaning of the Scripture given by Divine Inspiration. For we, knowing God to have free and plenary Power, and to be Lord of himself, do piously think, that he begat the Son voluntarily and of his own accord. Moreover, although with fear and reverence we do believe this which is spoken concerning him,

|| See Prov. 8. 22. The Eastern Bishops have here quoted the very word, of the Septuagint: And we render it accordingly. But in the English Version (which follows the Hebrew exactly) the Text is thus rendred; the Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.

|| The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, upon account of his Works: yet we suppose not, that the Son was made in the same manner with the rest of the Creatures and works made by him. For it is impious, and repugnant to the Ecclesiastick Faith, to compare the Creator, with the Works created by him, and to think that he hath the same manner of Generation with the things of a different nature from him. For the sacred Scriptures do teach us, that the one and alone-only-begotten Son was genuinely and truly begotten. But, although we do assert, that the Son is of himself, and that he doth live and subsist in like manner as the Father doth; yet we do not therefore separate him from the Father, imagining in our minds in a corporal manner any spaces or intervalls of place between their conjunction. For we believe that they are conjoyned without any intervening Medium, and without any space or distance, and that they cannot be separated one from the other: the

(b) Instead of [ὅλον αὐτὸν πᾶσι πατέρας] [we must necessarily read [ὅλον αὐτὸν πᾶσι πατέρας, the whole Father,] as it is in Athanasius: from whom the reading is to be made good in the words immediately following; thus; καὶ μόνον τοῖς πατέρας καὶ τοῖς ἀναπαυομένοις. He alone continually resting in his Father's bosom.

(b) whole Father embracing the Son in his bosom; and the whole Son hanging upon and cleaving close to the Father, in whose bosom he alone continually resteth. Believing therefore the most absolutely perfect and most holy Trinity, and asserting that the Father is God, and that the Son also is God; notwithstanding this, we do not acknowledge two, but one God, by reason of the Majesty of the Deity, and the one absolutely-entire conjunction of the Kingdom: the Father ruling over all things in general, and over the Son himself also: and the Son being made subject to the Father, but (excepting him) reigning over all things which were made after him and by him, and by his Father's will liberally bestowing the grace of the holy Spirit upon the Saints. For the sacred Scriptures have informed us, that the manner of the Monarchy which

is in Christ is thus manifested. We were necessitated to make a perfect explanation of these things at large (after the publication of our shorter form of the Creed,) not upon account of our excessive ambition: but that we might clear our selves from all strange suspicion concerning our sentiments, amongst such as are ignorant of our opinions: and that all persons inhabiting the Western parts might know both the impudent and audacious calumny of those who dissent from us, and also the Ecclesiastick sentiments of the Eastern [Bishops] concerning Christ, which is without violence confirmed by the testimony of the divinely inspired Scriptures, (i) amongst those whose minds are not depraved.

(i) Instead of [παρὰ τοῖς ἀδυσκόποις. i. e. amongst those whose minds are not [perverted, corrupted, or] depraved. Valef.

spōqas] the reading in the Allat. M. S. and Athanasius's Book de Synodis is this [παρὰ τοῖς ἀδυσκόποις. i. e. amongst those whose minds are not [perverted, corrupted, or] depraved. Valef.

## CHAP. XX.

### Concerning the Synod at Serdica.

(a) The Bishops in the Western parts [of the (a) This confession of faith (for so Athanasius calls it) the Embassadors of the Eastern Bishops presented to the Western Prelates assembled at Millaine. For some Bishops together with the Presbyters of the Church of Rome had gone thither, to intreat Constantius Augustus, that he would write to his brother Constantius about the assembling of a General Synod, in order to the determining of those dissensions in an Ecclesiastick Judicature, which had been raised in diverse Churches: thus we are informed by Athanasius in his Apology to Constantius. Moreover, when the Easterns had presented this draught of the Creed to those of the West, they requested them to subscribe it. But the Western Bishops made answer, that, as to what belonged to the Articles of Faith, the Nicene Creed was to them sufficient; to which nothing was to be added, nor any thing to be taken from it. And as concerning the condemnation of those Hereticks who were disallowed of in that confession, they requested of the Eastern Bishops Embassadors, that they would in the first place condemn the Arian Heresie. But, upon their refusal to do that, the Eastern Embassadors being angry went away from the Council; as Liberius relates, in his Epistle to the Emperor Constantius, in these words: Quæ est pax, Clementissime Imperator, &c. What peace is there, most Gracious Emperor, whenas there are four Bishops of their party, Demophilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius, and Martyrius, who above eight years since, when they would not condemn Arius's Heretical opinion at Millaine, departed from the Council in anger? notwithstanding, the Western Bishops condemned Photinus's Heresie in that Synod. But they pronounced no sentence against Marcellus, because he had before been judged clear from all manner of Heresie in the Roman Synod. In the same Synod Ursacius and Valens (who had lain under a suspicion of being Arians) having presented a Libel wherein they condemned Arius's perfidiousness and Photinus's Heresie, were admitted to communion, as the Synodick Epistle of the Ariminum Council informs us. The same is attested by Ursacius and Valens themselves, in another Libel afterwards presented to Julius Bishop of Rome, in these words: Item Anathema dicimus, &c. Also we anathematize those, who deny, that Christ is God and the Son of God from all eternity, according to our former Libel, which we presented at Millaine, &c. We thought good to be more large in these remarks of ours concerning the Millaine Synod, because the memory thereof is very obscure in the Ecclesiastick Annals. Dionysius Petavius is the first person that hath taken notice of this Synod, who (in his dissertation de duplici Synodo Sirmiensis) hath made many very learned observations concerning this Synod. But he hath mistaken the year whereon it was convened. For he says it was held in the year of Christ 347, a little before the Council of Serdica. Which can in no wise be true. Therefore Jacobus Sirmondus (in his second Diatriba, which he wrote against Petavius) has in this particular deservedly reproved him. Baronius (who affirms that the long draught of the Creed (which Socrates has recorded in the foregoing chapter) was drawn up at the Antiochian Synod in the year of Christ 344,) places this Embassie of the Eastern Bishops and the Millaine Council, on the same year also. But Sirmondus (in the forementioned Diatriba) assigns this Council to the year of Christ 346. Which opinion is in my judgment the truer. For, in the first place, Athanasius (in his Apologick to Constantius,) relates, that on the fourth year after his coming to Rome he was by Constantius Augustus summoned to Millaine, whither some Bishops were then gone. Now Athanasius came to Rome in the year of Christ 341. Secondly, Hilarius (in fragmentis) relates, that the Millaine Synod wherein Photinus was condemned) was held two years before Ursacius and Valens offered their Libel of satisfaction to Julius Bishop of Rome. For after he has recorded that Libel,



Libel, he adds these Words, *Hæc Epistola post biennium missa est, quam hæresis Photini à Romanis damnata est, i. e. This Letter was sent two years after the Romans had condemned Photinus's Heresie.* Since therefore Ursacius and Valens wrote that Letter in the year of Christ 349; as Petavius attests; the Millain Council must needs have been celebrated on the third year before that: that is, on the year of Christ 346. For that expression [ *post biennium, two years after* ] imports thus much, to wit, *on the third year after that; which Petavius did not consider.* Valef.

Constantine. Empire, ] both because (b) they were unskilled in the Greek language, and also in regard they understood not these things,

(b) Baronius does deservedly blame Socrates here, for his saying that the reason why the Western Bishops rejected this draught of the Creed was, because they understood not the Greek Tongue. As if there were not then many in Italy who were well skilled in the Greek language. Moreover, Theodorus Ledor has with good reason found fault with this cause of their refusal. For, instead of Socrates's Words here, he has substituted these; *ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, because of its manifest Blasphemy.* Valef.

amongst the Populace:) Paulus and Athanasius requested that another Synod might be convened, that both their cause, and also the matters of faith might be determined by an \* Oecumenical Synod: and they made it apparent, that they had been deposed for no other reason but this, that the Faith might be subverted. Another Oecumenical Synod therefore is summoned [to meet] at Serdica (which is a City of Illyricum,) by the determination of the two Emperors; the one of them requesting this by his Letters, and the other (to wit, the Emperor of the East) readily complying with him. (c) It was then the eleventh year from the death of the Father of the Augusti: Rufinus and Eusebius were Consuls, at such time as the Synod at Serdica was assembled. About three hundred Bishops of the Western parts met there, as (d) Athanasius attests. But from the Eastern parts Sabinius says there came but seventy, amongst which number Ischyrras, Bishop of Mareotes was recounted, whom they who had depos'd Athanasius, Ordained Bishop of that Country. Some of them pretended infirmity of body: others (e) complained of the shortness of the time that was set, in the year laying the blame thereof upon Julius Bishop of

of our Lord 347,) there are Ten years compleat. Therefore, if the Council of Serdica was convened in the eleventh year after Constantine's death, it must of necessity have been assembled after the twenty second day of May. Valef.

(d) Athanasius does not say, that about three hundred Bishops of the Western Churches met at the Council of Serdica. He only says this, that as well those who were present at the Council of Serdica, as those who subscribed the Synodick Epistle afterwards sent to them; also those who before the Council at Serdica had written Synodick Epistles in his behalf, out of Phrygia, Asia, and Iauria, were in all three hundred and forty. This passage of Athanasius's occurs in his second defence against the Arians, pag. 768; Edit. Paris. 1627. Moreover, the same Athanasius (in his Epistle ad Solitar. pag. 818.) does expressly attest, that the Bishops, who met at the Council of Serdica, as well those out of the Western as the Eastern parts, were no more than 170. His words are these: *συνέχρονται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, &c. There met therefore, both from the East and from the West, at the City of Serdica, 170 Bishops, neither more nor less.* In the *Mogunt. Edit.* after the Canons of the Synod of Serdica, there is this note; *Et subscripserunt, &c. i. e. and all the Bishops of divers Provinces and Cities subscribed, being in number 121.* Valef.

(e) In this place Socrates seems to have been mistaken, in referring those things to the Council of Serdica, which belong to the Roman Synod. For when Julius had invited the Eastern Bishops to a Synod at Rome, that Athanasius's case might there be inquired into; the Eastern Bishops refused to come thither, pretending amongst other reasons, the narrowness of the time set; as Julius informs us in his Epistle to the said Eastern Bishops, recorded by Athanasius, pag. 744. Indeed Socrates's following words, to wit [ *although there had passed*

a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned; and during which space Athanasius made his abode at Rome, &c.] do manifestly confirm what I have said. For Athanasius, invited by Julius's Letters, came to Rome; where he abode a whole year and six months expecting his Adversaries, and the Synod which had been summoned at Rome. Julius attest this, in his forequoted Epistle. pag. 748. Valef.

Rome: altho' there had passed a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned, and during which space Athanasius made his abode at Rome, expecting the meeting of the Synod. When therefore they were all convened at Serdica, the Eastern Bishops refused to come into the presence of the Western, saying, that they would not enter into discourse with them, unless they would banish Athanasius and Paulus from the convention. But when Protogenes Bishop of Serdica, and Hosius Bishop of Corduba (which is a City in Spain, as we said before) would by no means suffer

(f) Paulus and Athanasius to be absent [from the Synod, the Eastern Bishops] went away immediately. And returning to Philippopolis, a City of Thracia, they made up a Synod apart by themselves. Wherein they openly anathematized the term *Homoiousios*: and having (g) inserted the (b) Anomoiian opinion into their Epistles, they sent them about to all places. But the Bishops at Serdica in the first place condemned them for deserting [the Council.] Afterwards they divested Athanasius's Accusers of their dignities. And having confirmed that form of the Creed published at Nice, and rejected the term

\* Anomios, they made a more manifest publication of [the term]

† Homoiousios: concerning which they wrote Letters. and (as the others did) sent them about to all places. Moreover, both parties were of opinion, that they had done what was right and true; the Eastern Bishops [thought so,] because the Western [Prelates] had approved of and entertained those persons whom they had deposed: and the Western Bishops [were of that Opinion,] because they who had deposed these persons, fled away before their cause had been discussed, and because \* they were the prefer-

vers and defenders of the Nicene Faith, but † these had been so audacious as to adulterate (f) in the it. They therefore restored (i) Paulus and Athanasius to their Sees; as also Marcellus [Bishop] of Ancyra [a City] in Galatia the less. He had been deposed a long time before, as we have made mention in our foregoing || book: occurs in B. 2. c. 8. Eccles. Hist.) there is not the least mention of Paulus. Valef.

|| See Socrates, book, 1. chap. 36. Eccles. Hist. but

(f) Paulus Bishop of Constantinople was not present at the Synod of Serdica, as Theodoret attests, (book 2. chap. 5. Eccles. Hist.) which is also confirmed by the Synodick Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at Serdica, which occurs in Hilarius's Fragments, at Pag. 434. Edit. Paris. 1631. Valef.

(g) Instead of [ἐπιστολαὶ συγγραμματα, having written Letters] the reading in the Allat. M.S. is truer; which is thus, [ἐπιστολαὶ ἐνσενδαίνετες, having inserted in their Letters.] But what Socrates here says, (to wit, that the Eastern Bishops at Serdica established the Opinion of the Anomoiiani (see the following note in this chapter) in their Synodick Epistle.) is altogether false. Their Synodick Epistle is extant in Hilarius's Fragments, at pag. 434. Edit. Paris. 1631; and at the end of it there is a confession of faith added. In which confession there is nothing which in the least favours of the Anomoiians opinion. The said Hilarius, relating (in his book de Synodis) the same draught of the Creed published by the Eastern Bishops at Serdica, owns it as Catholick, and explains it. And Hilarius is so far from believing that they disseminated the Anomoiians opinion, that he affirms them to have obfuscated that opinion on every side. His words are these: *Ex omni autem parte, &c. But on all sides, whithersoever solicitude could turn it self, the passage is stopp'd up by the wit of the Hereticks, lest it should be Preach'd, that there is any diversity or unlikeliness in the Son [from the Father.]* Valef.

(b) The Anomoiians were such as asserted, that the Son had a substance or essence, different from, or unlike to the Father.

\* The Western Bishops. † The Eastern Bishops.

(f) The Synodick Epistle of the Council of Serdica (which occurs in Theodoret



*Constantinus.* but then he used his utmost diligence † to get the sentence revoked which had been pronounced against him; declaring that the expressions of the book written by him were not understood, and that he therefore lay under a suspicion [of maintaining] Paul of Samosata's Opinion. But you must take notice that Eusebius Pamphilus confuted Marcellus's book in a discourse against him, comprized in \* three entire books which he entitled *Against Marcellus*. He quotes Marcellus's own words [in those Books,] and in his discourse against them maintains, that Marcellus does assert (in like manner as Sabellius the Libyan and Paul of Samosata did) that the Lord [Christ] is a meer Man.

*These three Books (the Title whereof is De Ecclesiastica Theologia aduersus Marcellum)* of Eusebius's are at this day extant. There are prefixt before them two books, entitled *κατὰ μαρκέλλου*, that is, *Against Marcellus*; wherein he reproves his design, malice, and envy. Eusebius attests (in the close of his second Book against Marcellus) that he wrote these Books by the order of those Bishops, who had condemned Marcellus in the Constantinopolitan Synod. Further, it is uncertain whether or no Socrates had ever seen those two former Books against Marcellus, in regard he has made no mention of them. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXI.

### An Apology for Eusebius Pamphilus.

**B**UT in regard some have attempted to reproach this person, (I mean Eusebius Pamphilus) as if he were an Assertor of Arius's Opinion in the books he hath publish'd; I judge it not unreasonable to say something concerning him. In the first place therefore, he was present at, and consented to, the Nicene Synod, which determin'd that the Son was coessential with the Father.

*\* See Euseb. concerning the Life of Constantine, he says word for word thus: But the Emperor incited them all to an unity of mind, until he had at that time reduced them all to be of the same mind and to have the same sentiments in relation to all those points, concerning which they had before disagreed.*

In so much that at Nice they did all perfectly agree in the [points] of Faith. Since therefore Eusebius, making mention of the Nicene Synod, does say, that all things about which they disagreed were composed, and that they were all brought to be of one and the same mind and opinion; how can any Persons judge him to be a maintainer of Arius's Opinion? The Arians also themselves are mistaken, in their supposing him to be a favourer of their Tenets. But some body will perhaps say, that in his writings he seems to \*

*\* That is, to assert Arius's Opinion. † Socrates means those Doxologies, that occur at the end of Eusebius's Sermons; which Eusebius doth always put into this form: Glory to be to the unborn Father by his only begotten Son, &c. This may plainly be seen in those Tracts of Eusebius's, which Jacobus Sirmundus hath published. For example, in the end of his first Book against Sabellius, these are his words: Gloria uni non nato Deo, &c. i. e. Glory be to the one unborn God, by the one only begotten God the Son of God, in one holy Spirit, both now, and always, and throughout all ages. Amen. And so concerning the rest. Also, in the Oration Eusebius made at the Consecration of the Church at Tyre, (which occurs at the Tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History, chap. 4.) we meet with the same clause, at the close of that Speech; δὲ ὁ ἀντὶς ὁ θεός, &c. by whom be glory to him. For so we have worded that Place, agreeable to three of our M. S.S. Further, 'tis manifestly known, that the Arians attributed this preposition [per quem, by whom] to the Son, upon this design, that they might make him subject to the Father. See Theodoret upon the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Valef.*

*rianize, in regard he always says † By Christ. To whom we answer, that Ecclesiastick Writers have frequently made use of this Expression, and many other such like, which do signifie the dispensation of our Saviours Humanity. And before all these [Writers] the Apostle Paul hath made use of these very expressions; and he was never*

thought to be the Teacher of a perverse opinion. Moreover, in regard Arius has been so audacious, as to stile the Son a Creature like unto one of those other [Creatures made by God;] hear what Eusebius saith (in his first book against Marcellus,) concerning this; these are his very words: He only, and no other, hath been declared to be, and is, the only begotten Son of God; upon which account they are deservedly to be reprehended, who have audaciously stiled him a Creature, made of nothing like the rest of the Creatures. For how should he be a Son? How should he be God's only begotten, who is entitled to the very same Nature with the rest of the

Creatures, (a) and would be one of those common Creatures, in regard he (like them) is made a partaker of a Creation from nothing? But the sacred Oracles do not instruct us after this manner concerning him. Then, after the interposition of some few words, he continues. Whosoever therefore doth determine that the Son is made of things which are not, and that he is a (b) Creature produced out of nothing, that person hath forgotten, that he bestows upon him a name only, but in reality he denies him to be a Son. For he that is made of nothing, cannot truly be the Son of God, nor can any thing else which is made [be his Son.] But the true Son of God, in regard he is begotten of him

as of a Father, ought deservedly to be stiled the only begotten and beloved of the Father. And therefore he must be God, For what can the offspring of God be else, but most exactly like to him that hath begotten him? A King indeed builds a City, but he begets not a City: but he is said to beget, not to build, a Son. And an Artificer may be said to be the Framer, not the Father, of that which he hath made. But he can in no wise be stiled the Framer of the Son who is begotten by him. So also, the supreme God is the Father of his Son: but he is justly to be called the Maker and Framer of the world. And although this saying may be once found \* somewhere in the

Scripture, The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, yet we ought duly to inspect the meaning of those words, (which I will explain afterwards;) and not (as Marcellus doth) subvert a principal point [asserted by] the Church upon account of one word. These and many other such like expressions Eusebius Pamphilus utters, in his First Book against Marcellus. And in his Third Book [of that work,] the same Authour, declaring in what sense the term Creature is to be taken, says thus. These things therefore having been after this manner proved and confirmed, the consequence is (agreeable to all things explained by us before,) that these words also, The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, must have been spoken [concerning the same person.] But, although he says he was created, yet he must not be so understood, as if he should say, that he had arrived to what he is from things which are not, and that he also was made

(a) Before these words there is a whole line wanting, (which (from the First Book of Eusebius de Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 9.) is thus to be made up; ταύτην δὲ ἀδελφός ἀν' ἑαυτὸν γένεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἐκὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τῷ Θεῷ. ἢ τὸ πολλὸν ἡμετέρων ἔσται, &c. i. e. For by this means he would be their brother, rather than the Son of God: and would be one of those common Creatures, &c. Valef.

(b) Instead of [γεννημένος] the reading should be [παραγεγεννημένος, produced] as Eusebius words it, at the place before cited. It should also be [γεννηθέν] not [γεννηθέν]. For these two words, although they are distinguished but by one Letter, yet do very much differ in their significations. For the term [γεννηθέν] signifies that which is born or begotten; but [γεννηθέν] imports that which is made. Valef.

\* See Prov. 8. 22. and what was remark concerning that Text, in chap. 19. of this book. note (11.)



Constan-  
tius. of nothing in the same manner with the other  
Creatures which some have perversely supposed :  
but [he speaks this] as being a Person subsisting,  
living, pre-existing, and being before the Founda-  
tion of the whole World; having been constituted the  
Ruler of the Universe by his Lord and Father : The  
term Created being in that place used instead of  
Ordained or Constituted. Indeed, the Apostle hath  
in express Words stiled the Rulers and Governors

\* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. Where the  
expression in the Original is *παι-  
δα ἀνθρώπων κτίσις*; which may  
be rendred thus, to every human  
Creature.

† Amos 4. 12, 13. Euseb. quotes  
this Text in the Words of the  
Septuagint : But omits the Word  
[*ἐγώ*, 1:] We have rendred  
them according to his quotation ;  
which is very different from the  
Hebrew, and from our English  
Version.

such a sense as to signifie, That which hath been  
made when as before it was not. For God did  
not then Create his Spirit, when he declared his

† Eccles. 1. 9. Christ to all Men by him. || For there is no new  
thing under the Sun. But [the Spirit] was,  
and did subsist before. But he was sent at such  
time as the Apostles were gathered together, when

\* Acts 2. (like thunder) \* There came a sound from hea-  
ven, as a rushing mighty wind : And they  
were filled with the holy Ghost. And thus they  
declared God's Christ amongst all Men, agreeable to  
that Prophecie, which saith. † For behold he that

† Amos 4. 13. firmeth the thunder, and createth the Spirit,  
and declareth his Christ unto men : The term  
Createth being made use of, instead of Sendeth,  
or Constituteth : And the Word Thunder in ano-  
ther manner signifying the Preaching of the  
Gospel. And he that saith, \* Create in me

\* Psal. 51. a clean heart, O God, said not that, as if he had  
had no heart before : but he prayed, that his mind  
might be made perfectly pure within him. After the

† Ephes. 2. same manner this is spoken, † For to make in  
himself of twain one new Man, instead of to  
conjoyn. Consider also, whether or no this saying be  
of the same sort, || Put on that new man, which

† 2 Cor. 5. 17. after God is created : and this, † Therefore if  
any man [be] in Christ, [he is] a new Crea-  
ture : and whatever other [expressions] of this sort  
may be found by him that diligently searcheth the  
divinely inspired Scripture. You need not won-  
der therefore, because in this place \* The Lord

\* Prov. 8. 22. created me the beginning of his ways, the term  
Created [is used] metaphorically; instead of  
Ordained or Constituted. After this manner  
Eusebius discourses in his Books against Mar-  
cellus. We have produced his words here, upon  
their account, who have attempted causelessly to  
rail at and revile this Person. Nor can they  
demonstrate, that Eusebius doth attribute a be-  
ginning of Essence to the Son of God, although  
they may find him frequently making use of  
the expression of dispensation : especially, be-  
cause he was a great Emulator and Admirer  
of Origen's Writings, wherein such as are able  
to understand Origen's Books, will find [this] e-  
very where [asserted, to wit,] that the Son is  
begotten of the Father. Thus much we have  
said by the by, upon their account who have  
attempted to reproach Eusebius.

That the Synod of Serdica restored Paulus and  
Athanasius to their Sees ; and that upon the  
Eastern Emperors refusal, to admit them, the  
Emperor of the West threatened him with  
War.

BUT the [Bishops,] as well those convened  
at Serdica, as they who made up a particular  
Synod by themselves at Philippopolis [a City] of  
Thracia, having perform'd whatsoever each par-  
ty thought requisite to be done, return'd to  
their own Cities. [Thence forward] therefore  
the Western Church was severed from the Ea-  
stern : and the boundary of communion be-  
tween them, was the mountain call'd (a) *Soucis*,  
which parts the Illyrians from the Thracians. As  
far as that mountain there was a promiscuous  
communion, altho' their Faith was different.  
But they (b) communicated not with those who  
lived beyond it. Such was the confusion of the  
Churches Affairs at that time. Soon after this,  
the Emperor of the Western Parts acquaints  
his Brother Constantius with what had been  
done at Serdica, and entreats him to restore Pau-  
lus and Athanasius to their own Sees. But when  
Constantius made demurrs to what he had writ-  
ten, the Emperor of the Western Parts in ano-  
ther Letter gave him his choice, [to wit,] that  
he should either admit Paulus and Athanasius to  
their own former Dignities, and restore their  
Churches to them ; or else (if he did not  
this) he must look upon him to be his  
Enemy, and expect a War.

his twenty first book, pag. 189. Edit. Paris. 1635. Philostorgius mentions  
the same streights, (in book 3. Eccles. Hist.) and calls them *σύναις*,  
i. e. *Succi* ; being situated between Dacia and Thracia. He de-  
scribes them thus : *Ἰσθμοὶ ἐπὶ σελαι μεγίστων ὄρων*, &c. i. e. They are  
straight passages of vast mountains, which are crouded together on each  
side into one place, in such a manner that they seem to embrace one ano-  
ther. He means to the mountains, *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, which  
arising from different places, make an angle in that place, and do  
as it were kiss one another. Which gave the Ancients an occasion  
of feigning *Hæmus* to be a young man, and *Rhodope* a maid, and that  
heretofore they fell in love with one another. You may meet with  
the story in *Ovid Metamorph.* book 6. at the beginning. *Busbequius*  
( in 1 Epist. Legat. Turci. ) says that the Turks do now call this  
narrow passage *Capi deruent*, i. e. the Gate of narrownesses. Valef.

(b) These words must have a favourable sense put upon them ; and  
are not so to be understood, as if Socrates should have said, that after  
the Synod of Serdica the Western Bishops held no communion with  
the Eastern. For in the Synod of Sirmium ( which was convened by  
the Western Bishops against Phorinus, two years after the Synod at  
Serdica ) the Western Bishops sent their determinations to the Ea-  
stern upon account of preserving a communion. And the Eastern  
Bishops wrote back to them, as *Hilarius* informs us, in his *Fragments*.  
Thus therefore Socrates's words here must be understood : to wit ;  
after the Synod of Serdica the Western Bishops did ( not readily and  
rashly, but ) with a great deal of cautiousness communicate with the  
Eastern. Valef.

The (c) Letter he wrote to his Brother was this.

Paulus and Athanasius are indeed here with Us. (c) Const.  
But upon enquiry we find that they are Persecuted upon his Bro-  
account of their piety. If therefore you will promise Augustus's  
to restore them to their Sees, and punish those ther Con-  
who have causelessly injur'd them, We will send the stantius,  
Men to you. But if You shall refuse to do as We ded by So-  
have said, know for certain, that We Our self will hererecor-  
come thither, and restore them to their own Sees whe-  
ther you will or no. crates, is in  
my judg-  
ment not  
to be lookt  
upon as ge-  
nuine. For Athanasius makes no mention of this Letter : and Paulus's  
name (which is extant in it) doth upon good grounds render it suspici-  
ous. For at that time Paulus enjoy'd his Bishoprick: neither was he present  
at the Synod of Serdica ; nor restor'd by the determination thereof ; as  
we shew'd before. Wherefore, if this Letter of Constantius's be genuine,  
Z 3 it



it must necessarily have been written before the Council of *Serdica*. Lastly, *Constantius's* first Letter to *Athanasius* (which *Socrates* has inserted in the following Chapter) evidently shews this to be a forged Letter. For *Constantius* in that Epistle saith, that by a Letter written to his Brother he hath requested him to give *Athanasius* leave to return to his See. *Valeſ.*

Constan-  
tius.

C H A P. XXIII.

*That Constantius, being afraid of his Brothers menaces, by his Letters ordered Athanasius to appear, and send him to Alexandria.*

The Emperor of the East understanding these things, was reduced to a very great streight. And having forthwith sent for most of the Eastern Bishops, he made them acquainted with the option his brother had proposed to him, and enquired of them what was to be done. They made answer, that it was better [for him] to grant *Athanasius* the Churches, than to undertake a Civil War. Wherefore the Emperor, being necessitated thereto, summoned *Athanasius* to appear before him. At that very interim the Western Emperor sends *Paulus* to *Constantinople*, accompanied with two Bishops and other honorary Provisions, having fortified him both with his own Letters, and also with those from the Synod. But whilst *Athanasius* was yet fearful, and in doubt whether he should go to *Constantinus* or not : (For he was afraid of the treacherous attempts of the Sycophants :) the Eastern Emperor invited him [to his Court] not only once, but a second and a third time ; as it is evident from his Letters, the Contents whereof, being translated out of the *Latin Tongue* [into the *Greek*,] are these.

*Constantius's Epistle to Athanasius.*

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR  
AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the  
Bishop.

(a) This, and the two following Letters, are in Athanasius's second, pag. 769. Edit. Paris. Valeſſ.

(a) The humanity of Our clemency hath not permitted you to be any longer tossed in and disquieted with the boisterous surges (as it were) of the Sea. Our indefatigable piety hath not neglected you during your being deprived of your native habitation, whilst you wanted your goods, and wandred up and down in desert and impassable places. And although We have too long deferr'd the acquainting you by Letters with the purpose of Our mind, expecting you would of your own accord have come to Us, and requested a Remedy for your troubles: Yet because peradventure fear hath hindered that purpose of your mind, We have therefore sent to your Gravity, Letters filled with indulgence, that you should hasten to make your sudden appearance in Our presence without fear; whereby you might enjoy your desire, and, having made experiment of Our humanity, be restored to your own habitation. For upon this account we made a request for you to Our Lord and Brother Constans Victor Augustus, that He would grant you the liberty of coming, to the end that being restored to your Country by both Our consents, you should have this pledge and assurance of Our favour.

### Another Epistle to *Athanasius*.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR  
AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the  
Bishop.

Although we have made it sufficiently known to you by Our former Letter, that you might securely

come to Our Court, in regard We are earnestly Constan-  
(a) desirous to send you to your own habitation: tius.  
yet We have now (b) sent this Letter to your Gra-  
vity. Wherefore We entreat you to take a pub-  
lick Chariot, and hasten to Us without any mistrust  
or fea, that you may enjoy what you desire.

reading is [βούλεσθαι desired.] Valef. (b) In Athanasius, it is [δέσθαι sent] not [δέσθαι manifested.] Valef.

### Another Letter to the same Person.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR  
AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the  
Bishop.

Whilst we made Our residence at Edessa, (your Presbyters being present there,) We were pleased, by sending a Presbyter to you, to hasten your coming to Our Court, to the end that after you were come into Our Presence, you might go immediately to Alexandria. But, in regard a considerable space of time is now past, since your receipt of Our Letter, and you have not yet come; We therefore took care to put you in mind by this, that you should now hasten to make your sudden appearance in Our Presence, that so you may be restored to your own Country; and obtain your desire. And that you might be most fully certified hereof, We have sent Achetas the Deacon, from whom you may understand both the purpose of Our mind, and also that you shall readily obtain what you desire.

*Athanasius* having received these Letters at *Aquileia*, (for (c) there he abode after his departure from *Serdica*,) hastned immediately to (d) *Rome*. And having shown the Letters to *Fulius* the Bishop, he caused great joy in the *Roman* Church. For they supposed, that the Emperor of the East had now given his assent to their Faith, in regard he invited *Athanasius* to come to him. But *Julius* wrote this Epistle to the Clergy and Laity in *Alexandria* concerning *Athanasius*.

written to him by *Constant Augustus*. Afterwards, he left *Narſis*, and went to *Aquileia*, as he himſelf atteſts, in his *Apologetick* to *Conſtantius*, pag. 676. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Athanasius* relates the reason of this journey of his to *Rome* in his *Second defence against the Arians*; to wit, that he might take his leave of *Julius* the Bishop, and the *Roman Church*, by whom he had been so kindly entertained. For that is the meaning of these words of *Athanasius*: 'Εὐὸ δὲ δεῖξάντες, ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν σωτῆσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. i. e. But I, upon receipt of these Letters, went to *Rome*, to bid the *Roman Church* and the *Bishop* farewell: For the term [σωτῆσαι] signifies *valedicere*, to take leave of, or to bid farewell: As we have observ'd and prov'd in our *Annot. on Eusebius's Life of Constantine*; Book 3. Chap. 21. *Vale!*

*The Epistle of Julius Bishop of Rome, to those  
of Alexandria.*

*Julius* (e) to the Bishops and Presbyters, and Deacons, and to the Laity inhabiting *Alexandria*, his beloved Brethren, health in the Lord.

(in his second Apology against the Arians) these words [the Bishops and] are wanting. Instead hereof Epiphanius Scholasticus seems to have read [Julius the Bishop to the Presbyters, &c.] which reading Christopherson hath followed. Vale.

I also rejoyce with you, beloved Brethren, because you now see before your Eyes the fruit of your Faith. For that this is truly so, any one may see in our Brother and Fellow Bishop Athanasius : Whom God hath restored to you, upon account both of his purity of Life, and also of your prayers. Hence it is apparent, that you have continually offered up to God Prayers which were pure and full of Charity. For, being mindful of the Celestial promises, and (f) of the course of Life tending thereto, which (f) In A. Athanasius the reader is fore-ing is.

(f) In *A. thanasius* the reading is.



[This reads foreſaid Brother ; you certainly knew, and (according to that true Faith which is implanted in you) were apprehenſive of this, that your Biſhop could not be perpetually ſeparated from you, whom you carried in your pious Minds, as being continually preſent. Wherefore, I need not make uſe of many words in this my Letter to you. For your Faith hath prevented whatever could have been ſaid by me : And by the Grace of Chriſt thoſe things have been fulfill'd, which you in common prayed for and deſired. I rejoyce therefore with you, (for I will ſay it again,) becauſe you have preſerved your Souls inexpugnable in [ your defending of ] the Faith. Nor do I any whit leſs rejoyce with my Brother Athanaſius, becauſe although he hath undergone many ſharp afflictions, yet) he was not one hour unmindful of your Love, and your Deſire. For although he ſeemed to have been withdrawn from you for a time, yet he was continually converſant with you in Spirit. And I am of opinion, Beloved, that all the tryals and troubles which have hapned to him, are not inglorious. For both your, and his Faith hath thereby been made known, and approved amongſt all Men. For, had not ſo many and great afflictions beſet him, who would have believed, either that you ſhould have had ſo great a reſpect and love for ſo eminent a Biſhop, or that he ſhould have been adorned with ſuch excellent Virtues, by reaſon of which he is in no wiſe to be defrauded of his hope in the heavens ? He hath therefore obtained a testimony of confeſſion every way glorious, both in this, and in the World to come. For after his many and various ſufferings both by Land and Sea, he hath trodden under foot all the treacheries of the Arian Heretic ; and after his having been frequently aſſaulted and brought into danger through envy, he hath deſpiſed death, being guarded by Almighty God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt : hoping that he ſhould not only avoid his Enemies Plots, but alſo be reſtored in order to your conſolation, bringing back to you greater Trophies by reaſon of your being conſcious [ of having done what was juſt and good ] Upon which account he hath been rendred glorious even as far as the ends of the whole Earth, being approved for his [ integrity of ] Life, undauntedly perſiſting in the defence of his reſolution of Mind, and Celeſtial Doctrine, and evidently declared by your conſtant and perpetual judgment, to be entirely beloved by you. He returns therefore to you now far more bright and glorious, than when he departed from you. For, if the fire tries and refines pretious Metals, I mean Gold and Silver, what can be ſaid of ſo eminent a Perſonage according to his worth, who having vanquiſhed the fire of ſo great afflictions, and ſo many Perils, is now reſtored to you, having been declared innocent, not by our determination only, but by that of the whole Synod ? Receive therefore (Beloved Brethren) with all Divine Glory and Joy your Biſhop Athanaſius, (b) together with thoſe who have been his Fellow-ſufferers. And rejoyce, in that you enjoy your deſires, who have nourished and quenched the thirſt of your paſtor, hungering ( if I may ſo ſpeak, ) and thirſting after your Piety, with your comfortable writings. For you were a conſolation to him during his abode in ſtrange Countries : And you have cheriſhed him with your moſt faithful Souls and Minds, (b) In the whiſt he was perſecuted, and aſſaulted with trea-

the reading of this place is thus : μετὰ τῆς καὶ οἱ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῖς καμύτων κοινῶν γεγόναντι, and together with him as many as have been partakers of ſo great labours with him. The reading in Athanaſius is almoſt the ſame. But our Copies and Epiphanius Scholasticus do confirm the common reading. Valeſ.

cheries. Indeed, I rejoyce already, whiſt I conſider and foreſee in my mind the joy of every one of you at his return, and the moſt pious meetings [which will be given him] by the Populace, and the glorious Solemnity of thoſe which will be aſſembled, and what manner of day that will be, wherein our brother ſhall make his return : When forepaſt Calamities ſhall have an end, and his pretious and wiſh'd for return ſhall unite all Perſons in an alacrity of mind [ expreſt by ] the higheſt degree of Joy. Such a Joy as this does, as to the greateſt part of it, reach even as far as us, to whom Heaven, ('tis manifeſt) hath granted this favour, that we ſhould be able to come to the Knowledge of ſo eminent a Perſonage. It is fit therefore, that we ſhould cloſe this Letter with a Prayer. May God Almighty, and his Son our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt afford you this perpetual Grace, rendring you the reward of your admirable Faith, which you have demonſtrated towards your Biſhop by a Glorious Testimony : That better things ſhould await you and your Poſterity both in this, and in the World to come, which \* Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom Glory be to Almighty God for ever and ever, Amen. I wiſh you good health, beloved Brethren.

Athanaſius conſiding in theſe Letters, went into the Eaſt. The Emperor Conſtantiuſ received him not then with an incenſed mind But upon the ſuggeſtion of the Arians, he attempted to circumvent him, And ſpeaks to him thus. You have indeed recovered your See by the Synods determination, and our conſent. But, in regard there are ſome of the people in Alexandria, who do (i) reſuſe to hold communion with you, ſuffer them to have one Church in the City. To which request Athanaſius immediately made this return, and ſays, It is in your power, O Emperor, to command and do what you will. I alſo aſk and request this favour of you, which I deſire you would grant me. When the Emperor had readily promiſed him to grant it, Athanaſius forthwith added, that he deſired to receive the ſame favour, that the Emperor had required ſhould be granted him : For he alſo requested that throughout every City one Church might be allowed to thoſe who reſuſed to communicate with the Arians. When the Arians underſtood that Athanaſius's opinion would (k) incommode [their party, ] they made answer that that buſineſs was to be deferred till another time : But they permitted the Emperor to do what pleaſed him. Wherefore, the Emperor reſtored Athanaſius, Paulus and Marcellus to their own Sees : As alſo, Aſclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople. For they alſo had been received by the Synod of Serdica ; Aſclepas [ was received ] upon his exhibiting the Acts, whereby it was manifeſt, that Eusebius Pamphilus ( together with many others ) having taken cognizance of his cauſe, had reſtored him to his dignity, and Lucius, becauſe thoſe that accuſed him were fled. Therefore, the Emperors Edicts were ſent to their Cities, giving order that they ſhould be readily admitted. Upon Baſilius's being turn'd out of Ancyra, and Marcellus's entrance into that City, there was no trivial diſturbance made, which gave thoſe that were his Adverſaries an occaſion of reproaching him. But the Gazites willingly received Aſclepas. In Conſtantinople, Macedonius did for ſome ſmall time give place to Paulus, and convened aſſemblies by himſelf ſeparately, in a private Church of that City.



Constantinus.

City. But, in behalf of *Athanasius*, the Emperor wrote to the Bishops, to the Clergy, and to the Laity, that they should willingly receive him. Moreover, he gave orders by other Letters, that what had been enacted against him in the Courts of Judicature, should be abrogated. The contents of his Letters concerning both these Particulars are these.

Constantinus's Letter, in behalf of *Athanasius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church.

The most Reverend Bishop *Athanasius* hath not been deserted by the Grace of God. But although he was for a short time subjected to human tryal, yet he hath received a just sentence from Divine Providence which inspects all things: having been restored, by the will of God, and our determination, both to his own Country, and Church, over which by Divine permission he presided. It was meet, that what is agreeable hereto should be performed by our Clemency. That so, all things which have heretofore been determined against those who have held communion with him, should now wholly be forgotten, and that all suspicion [entertained] against him should in future cease, and that the immunity, which those Clergymen that are with him did heretofore enjoy, should (as it is meet) be confirmed to them. Moreover, We thought it equitable to make this addition to Our Indulgence in favour of him, that all Persons belonging to the sacred order of the Clergy might understand, that security is granted to all those that have adhered to him, whether they be Bishops, or Clerks: And a firm Union with him shall be a sufficient testimony of every one's good resolution of mind. For, what Persons soever (making use of a better judgment, and becoming followers of a sounder Opinion,) shall embrace his Communion. We have ordered, that all such shall enjoy that indulgence (according to the

• Likeness.

\* Pattern of the preceding providence) which We have now granted agreeable to the will of God.

Another Letter sent to the *Alexandrians*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
to the Populace of the Catholick Church in  
*Alexandria*.

(1) Epi-  
phan. Scho-  
lasticus  
reads [τῶν  
ἐκείνων  
&c. Our  
good Go-  
vernment,  
&c. valef.]

In regard We make (1) your good Government Our aim in all things, and knowing that you have for some time been deprived of an Episcopal Providence, We have thought good to send back to you a gain *Athanasius* the Bishop, a Person well known to all Men for his sanctity of Life and moral honesty. When you shall have received this Person according to your usual manner, and as it is meet; and shall constitute him your assistant in your Prayers to God; make it your business to preserve continually a Concord and Peace, befitting your selves, and grateful to Us, according to the Sanction of the Church. For it is disagreeable to reason, that there should be any dissention or faction raised amongst you, contrary to the felicity of Our times. Our desires and wishes are, that you may be wholly freed from this mischief. And we exhort you to persist continually in your usual Prayers to God, making use of him your Prelate and your assistant, as was said before. That so this resolution

of yours being convey'd to the (m) ears of all Men, Constantinus. even those Gentiles as yet \* enslaved in the erroneous Worship of Idols, may with the greatest alacrity hasten to the knowledge of the sacred Religion, (most dear Alexandrians!) We therefore again exhort you to persist in what hath been said before. Do you willingly receive your Bishop, sent to you by God's Decree and Our determination, and look upon him as worthy to be embraced (n) with your own Souls and Minds. For that doth both become you, and is also manifestly agreeable to Our Clemency. And that all manner of (o) disturbance and occasion of Sedition may be taken from such as are endow'd with malevolent and factious minds, We have by Our Letters given order to the Judges amongst you, that they should render all those liable to undergo the Penalty of the Laws, whom upon inquiry they shall find to have been Seditious. Taking therefore into your consideration these two things, both God's and Our determination, and also the care we have taken about your agreement, and the punishment [we have commanded to be inflicted] upon those that are disorder'd; make it your chief business to have a diligent regard to whatever doth become and agree with the Sanctions of the sacred Religion, and with all reverence to honor the \* foresaid [Prelate.] that so you together with him may offer up Prayers to the Supreme God and Father, both for your Selves, and also for the good Government and Concord of Mankind in general.

An Epistle concerning the abrogating what had been enacted against *Athanasius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
AUGUSTUS, to *Nestorius*. And in  
the same Copy, to the Presidents of (p)  
*Augustanica*, *Thebais*, and *Lybia*.

If any thing be found to have been heretofore done to the detriment and injury of those who communicate with *Athanasius* the Bishop, Our Will is, that that be now wholly abrogated. For Our Pleasure is, that those of his Clergy should again have the same immunity, which they formerly had. And We command, that this Order of Ours be kept: That so (Athanasius the Bishop having been restored to his Church,) they who communicate with him may have the same Privilege which they always had, and which the other Clergymen now have. Whereby their Affairs being thus settled, they also may rejoice.

It is written in many both Greek and Latin M.S.S. Others call'd it *Augustonica*, to wit, from *Augustus's* Victory. In the subscriptions of the Bishops, who approved of *Acacius's* draught of the Creed, (which the Reader will meet with at the 40th Chapter of this second Book,) whose names *Epiphanius* has recorded, (in *Heret. Semarian.*) we read amongst others; Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίσκοπος Θρούνης, i. e. *Ptolemeus* Bishop of *Thmuis* [a City] of *Augustonica*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIV.

That *Athanasius*, passing through *Jerusalem* in his return to *Alexandria*, was received into Communion by *Maximus*, and convened a Synod of Bishops which confirmed the *Nicene Faith*.

*A* *Thanasius* the Bishop being fortified with these Letters, passed thorow *Syria*, and came into *Palestine*. And arriving at *Jerusalem*, he made known to *Maximus* the Bishop, both what



Constantius.

what had been done in the Synod of *Serdica*, and also that *Constantius* the Emperor had consented to their determination: and he makes it his business to have a Synod of Bishops convened in that City. *Maximus* without any delay sent for some of the Bishops in *Syria* and *Palestine*: and having constituted a Synod, he also restored to *Athanasius* communion, and his [former] dignity. Moreover, this Synod

† This Epistle of the *Ferusalem* Synod is extant in *Athanasius's* second defence against the *Arians*; together with the names of those Bishops who subscribed to that Synod. But we may here by the by take notice of the Bishop of *Ferusalem's* Authority, who (although he was no *Metropolitan* yet) summoned the neighbouring Bishops to a Synod, without the Permission of the Bishop of *Cæsarea*. *Vales.*

† wrote to the *Alexandrians*, and to all the Bishops in *Egypt* and *Lybia*, declaring to them what had been Determined and Decreed concerning *Athanasius*. Upon which Account, those who were *Athanasius's* Enemies egregiously derided *Maximus*, because he had before deposed *Athanasius*; but then altering his mind again, (as if nothing had

been done before,) he gave his Suffrage for *Athanasius*, and restored to him communion and his dignity. *Ursacius* and *Valens* (who had before been hot maintainers of *Arianism*), understanding these things, having at that time rejected their former industry [in asserting that Opinion,] went to *Rome*. And presented a penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop, after which they embraced the *Homoousian* Faith. And having written Letters to *Athanasius*, they professed they would in future hold communion with him. *Ursacius* therefore and *Valens* were at that time in such a manner vanquish'd by *Athanasius's* prosperous Success, that (as I said) they gave their consent to the *Homoousian* Faith. But *Athanasius* passed thro' *Pelusium* in his Journey to *Alexandria*. And he admonished all the Cities through which he passed, to have an aversion for the *Arians*, and to embrace those that professed the *Homoousian* Faith. He ordained also in some of the Churches. Which gave beginning to another accusation against him, \* because he attempted to ordain in other [Bishops] Diocesses. Such was the posture of *Athanasius's* Affairs at that Time.

\* Socrates speaks here concerning the Ordinations performed by *Athanasius* in *Egypt*. For he says that was done after he arrived at *Pelusium*; which is the first City of *Egypt* to those that come out of *Syria*. If this be so, that Opinion can no ways be maintained, which some now a days assert, to wit, that all Ordinations (as well of Bishops as of Presbyters) throughout *Egypt* belonged to the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But we have sufficiently refuted this Opinion in our Third Book of Ecclesiastick Observations, published at the close of our Annotations on *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XXV.

Concerning the Tyrants *Magnentius* and *Vetranio*.

BUT in the interim a disturbance in no wise trivial seized the publick affairs of the Empire. It is necessary that we should give a summary account only concerning it, by running over the chief heads thereof. When the \* Builder of the City of *Constantinople* was dead, his three Sons succeeded him in the Empire, as we have mentioned in our First Book. (a) But you must know, that together with them reigned their

\* Constantine the Great.

(a) The emendation of this

place, (which is very corrupt in *Robert Stephens's* Edition) we owe to the *Allat. M. S.* where the reading is [Ἰσίδωρος δὲ ὅτι συνεβασίλευσε τὰ τοὺς ἀνεψίους αὐτῶν, ὃ ὄνομα Δαλματίου ὁμῶνυμος τῷ Ἰσίδωρ πατρὶς i. e. But you must know, that together with them reigned their Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of the same name with his own

Father.] See *Socrat.* Book 1. chap. 27. note (g.) The *Florent.* and *Sfortian M. S. S.* alter not the Vulgar reading here. But the reading of the *Allat. M. S.* is evidently confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. Only he calls *Dalmatius*, *Constantius's* Cousin-german by the Mother's side. But *Dalmatius* was *Constantius's* Cousin german by the Father's side; for he was son to *Dalmatius*, *Constantine* the Great's Brother. *Vales.*

Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of *Constantius*. the same name with his own Father. After he had been Colleague with them in the Empire some small time, the Soldiers slew him; *Constantius* nei-

ther (b) commanding him to be murdered, nor yet forbidding it. After what manner *Constantius Junior* (invading those parts of the Empire which belonged to his Brother,) was also slain in an engagement with the Soldiers, we have more than once mentioned \* before. After his slaughter,

(b) *Eutropius* relates the same: *Dalmatius* *Cæsar* (says he,) *Haud multo post oppressus est factione Militari, Constantio patruele suo sinente potius quam iubente: i. e. Not long after, Dalmatius Cæsar was slain by a faction of the Soldiers, Constantius his Cousin-german by the Father's side suffering, rather than commanding, it. Vales.*

\* See *Socrat.* Book 2. Chap. 5.

the *Persian* War was raised against the Romans, wherein *Constantius* performed no Action that was fortunate. For, there hapning an † Engagement by night about the limits of the Romans and *Persians*, the latter seem'd then for some little time to have been Conquerors. At

† He means the fight by night between the Romans

the same time, the posture of the *Christians* affairs was little less sedate: but upon *Athanasius's* account, and by reason of the term *Homoousios*, there was a War throughout the Churches. During this state of Affairs, there arose a Tyrant in the Western Parts [of the Empire,] one *Magnentius*. Who by treachery slew *Constans* the Emperor

and *Persians*, at *Singar*, a fortress of *Mesopotamia*, wherein the Son of *Sapor* King of *Persia* was slain: but the Romans had a very great slaughter made amongst them, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, book 18. pag. 122. Edit. Paris. 1636. See our Annotations on that passage; pag. 156. This Engagement hapned in the year of Christ 348, when *Philippus* and *Salus* were Consuls; as *Idrius* relates, in his *Fasti*. *Vales.*

of the Western Parts, residing at that time in the *Gallia's*. After which there was a mighty Civil War kindled. For the Tyrant *Magnentius* conquer'd all *Italy*, he also reduc'd *Africa* and *Lybia* under his own Dominion, and had possession even of the *Gallia's*. In *Illyricum* likewise at the City *Sirmium*, another Tyrant was \* set up by the Soldiers; his name *Vetranio*. \* Or crept Moreover, *Rome* was involv'd in a disturbance. up by the Soldiers means. For † *Constantine* had a Sisters Son, by name *Nepotianus*, who being guarded by a Party of † In the the *Gladiators*, had by violence seized upon the Greek the Empire. This *Nepotianus* was slain by *Magnentius's* Forces. But *Magnentius* himself invaded [Constantius's Forces. But *Magnentius* himself invaded the rest of the Western Provinces, and made *Constantius* had a Sister's Son, &c.] all Places desolate. But it

must be [Constantine had &c.] For *Nepotianus* was Son to *Eutropia* *Constantine's* Sister; as *Vistor* tells us, in his *Epitome*: and, as we are inform'd by *Eutropius*, *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* reading agrees with our emendation; but he mistakes in calling *Nepotianus* [fratulem *Constantini*. i. e. *Constantine's* Brothers Son,] in regard he was his Sisters Son. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XXVI.

How, after the death of [Constantine] the Western Emperor, *Paulus* and *Athanasius* were Ejected out of their own Sees again. And, that *Paulus*, after his being carried into banishment, was slain. But *Athanasius* made his escape by flight.

A Conflux of all these mischiefs hapned almost at one and the same time. For these things were done on the fourth year after the Synod



Constantinus. Synod at *Serdica* in the (a) Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*. Upon the re-

(a) The same is recorded in *Fasti*; in these words: *Sergius & Nigrinianus* Coss. his Consulibus *Constantinus* occisus est in Gallia a *Magnentio*, & levatus est *Magnentius* die 15. Kal. Februar. Et *Vetranio* apud *Sirmium* Kal. Martii. Eo anno, & *Nepotianus* Romæ tertio Nonas Junias. Et pugna magna fuit cum Romanis & *Magnentianis*: i. e. *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* being Consuls, *Constantinus* was slain in the Gallia's by *Magnentius*, and *Magnentius* was set up on the 15th of the Kalends of February. And *Vetranio* at *Sirmium* on the Kalends of March. On the same year, *Nepotianus* also at Rome on the third of the Nones of June. And there was a great battle between the Romans and *Magnentius*. The same is recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but there, these passages are placed on the Consulate of *Limenius* and *Carullianus*, when as they hapned on the year following. Which was the year of Christ 350. Valef.

(b) *Constantinus* was long before Emperor of the E. R. But when *Constantus* was dead, who Governed the Western Empire; he was by the Soldiers Riled Emperor of the whole Roman world. Valef.

(c) In the *Florent. MS.* this Town's name is written with a double T, thus *Georgius* is. V. l. f. order that he should be slain whenever he could be found: and together with him, (d) *Theodulus* and *Olympius*, Prelates of Churches in *Thracia*. But *Athanasius* was not ignorant of what Orders the Emperour had given. But, having been made sensible thereof before-hand, he betook himself to flight again, and so avoided the Emperours menaces. The *Arians* calumniated him for this his escape, especially *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neroniades* a City of *Cilicia*, *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, and (e) *Leontius* who then presided over the Church at *Antioch*. This *Leontius*, when he was a Presbyter, was divested of that dignity, because he lived continually with a woman whose name was *Eustolium*, and endeavouring to conceal the suspicion of his unclean converse with her, he cut off his own genitals; after which he was conversant with her, late of

(d) *Olympius* was Bishop of *Acum* a City of *Thracia*: *Theodulus* was Bishop of *Trajanople*, as *Athanasius* attests, (in *Epist. ad Solitar.*) He mentions the same Bishop, in his *Apologetick de Fuga sua*, pag. 703. But these passages are preposterously related by *Socrates*. For they were not done before the *Magnentian* war, as *Socrates* says, but when that war was ended, in the year of Christ 356; as *Baronius* hath truly remarked. Valef.

(e) This person has a great Eulogium given him in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*: which commendation was taken out of some Semi-Arian writer. *Athanasius* doth every where speak sharply concerning this *Leontius*. His crafty disposition is incomparably well described by *Theodoret*; book 2. chap. 24. *Eccles. Histor.* Valef.

with a greater confidence and liberty, in regard he wanted those things upon account whereof he had fallen into that suspicion. But by the Decree and Diligence of the Emperor *Constantinus* he was promoted to the Bishoprick of the *Antiochian* Church after *Stephanus*, who had before succeeded *Flaccillus*. Thus far concerning this Person.

## C H A P. XXVII.

That *Macedonius*, having got possession of the See [of Constantinople,] did much mischief to those that in opinion dissented from him.

Moreover, at that time *Macedonius* was put into the possession of the Churches in *Constantinople*, *Paulus* being dispatch'd in the fore-mentioned manner. And having procured a very great interest in the Emperor, he raised a war amongst the *Christians*, not inferior to that waged by the Tyrants at the same time. For, having by his persuasions induced the Emperor to countenance him with his assistance in destroying of the Churches, he procur'd whatever wicked acts he had a mind to do, to be establish'd by Law. From that time therefore an Edict was publicly proposed throughout every City. And a military force appointed to see the Emperours Decrees put in execution. Those who asserted the *Homoousian* Faith were driven not only out of the Churches, but from the Cities also. At first indeed they made it their business to expel them only. But afterwards, the mischief growing worse and worse, they betook themselves to a forcing of them to communicate with them, being very little solicitous about the Churches. And this forcible constraint was nothing inferior to that heretofore made use of by them, who necessitated the *Christians* to worship Idols. For they made use of all manner of scourgings, various tortures, and proscriptions of their goods. Many were punish'd with exile. Some died under their tortures, others were murdered, during their being led away to banishment. These things were done throughout all the Eastern Cities, but more especially at *Constantinople*. This intestine Persecution therefore, being but small before, was much increased by *Macedonius*, after he had gotten the Bishoprick. But the Cities of *Achaia* and *Illyricum*, and the Western parts of the Empire, continued as yet undisturbed, in regard they both mutually agreed, and also retained the Rule of Faith delivered by the *Nicene* Synod.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning what was done at Alexandria by *Georgius* the Arian; from *Athanasius's* own Relation.

BUT what [Villanies] *Georgius* during the same time committed at *Alexandria*, you may understand from *Athanasius's* own relation, who was present at, and a sufferer in those [miseries.] For, in his *Apologetick concerning his own flight*, he speaks word for word thus, concerning what had been done there. For they came from thence to *Alexandria*, making search for me again, that they might murder me. And what hapned then was worse than that they had done before. For on a sudden the Soldiers surrounded



*Constantius.* surrounded the Church, and instead of going to prayers, there hapned a fight. After this, Georgius (sent by them out of Cappadocia, arriving in Leht, increased those mischiefs which he had learnt from them. For after Easter-week, the Virgins were cast into Prison: The Bishops, bound in chains, were led away by the Soldiers: The Houses of Orphans and Widows were plunder'd, and the stock of Bread-corn [was pillaged:] they broke into Houses. And the Christians were carried out [to burial] in the night. The Houses were seal'd up: And the Brethren of those that were Clergy-men, were in danger upon their Brethrens Account. These things were horrid: but those afterwards committed were much more horrid. For the week after the Holy Pentecost, the People, after they had fasted, went out to the Cæmetary to pray, because they all abominated Georgius's Communion. But that Villanous wretch understanding this, instigated Sebastianus the Captain, who was a Manichæan, against them. He with a company of Soldiers, carrying Armour, naked Swords, Bows, and Darts, made a violent attack upon the People on the very Lords Day. And finding some few at their Prayers (for most of them were gone away by reason of the time of the day;) he did such exploits as became the Arians to have performed amongst them. For having kindled a fire, he set the Virgins close to it, forced them to say that they professed the Arian Faith. But when he perceived they were not to be vanquish'd, and that they despised the fire, he afterwards stript them, and beat them on the face in such a manner, that for a time they could scarce be known. And having seized forty men, he beat them after a new and unusual manner. For he forthwith cut Rods from off Palm-trees, which yet had their pricks on them, and flea'd their backs after such manner, that some of them by reason of the pricks that stuck in their flesh, were forced to make frequent use of Chirurgeons: others of them, not able to endure [the pain,] died. Immediately he took all the rest, that were left, and together with them a Virgin, and (a)

(a) In Athanasius the reading is [ἐξέειπεν] they banished. But in the Florent. and Sfortian MSS. the reading (which I like better) is [ἐξέγειρεν] he banished. To shew, that this is to be understood of Sebastianus the Captain of Egypt, who then a paged Matters in a detestable manner. Moreover, all these things are (as I have said) related in a preposterous manner by Socrates; in regard they were done in the Year of Christ, 356. Valef.

banished them into Oasis the Great. Moreover, they would not at first suffer the bodies of those that were dead to be given to their relations: but casting them forth unburied, they hid them as they thought good, that they might seem not to know of so barbarous a cruelty. And this these madmen did, having a blindness upon their minds. For, in as much as the Relations of those that

were dead, rejoiced upon account of their confession, but mourned because their Bodies lay unburied; their impiety and barbarity was so much the more plainly detected and divulged. Soon after this, they carried away into banishment out of Egypt and both the Libya's these Bishops, Ammonius, Thmuis, Cajus, Philo, Hermes, Plinius, Psenofiris, Nilammon, Agatho, Anagamphus, Ammonius, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, another Ammonius, another Marcus, and Athenodorus: and these Presbyters, Hierax, and Dioscorus. And they treated them so cruelly in their conveying them into banishment, that some of them died in the Journey, and others in the very place of their exile. They

(b) The reading is (b) drove away more then thirty Bishops. For it the same in Athanasius. But in Theodoret (book 2. chap. 14. where this passage of Athanasius's is inserted) the reading is [They murdered.] Valef.

was their earnest desire, according as Ahab did, wholly, if possible, to destroy the truth. Thus much Athanasius hath related in his own words concerning the Villanies committed by Georgius at Alexandria. But the Emperor marcht his Army into Illyricum. For the necessity of the publick affairs required his presence there; more especially, because Vetrano was proclaimed Emperor there by the Soldiers. Being come to Sirmium, he made a League with Vetrano, after which he discoursed with him, and brought Affairs to such a pass, that those Soldiers, who had proclaimed Vetrano, revolted from him to Constantius's side. Having therefore deserted Vetrano, they cryed out that only Constantius was Augustus, King and Emperor. No mention was made of Vetrano in their acclamation. Vetrano, becoming sensible immediately that he was betrayed, laid himself prostrate at the feet of the Emperor. Constantius took his Imperial Crown and Purple from him, and treated him kindly, exhorting him to lead a more sedate and quiet life in the habit of a private person. For [he told him] that a life void of disquietude was much more suitable for a man of his years, than to have a name full of care and sollicitude. Such was the conclusion of Vetrano's Affairs. But the Emperor ordered, that he should be allowed an ample revenue out of the publick tribute. Afterwards he wrote frequently to the Emperor whilst he made his residence at Prusa in Bithynia, declaring to him, that he had been the Author of the greatest happiness to him, in that he had freed him from cares, and the troubles that accompany a Crown: and said, that he himself did not do well, because he would not enjoy that happiness which he had bestow'd upon him. Thus far concerning these things. At the same time the Emperor Constantius, having created Gallus, his Father's Brother's Son, Cæsar, and giving him his own name, sent him to Antioch of Syria, designing that he should guard the Eastern parts. Whilst he was making his entry into Antioch, the † Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East. For a Pillar in the form of a Cross appearing in the heavens, struck the beholders with a great amazement. The rest of his chief Commanders he sent against Magnentius, at the head of a very great Army. In the interim, he himself made his residence at Sirmium, expecting the issue of affairs.

† The same is recorded in Idatius's Fasti, after the Consulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus, in these words: His Coss.

Levatus est Constantius Cæsar Id. Martii, & apparuit in Oriente Signum Salvatoris die 3. Kal. Februar. Luna 28. i. e. During these mens consular, Constantius [Gallus] was created Cæsar on the Ides of March, and the Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East, on the third of the Kalends of February, on the 28th. of the Moon. But the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle says, this Sign was seen in the East, on the Nones of May about the day of Pentecost. To whom agrees Cyrillus, Philostorgius and Cedrenus. And Socrates seems to confirm the same in this place. For he saith, that this Sign appeared in the East, when Gallus Cæsar entered Antioch. Now Gallus was created Cæsar on the Ides of March as (besides Idatius) the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle doth affirm. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIX

Concerning Photinus the Arch-Heretic.

Moreover, at that time Photinus who presided over the Church in that \* City, did \* That is, more openly divulge that opinion which he had invented. Wherefore, when there arose a disturbance occasioned thereby, the Emperor order'd, that



*Constan-* that a (a) Synod of Bishops should be convened at  
*tius.* *Sirmium*. Therefore, there met together in that  
(a) It is not City, of the Eastern [Bishops,] (b) *Marcus*  
agreed a- of *Arethusa*, (c) *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, whom  
mongst the the *Arian* party (having remov'd *Gregorius*, as  
Learn'd, in we said \* before) put into his See ;  
what year \* See chap. also *Basilus*, (who presided over the  
the Synod 14. of this Church at *Ancyra*, *Marcellus* having  
of *Sirmium* Book. been ejected,) *Pancratius* [Bishop] of  
( wherein *Peleucium*, and (d) *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*. Of  
*Photinus* the Western Bishops, [there met there] *Valens*  
was de- [Bishop] of *Mursa*, and *Hosius* Bishop of *Cor-*  
prived of his Bi- shoprick) *duba* in *Spain* (a Person eminently famous at  
shoprick) *duba* in *Spain* (a Person eminently famous at  
was held. that time) was present against his Will. These  
*Socrates* [Prelates] being convened at *Sirmium*, after  
and *Sozo-* the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, (in  
men affirm it to have which year, by reason of the tumults caused by  
been cele- the Wars, no Consul publish'd the solemn (e)  
brated af- Shews and Plays usually exhibited at their en-  
ter the trance upon their Consulate,) and having upon  
of *Sergius* examination found, that *Photinus* asserted the  
and *Ni* Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Sa-*  
*grinianus*; they immediately deposed him. And  
in which this determination of theirs was by all Men,  
Cear, by both then and afterwards, approved of as good  
reason of and equitable. (f) But those [Bishops] who  
the di- staid behind [at *Sirmium*] did that which was  
sturbances caused by the not grateful to all Men.

Yivil War, there were no Consuls in the East; but in the Western parts  
*Magnentius Augustus* as Consul with *Gaiso*. *Baronius* (in his *Ecclesiastick*  
*Annals* asserts, that that Synod was convened in the year of  
Christ, 357. when *Constantius Augustus* was the Ninth time Consul,  
and *Julianus Caesar* the Second time. But *Dionysius Petavius* ( First  
in his *Animadversions on Epiphanius*, and Secondly in his *disertation*  
*de duplici Synodo Sirmiensis*,) doth by most evident arguments demon-  
strate, that the year of that Synod is truly assigned by *Socrates*, after  
the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, which was the year of  
Christ 351. I know *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath written two books,  
wherein he has endeavoured to maintain *Baronius's* opinion against  
*Dionysius Petavius*. But in regard he himself did not publish those  
books, that is an evidence sufficient, that at length he acknowledged  
his own opinion to be false. *Valef.*

(b) The Bishops here named by *Socrates*, sat not in that Synod of *Sirmium*, which was convened against *Photinus*, after the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, in the year of Christ 351: but in that other Synod which was convened there when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, in the year of Christ 359, a little before the Council of *Ariminum*: which latter Synod at *Sirmium* did also set forth that draught of the Creed, which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*; before which the Consuls names were prefixt. And this is evidently made out by *Germinius*, in his *Epistle to Valens*, which is recorded in *Hilarius's Fragments*; and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hæres. Semiarian*. In the former *Sirmium-Synod*, assembled against *Photinus*, the Eastern Bishops only were present this is attested by *Hilarius*, in his book *de Synodis*, and by *Vigilius* Bishop of *Tapsis* in his *Fifth Book against Eutyches*. *Valef.*

(c) *Georgius* was not at this time (viz. after the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*) Bishop of *Alexandria*. For he was created Bishop there in the eighth Consulate of *Constantius Augustus*, and in the First Consulate of *Julianus Caesar*, which was in the year of Christ 356. Wherefore, he could not sit in the former *Sirmium Synod*, which deposed *Photinus* in the year of Christ 351. The same must be said of *Hosius* also who at that time lived under *Magnentius's* jurisdiction: nor was he as yet banished to *Sirmium*. *Valef.*

(d) *Theodorus* continued to be Bishop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia* in the year of Christ 356, as it is manifest from *Athanasius's Circular Epistle* to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, pag. 290: which *Epistle Athanasius* wrote in the year of Christ 356, after *Georgius's* entrance into the See of *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Hypatianus* must necessarily have been made Bishop of *Heraclea* after the year 356. *Sozomen* hath made mention of the same *Hypatianus*, book 6. chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* *Valef.*

(e) *Socrates* here means by *ὑπατέας*, the *Ludi Circenses*, which the Consuls, exhibited at their entrance upon their Consulate: which by the Latines is termed *Consulatum dare*. Some Consuls, besides the *Ludi Circenses*, entertained the people with *Scenical Plays*, and with hunting of wild beasts in the *Amphitheatre*. *Valef.*

(f) At this place we follow the *Sforzian M. S.* in which Copy this passage is more fully exprest, thus: *Οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑπατέας ἐπεσφάσαν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνομα ἡν ἄριστος ἢ ἄριστος; i. e. But those [Bishops] who staid behind, &c.]* Incomparably well in my Judgment. Indeed, that draught of the Creed, which was publish'd in the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus*, is approved of by *Hilarius*, (in his *Book de Synodis*,) as being *Catholick*: But *Athanasius* (in his *Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleucia*) condemns and rejects it, in the same manner with the other Creeds

composed by the *Arians*. Nor do *Hilarius* and *Athanasius* disagree with one another concerning this one form of the Creed, but about other draughts of it also; for example, about the *Antiochian* draught. For *Hilarius* confesseth, that the Eastern Bishops had good reason to compose new forms of the Creed, when new *Heresies* arose against the Church. But *Athanasius* doth maintain, that those new draughts of the Creed were craftily composed by the *Arians* with a design to destroy the *Nicene Creed*. Further, at this place of *Socrates*, instead of [*ἡ πᾶσι ἡν ἄριστος*, that which was not best for all Men] I had rather read [*ἡ πᾶσι ἡν ὀρεσος*, that which was not grateful to all Men.] And so I have render'd it. *Valef.*

*Constan-*  
*tius.*

### C H A P. XXX.

Concerning the [forms of the] Creed published at *Sirmium*, in the presence of the Emperor *Constantius*.

FOR, as if they would condemn what they had heretofore determined concerning the Faith, they again composed, ratified, and published other \* draughts of the Creed: (a) one whereof was dictated in the Greek Tongue by *Marcus* of *Arethusa*: (b) two more were drawn up in the Latin Tongue, which neither agreed one with the other (either in the expressions, or in the composure,) nor yet with that Greek one, which the Bishop of *Arethusa* dictated. Moreover, the one of those Creeds drawn up in Latin, I will here subjoin to that composed by *Marcus*: the other (which they afterwards recited at (c) *Sirmium*,) we will set at it's proper place, where we shall declare what was done at *Ariminum*. But you must know that they were both translated into the Greek Language. The Draught of the Creed dictated by *Marcus*, runs thus.

*Sirmium* against *Photinus*; whereas there was one form only composed in that Synod; which (besides *Socrates*) is recorded by *Athanasius*, Pag. 900. and by *Hilarius*, in his *Book de Synodis* 338. Edit. Paris. 1631. Secondly, in regard he asserts, that that form of the Creed, which was publish'd in the Greek Tongue at the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus*, was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arethusa*. *Marcus* of *Arethusa* did not dictate that Form I have mention'd. But another; before which the Consuls Names were prefixt, and which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*, as *Nickolaus Faber* hath already observed (in the Preface he wrote to *Hilarius's Fragments*) from *Germinius's Epistle*. We must therefore distinguish between the three Synods of *Sirmium*, each of which publish'd their Form of the Creed. The first was convened against *Photinus*, in the year of Christ 351. The second was assembled in the Year of our Lord 357: wherein the Blasphemy of *Hosius* and *Porarius* was composed. The third was celebrated when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, in the Year of Christ 359; wherein that Creed was drawn up, which *Marcus* of *Arethusa* dictated. *Valef.*

(b) Instead of [*ἄλλων* another] the reading must be [*ἄλλες δὲ*, the other two, or two more] as it is in the *Allat. M. S.* For *Socrates* here recounts three draughts of the Creed composed at *Sirmium*; the two latter whereof he saith were written at first in Latin, and afterwards translated into Greek. Which in my judgment is not true. I grant indeed, that that Creed, which by *Hilarius* is termed *Hosius's Blasphemy*, was at first published in Latin. But the other which had the Consuls name prefix'd before it, was undoubtedly at first dictated in the Greek Tongue. For he that dictated it, (viz. *Marcus* of *Arethusa*) and the rest of the Bishops then assembled were almost all *Grecians*. Lastly, the Subscriptions of the Bishops, who subscrib'd this form, are extant in Greek, in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Semiarian*) *Valef.*

(c) Without doubt it must be [*Ariminum*.] not [*Sirmium*.] which reading *Epiphan. Scholasticus* followed, as appears from his Version. See chap. 37. of this second Book.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Framer of all things: \* Of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named: and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things, which are in the Heavens, and which are upon the Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wisdom, and the true Light, and the Life. Who in the last days was for our sakes incarnate.



Constan-  
tius. carnate, and born of the holy Virgin, and was crucified and died, and was buried, and arose again from the dead on the third day, and was taken up into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of the world to judge the Quick and Dead, and shall render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual continueth unto infinite ages. For he shall sit on the right hand of the Father, not only in this present world, but in that also which is to come. And [We believe] in the Holy Ghost, that is the Paraclete; whom [our Lord,] (having promised he would send him to the Apostles after his ascent into the Heavens, that he might teach and put them in mind of all things,) sent. By whom also those Souls, which have sincerely believed in him, are sanctified. But those who affirm, that the Son [exists] of things which \* were not, or of another substance, and not of God; and that there was a time or an age when he was not, the Holy and Catholick Church hath certainly known to be Aliens [from her.] We say it therefore again, if any one doth affirm the Father and the Son to be two Gods, let him be

(d) Hilarius seems to have read otherwise. For in his Book de Synodis, where he records this Creed, he renders this passage thus: & si quis, &c. and if any one affirming one God, but shall not profess Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, &c. Valef.

that the unbegotten, or part of him, was born of Mary, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say that the Son was of Mary according to prescience, and that he was not with God, born of the Father before all ages, and that all things were made by him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Essence of God to be † dilated or contracted, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the dilated Essence of God to make the Son, or shall term the Son the Enlargement of his Essence, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the internal or outwardly-utter'd Word to be the Son of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Son, who was [born] of Mary, to be Man only, let him be Anathema. If any one asserting him that was [born] of Mary to be God and Man, shall understand the unbegotten God himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand this Text, \* I am the first God, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God, (which is spoken in order to the destruction of Idols, and those which are not Gods) in the same sense which the Jews take it in, [to wit, as if it were spoken] upon account of the subversion of the only begotten God before ages, let him be Anathema. If any one hearing these words, † The Word was made flesh, shall suppose that the Word was changed into flesh, or that he assumed flesh by having undergone any change, let him be Anathema.

(e) In the Allat. MS. and in Athanasius's Book de Synodis, this Anathema is thus worded: εἰ τις τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσαυτοῦτον ἀλάσ, τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ ἐβλάψεν ἢ ἀλάσ, &c. and we have rendered it accordingly: After the same manner Hilarius read this passage, as from his Version appears. Valef.

† Gen. 1. 26.

make man to the Son, but shall assert that God himself spake to himself, let him be Anathema. If

any one shall say, that it was not the Son who appeared to Abraham, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. (f) If any one

shall say, that it was not the Son who as a man wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand these words, † The Lord rained from the Lord, not of the Father and the Son, but shall say, † Gen. that God rained from himself, let him be Anathema. 19. 24. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father. (g) If any one hearing [these words,] The Lord the Father, and the Lord the Son, shall

term both the Father Lord, and the Son also Lord, and saying, The Lord from the Lord, shall assert that there are two Gods, let him be Anathema. For we place not the Son in the same degree with the Father, but [understand] him to be inferior to the Father. For neither did he come down to (b) Sodom without his Father's will: nor did he rain from himself, but from the Lord, that is from the Father, who hath the supreme authority. Nor does he sit at his Father's right hand of himself, but he hears the Father, saying, \* Sit thou at my right hand, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one person, let him be Anathema. If any terming the Holy Ghost the Paraclete, shall call him the unbegotten God, let him be Anathema. If any one does say that the Paraclete is no other [person] than the Son, (as the Son himself hath taught us; for he has said, † the Father, whom I will ask, shall send you another Comforter,) let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Spirit is part of the Father and of the Son, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are three Gods, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son of God was made like one of the Creatures, by the will of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Son was begotten against the will of the Father, let him be Anathema. (i) For the Father was not forced by a physical necessity, nor did he beget the Son as if he were unwilling: but as soon as he was willing, he has declared that he begat him of himself without time and without passion, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son is unborn and without a beginning, affirming as it were that there are two [Principles] without a beginning and unborn, and so making two Gods, let him be Anathema. For the Son is the Head and Beginning of all things. \* But the Head of Christ is God. For thus we piously refer all things by the Son to One who is without a beginning,

(f) This whole Anathematism was omitted here: it occurs in Athanasius's and Hilarius's Copy of this Creed; and therefore we inserted it. Valef. The Learned Reader will find it in Robert Stephens's Edition also.

(g) This Anathematism is differently worded in all the Authors (we have seen) wherein this Creed occurs. Valefius says, that he has published it according to the reading of the Florent. and Sfortian M.SS. which Copies we have followed in our English Version: where it is thus worded in the Greek: εἰ τις ἀκρίαν κρείον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κρείον; καὶ κρείον τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἄπει, καὶ κρείον ἐκ κρείον λέγων δύο λέγει θεός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. The reading in Robert Stephens is different from this; and so is that in Athanasius, pag. 901: where 'tis thus worded: εἰ τις ἀκρίαν κρείον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κρείον, καὶ κρείον, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεὶ κρείος ἐκ κρείον, δύο λέγει θεός, &c. Hilarius has translated otherwise, as appears from his Version, at pag. 339. Edit. Paris. 1631. His words are these: Si quis dominum & dominum patrem & filium quasi dominum a domino intelligat: quia dominum & dominum duos dicat deos: Anathema sit. Thus variously is this Anathematism represented. The Learned Reader may take the liberty (as we have done,) to follow which Copy he pleases.

(b) We follow the reading in Hilarius, and in Athanasius; where it is [ἐπὶ σόδομα τοῦ Σοδόμ.] In Robert Stephens the reading is [ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐν Σόδομ.] For neither did he descend into the body. † See John 14. 16.

(i) Here we follow the reading in Athanasius, which is thus: εἰ γὰρ βιασθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ, &c. For the Father was not forced, &c. which reading is confirmed by Epiphanius Scholasticus, and by Hilarius. Valef.

† 1 Cor. 11. 3. A a



Constantinus. *ning, the beginning of all things. Furthermore, we, making an accurate explanation of [their] sentiments [who profess] the Christian Religion, do assert, that if any one shall not affirm Christ Jesus to have been the Son of God before ages, and to have ministered to the Father at the framing of all things, but [shall say] that he was called the Son and Christ from such time only as he was born of Mary, and that he then received the beginning of his Deity; let him be Anathema, like [Paul] of Samosata.*

(k) Athanasius has the same Words in his Book de Synodis Ariminiensis: by inquiry into and discuss'd at Sirmium, in the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius (l) and the rest. It is manifest that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord (m) and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it must not be asserted that there are two Gods, because the Lord himself hath said, \* I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. Therefore he is God even of

(k) Another [Draught of the] Creed published at Sirmium in the Latin tongue, and rendered into Greek.

In regard there seemeth to have been some difference concerning the Faith, all things were diligently inquired into and discuss'd at Sirmium, in the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius (l) and the rest. It is manifest that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord (m) and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it must not be asserted that there are two Gods, because the Lord himself hath said, \* I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. Therefore he is God even of

*πρότα παρωντων, &c. Having rejected all these things, as if they had invented better, they promulge another Creed, which they wrote at Sirmium in Latin, but it was translated into Greek. But Hilarius recording this Creed in his Book de Synodis, prefixes this title before it: Exemplum Blasphemiae, &c. A Copy of the Blasphemy composed at Sirmium by Holius and Potamius. Which title Hilarius made himself, and deservedly calls this Creed Blasphemy. Who this Potamius, here joyned with Holius was, Marcellinus Presbyter informs us in the Supplicatory Libel which he presented to the Emperor Theodosius. Where, amongst the corrupters of the Divine and Apostolick Faith, after Arius, he in the first place names this person: His Words are these: Potamius Odyssipona civitatis Episcopus, &c. i. e. Potamius Bishop of Lisbon was at first a Defender of the Catholick Faith, but afterwards induced by the reward of a Farm belonging to the Emperor's Revenue (which he was very desirous of,) he corrupted the Faith. Holius of Corduba amongst the Churches in Spain detected this Man, and repelled him as being an impious Heretick. But, even Holius himself, summoned before the Emperor Constantius by the complaint of this Potamius, and terrified with threats, was fearful (being old and rich) of banishment, or proscription, and so yielded to the impiety. Valef*

(l) These three words [*ὁ πατήρ, and the rest*] occur not in the Latin Copy of this Draught of the Creed. But they are extant in Athanasius, and in all our M. SS. Copies. Hence 'tis manifest that many Bishops were at that time convened at Sirmium. Indeed Phœadius Bishop of Angoulême [in France,] in the Epistle he wrote against this Draught of the Creed, does expressly affirm that it was published in a Synod of Bishops. The same is sufficiently confirmed by Athanasius, in the foregoing place. Lastly, in regard Hilarius (in his fore-said Book) does attest, that this Creed, after it had been dictated at Sirmium, was forthwith sent to all the Eastern and Western Bishops to be approved by them; he evidently shews it to have been dictated in a Synod. Nor can the Draught of a Creed be any where dictated but in a Synod of Bishops. Further, that Germinius here mentioned, was Bishop of Sirmium, put into Photinus's See upon his being ejected, in the year of Christ 351. Nicolaus Faber (in his Preface to Hilarius's Fragments,) says that this Germinius had before been Bishop of Cyzicum; which I do not believe. That place in Athanasius (in his Epist. ad Solitar. pag. 860; where he reproves the Emperor Constantius, because, contrary to the Ecclesiastick Canons, he would send obscure fellows, born in remote Countries, to be Bishops in the Cities;) deceived that Learned Man: Athanasius's words there are these: *ἔτι γυνέοντες ἀπὸ κατὰ πόλιν ἐπεμψέντες εἰς ἀλεξάνδρειαν, &c. So he sent Gregorius from Cappadocia to Alexandria. And Germinius was by him sent from the City Cyzicum to Sirmium. From Laodicea he sent Cecropius to Nicomedia. From these Words of Athanasius it cannot be concluded, that Germinius had been Bishop of Cyzicum before. Otherwise the same must be said concerning Gregorius and Cecropius, that the latter had been before Bishop of Laodicea, and the former in Cappadocia, which, in regard 'tis evidently false in these two, cannot be said of Germinius. This Germinius was preferred to the Episcopate of Sirmium by the Arians, because he was a most eager defender of their opinion. This we are informed of by Athanasius, in his circular Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, pag. 290. Valef.*

(m) In the *Allat. and Sfortian* M. SS. and in Epiphanius's Version these words [*ὁ θεός, and God*] occur; in Athanasius and Hilarius they are wanting. Valef.

all, as the Apostle also hath taught, † Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God who shall justify the Circumcision by Faith. Moreover, all other things agree, nor have they any ambiguity. But whereas very many are disturbed about that term which in Latin is called \* Substantia, and in Greek Ousia; (that is, that it may be more accurately understood, the word † Homoiouision or \* Homoiouision,) these terms ought in no wise to be mentioned, nor discoursed of publicly in the Church, for this reason, and upon this account, because there is nothing recorded concerning them in the Divine Scriptures, and in regard these things are above the reach of human knowledge and mind of man; nor can any one declare the Son's generation, according as it is written, || And who shall declare his generation? For 'tis manifest that only the Father knows how he begat the Son; and again, that the Son [only knows] how he was begotten of the Father. It cannot be doubtful to any man that the Father is greater in honour, dignity, and divinity; and that he is greater in that very name of a Father: the Son himself attesting, † The Father who sent me is greater than I. No man is ignorant that this is Catholick [Doctrine,] that there are two persons of the Father and of the Son, and that the Father is the greater: but that the Son is made subject, together with all other things which the Father hath subjected to himself. That the Father hath no beginning, and is invisible, immortal, and impassible: but that the Son was born of the Father, God of God, Light of Light. And that no man knows his generation, (as was said before,) but only the Father. That the Son himself our Lord and God, took flesh, or a body, that is [was made] man, according as the Angel evangelized. And according as all the Scriptures do teach, and especially the Apostle himself, the Teacher of the Gentiles, Christ received Humanity of the Virgin Mary, by which he suffered. This is the principal Head of the whole Faith, and its Confirmation, that the Trinity must be always preserved according as we read in the Gospel: † Go ye and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The number of the Trinity is entire and perfect. But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, was sent by the Son, and he came according to promise, that he might sanctify and (n) teach the Apostles and all Believers.

They attempted to persuade Photinus to give his \* consent to, and subscribe these things, even after his deposition, promising that they would restore him his Bishoprick, in case by altering his mind he would anathematize the opinion which he had invented, and consent to their sentiments. But he accepted not of that proposition, but challeng'd them to dispute. A day therefore being set, by the Emperor's own appointment, the Bishops there present met, and also not a few of the (o) Senatorian Order, whom the Emperor commanded to be present at the dispute.

Photinus. (n) In Athanasius it is, *διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν* that he might reach. (o) Epiphanius (in Hieron.) relates, that Photinus, after he had been condemned and deposed in the Synod of Sirmium, (for so the reading must be, not in the Synod of Serdica,) went to Constantius, and requested that he might dispute concerning the Faith before Judges by him nominated: and that Constantius enjoined Basilus Bishop of Ancyra to undertake the disputation against Photinus, and gave leave, that Thalassius, Darianus, Cerealis, and Taurus, who were Counts, should be Judges or Auditors of that disputation. Amongst these Thalassius was the chief person in favour and authority with the Emperor (as Zosimus tells us in his second Book.) And was sent Praefect of the Praetorium into the East together with Gallus Caesar, in the year of Christ 351. He died in the year of our Lord 353. in the sixth Consulate of Constantius Augustus, and in the second of Gallus Caesar; as Amm. Marcellinus relates Book 14. Therefore the Synod of Sirmium, and the disputation



tation of *Basilius* against *Photinus* cannot fall on the year of Christ 357, as *Baronius* asserts, Besides, *Epiphanius* says further, that in *Basilius's* disputation against *Photinus*, *Callistrates* was a Notary, who had before been Notary to *Rufinus* Prefect of the *Prætorium*. Now, *Rufinus* was Prefect of the *Prætorium* in the *Gallia's*, in the sixth Consulate of *Constantius Augustus*, and in the second of *Gallus* Cæsar, as *Anm. Marcellinus* tells us Book 14. But, two years before he had been Prefect of *Illyricum*. Now, in the year of Christ 357, *Anatolius*, not *Rufinus*, bore the Prefecture of the *Prætorium* in *Illyricum*. Further, it may be evidently concluded from *Germinius's* being made Bishop, that the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus* (wherein *Photinus* was ejected out of his Bishoprick,) was not held in the year of Christ 357. For, *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium*, before *Georgius* intruded himself into the See of *Alexandria* upon *Athanasius's* Ejection, as *Athanasius* relates in the Circular Letter he wrote to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, at such time as *Georgius* was in possession of the *Alexandrian* See. Moreover, *Georgius* entered upon the See of *Alexandria* in the beginning of the year 356, as it is evident from the protestation of the *Alexandrians*, which is extant at the close of *Athanasius's* Epistle ad Solitar. Seeing therefore *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium* before the year of our Lord 356, *Photinus* also (whom *Germinius* succeeded) must necessarily have been deposed before this year. *Athanasius* (in Epist. ad Solitar. pag. 860, where he recounts the Ordinations of extraneous Persons made by *Constantius*;) does in the first place mention *Gregorius's* Ordination; then, *Germinius's* and *Cecropius's*; afterwards *Auxentius's*; and at last *Georgius's*. Amongst these Persons, *Gregorius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria* in the year of Christ 341. *Germinius* succeeded *Photinus* in the Episcopate of *Sirmium* in the year 351: After he had been sent for by *Constantius* then residing at *Sirmium*, as *Athanasius* relates in the fore-quoted place; which the Latin Translator has rendered ill. On the same year *Cecropius* was made Bishop of *Nicomedia*, as it may be concluded from the fore-said passage in *Athanasius*. Lastly, *Auxentius* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Millain* in the year of our Lord 355: and on the year following *Georgius* thrust himself into the See of *Alexandria*. Valef.

In their presence, *Basilius*, who at that time presided over the Church at *Ancyra*, opposed *Photinus*, the Notaries taking their words in writing. There was a very great contest on both sides during their dispute; wherein *Photinus* being vanquish'd, was condemned. Spending the residue of his life in exile, he wrote a (p) Book in † both Languages, for he was not unskill'd in the *Latin* tongue. That is, in Greek, and Latin. He wrote also against all Heresies, asserting his own Opinion only. Let thus much be said concerning *Photinus*. Moreover, you must know, that the Bishops convened at *Sirmium* were afterwards (q) displeas'd with that Draught of the Creed publish'd by them in *Latin*. For it seem'd to them, after its publication, to contain many contradictions. Wherefore they earnestly endeavour'd to get it out of their hands who had transcribed it. But, in regard many hid it, the Emperor by his Edicts order'd, that all the Copies of it should be diligently searched for and gather'd up, threatening to punish those that should be found concealing of it. But his menaces were unable to suppress it when once published, in regard it had fallen into many mens hands. Thus far concerning this.

But here- in he mistakes; viz. what *Athanasius* has said concerning the third form of the Creed drawn up at *Sirmium*, (before which the Consuls names were prefixt,) *Socrates* attributes to the second, composed by *Hosius* and *Potamius*. The place in *Athanasius* is extant at pag. 904. But in regard of its length we forbear quoting the words here. *Petrus* (in his Animadversions on *Epiphanius*, pag. 318.) has followed the mistake of *Socrates's*. Valef.

C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning *Hosius* Bishop of Corduba.

BUT, in regard we have mention'd *Hosius* the Spaniard, as being against his will present [at *Sirmium*,] we must say something very briefly concerning him. For a little before,

this person had been sent into (a) Banishment by the fraudulent practices of the *Arians*. But then, through the earnest desire of those convened at *Sirmium*, the Emperor sent for him, being desirous either to perswade, or else by force to compel him to give consent with those [Bishops] present there. For if this could be accomplish'd, an evident testimony would seem to be given to their Faith. For this reason therefore, he was present (as I said) being necessitated thereto against his will. But when he refused to give his consent, they inflicted stripes and tortures upon the old man. Upon which account he was necessitated both to consent to, and subscribe those Expositions of the Faith then publish'd. Such was the conclusion of affairs at that time transacted at *Sirmium*. Moreover, the Emperor *Constantius* continued at *Sirmium*, expecting the event of the War against *Magnentius*. of Christ 357, as *Baronius* has truly observed. Valef.

C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning the Overthrow of *Magnentius* the Tyrant.

I N the interim, *Magnentius* having possessed himself of the Imperial City *Rome*, slew many of the Senatorian Order, and destroy'd several of the Populace. But as soon as *Constantius's* Commanders, having got together a body of *Romans*, marched out against him, he left *Rome*, and went into the *Gallia's*. Where there hapned continual engagements; and sometimes one side, sometimes the other got the better. But in fine, *Magnentius* having been worsted about *Mursa*, which is a Fort of the *Gallia's*, was besieged there. In which Fort such a miraculous accident as this is said to have hapned. *Magnentius* attempting to encourage his Soldiers disheartned at their overthrow, ascended a lofty tribunal. His men, desirous to receive him with the shouts and acclamations usually given to the Emperors, contrary to their intent diverted them to *Constantius*. For by a general consent they all cried out, not *Magnentius*, but *Constantius Augustus*. *Magnentius* looking upon this to be an \* Omen \* of his imminent ruin, departed immediately out of the Garrison, and fled to the further parts of the *Gallia's*. *Constantius's* Commanders follow'd him with very close pursuit. Whereupon there hapned another engagement at a place called

(a) The Mountain *Seleucus*: wherein *Magnentius* being totally routed, fled alone to *Lyons* a City of *Gallia*, three days journey distant from the Fort at *Mursa*. *Magnentius* having got into *Lyons*, in the first place killed his own mother. Then he slew his brother, whom he had created Cæsar; and at last laid violent hands upon himself. This was done in the sixth Consulate of *Constantius*, and in *Constantius Gallus's* second Consulate, (b) about the fifteenth of the month *August*. Not long after, another of *Magnentius's* brothers, his name *Decentius*, finished his own life, by hanging himself in Idati-

us's Fasti: thus; in the sixth Consulate of *Constantius* the second of *Constantius Gallus*, *Magnentius* killed himself in the *Gallia's* at *Lyons*, on the third of the Ides of *August*; and *Decentius*, brother to *Magnentius*, hanged himself on the fifteenth of the Kalends of *September*. In the *Alexandr. Chronicle*, the year of *Magnentius's* death is falsely set down; but the day is noted to have been on the fourteenth of the Ides of *August*. Valef.



*Constantius.* ing of himself. Such was *Magnentius's* Exit. But the publick Affairs of the Empire return'd not to a perfect degree of tranquillity: For soon after this another Tyrant arose, by name *Silvanus*. But *Constantius's* Commanders quickly destroy'd him, whilst he was making disturbances in the *Gallia's*.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

Concerning the Jews inhabiting Dio-Cæsarea in Palestine.

AT the same time also that these things hapned, there arose another intestine War in the East. For the Jews who inhabited Dio-Cæsarea in Palestine, took arms against the Romans, and over-ran and destroy'd the adjacent places. But *Gallus* (who was also named *Constantius*, whom the Emperor, having created him Cæsar, had sent into the East) sent an Army against them, and routed them. And by his order their City Dio-Cæsarea was totally destroy'd.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning Gallus Cæsar.

*Gallus* having done this, was unable [with moderation] to bear his prosperous success: but immediately attempted to raise innovations against him by whom he had been created Cæsar, and he himself was also resolv'd to play the Tyrant. But, whereas his design was soon discover'd by *Constantius*: (For *Gallus* had upon his own authority order'd *Domitianus*, at that time Præfect of the *Prætorium* in the East, and *Magnus* the Quæstor to be slain, because they had

(a) I corrected this place by the assistance of the Allat. M. S. of *Sozomen*, and *Cedrenus*. In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [ἀνεῖλε μυνύσαντας βασιλεῖ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν. He slew them because they had acquainted the Emperor with his design.] *Sozomen's* words Book 4. Chap. 7.) are almost the same. But *Epiphanius*, our M. SS. Copies, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* retain the Vulgar reading, to wit, μὴ μυνύσαντας τὸν βασιλέα, He (that is) *Gallus* having not acquainted the Emperor with his design of slaying *Domitianus*, &c. Valef.

(a) acquainted the Emperor with his design.) *Constantius* highly incensed thereat, sent for *Gallus* to him. He, being in a very great fear, went unwillingly. When he arrived in the Western parts, and was come as far as the Island *Flanona*, *Constantius* order'd he should be slain. Not long after, he created *Julianus*, *Gallus's* Brother, Cæsar, and sent him against the Barbarians in *Gallia*. Moreover, *Gallus* (called also *Constantius*) was slain in the seventh Consulate of the Emperor *Constantius*, when he himself was Consul the third time. On the year following, in the Consulate of *Arbetion* and *Lollianus*, *Julianus* was created Cæsar, on the sixth of the month November. Concerning *Julianus* we shall make a further mention in our following Book. But *Constantius* having got rid of his present mischiefs and disquietudes, bent his mind again to an Ecclesiastick War. For going from *Sirmium* to the Imperial City *Rome*, he again summon'd a Synod of Bishops, and ordered some of

(b) Instead of [ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλλίαν, into Gallia] the reading in the Allat. M. S. is truer; which is [ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν into Italy:] which reading we have followed in our Version. Valef.

shops to meet there also. But in the interim that they were making preparation to go into Italy, this accident hapned: (c) *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* died, having presided over the Church there fifteen years: *Liberius* succeeded him in his Bishoprick.

(c) *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* died on the twelfth of April, when *Constantius Augustus* was Consul the fifth time, and *Constantius Cæsar* the first time; which was the year of Christ 352: after he had sat Bishop fifteen years, one month, and eleven days; as it is recorded in the *Antient Book concerning the Roman Bishops*, which is published together with *Victorius Aquitanus's* Cycle. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXV.

Concerning Aëtius the Syrian, Eunomius's Master.

AT *Antioch* in *Syria* there arose another Arch-Heretick, *Aëtius*, surnamed *Athens*. He had the same Sentiments with *Arius*, and maintained the same Opinion: but he separated himself from the *Arian* Party, because they had admitted *Arius* into communion. For *Arius* (as I said \* before) espousing one Opinion in his mind, made an open profession of another with his mouth, when he hypocritically consented to and subscribed the Form of the Creed [drawn up] at the Synod of *Nice*, that he might deceive the then Emperor. Upon this account therefore *Aëtius* separated himself from the *Arians*. Moreover, *Aëtius* had formerly been an heretical person, and a very zealous defender of *Arius's* Opinion. For after he had been a little instructed at *Alexandria*, he returned from thence: And arriving at *Antioch* in *Syria* (for there he was born) he was ordained Deacon by *Leontius*, at that time Bishop of *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he astonish'd those that discoursed him with the novelty of his Speeches. And this he did, trusting in *Aristotle's* Categories; (that Book is so entitled by its Author,) from the Rules whereof he discoursed, but was insensible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to deceiving of his own self, nor had he learned the scope of *Aristotle* from knowing persons. For *Aristotle*, upon account of the Sophisters who at that time derided Philosophy, wrote that *Exercitation* for Young men, and opposed the Sophisters with the art of discourse by subtil reasonings. Wherefore the

(a) *Ephecticks* who expound *Plato's* and *Plotinus's* works, do find fault with what *Aristotle* has subtilly and artificially asserted [in that work.] But *Aëtius*, having never had an *Academick* Master, stuck close to the Sophisms of the Categories. Upon which account he could neither understand how there could be a Generation (b) without a beginning, nor how he that was begotten could be co-eternal with him who begat him. Yea, *Aëtius* was a man of so little learning, so unskilled in the sacred Scriptures, and so wholly exercised in and addicted to a

contentious and disputative humour, (which every Rustick may easily do;) that he was not in

(a) Who these *Ephecticks* were, we may know from *Diogenes Laërtius*: Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων, διὸν γὰρ γόνασι, δογματικοὶ καὶ ἐφεκτικοί, &c. *Philosophers* (says he) were generally divided into two sorts; some were termed *Dogmatici*, who discoursed concerning things as they might be comprehended: others were called *Ephectici*, who define nothing, and dispute of things so as they cannot be comprehended. See *Diogen Laërt.* in *Proöm. de Vir. Philos.* pag. 10. Edit. *Colob. Allobrog.* 1616. of these *Ephecticks* (whom we may in English call *Doubters*) the *Scepticks* were one Species.

(b) In the original, the term is [ἀγέννητος, unbegotten] which is used instead of [ἀναρχος without a beginning,] wherefore, we have rendred it accordingly. Valef.



*Constantius.* in the least studious in the perusal of those ancient Writers who have explained the Sacred Books of the Christian Religion, but wholly rejected *Clemens*, *Africanus*, and *Origen*, persons expert in all manner of knowledge and literature. But he patch'd together Epistles, both to the Emperor *Constantius*, and to some other persons, knitting together therein trifling and contentious disputes, and inventing subtil and fallacious arguments. Upon which account he was

\* That is, one that believes there is no God. † Or, methods of arguing. *Constantius* was surnamed \* *Atheus*. But altho' his assertions were the same with those of the *Arians*; yet because they were unable to understand his difficult and perplexed † *Syllogisms*, he who had the same Sentiments with them, was by those of his own party judg'd to be an Heretick. And for this reason he was driven from their Church; but he himself pretended that he would not communicate with them. There are at this present some Hereticks propagated from him, [to wit,] those who were heretofore called *Aëtians*, but now they are termed *Eunomians*. For *Eunomius* (who had been *Aëtius's* Notary,) having been instructed in that (c) Heretical Opinion by him, afterwards headed that Sect. But we shall speak concerning *Eunomius* in due place.

(c) In the Vatican M.S. instead of [τὴν αἰρετικὴν λέξιν, that Heretical opinion] the reading is [τὴν ἐριρινὴν λέξιν, that contentious and verbose way of disputing:] But *Epiphanius Scholasticus* follows the vulgar reading, and so does *Suidas*, in the word [ἀέτιος] where he transcribes this passage of our *Socrates*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

## Concerning the Synod at Millain.

AT that time the Bishops met in *Italy*; there came not very many of the Eastern Bishops, in regard most of them were hindered from coming, either by their great age, or by the length of the journey: but of the Western Bishops there met above (a) three hundred. For it was the Emperor's order, that a Synod should be held at the City of *Millain*. Where being met together, the Eastern Bishops requested that in the first place sentence might by a general consent be pronounced against *Athanasius*: that so, that having been effected, he might in future be perfectly disabled from returning to *Alexandria*. But when (b) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* in *Gallia*, and *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*, (the former of whom was Bishop of (c) *Alba* the Metropolis of *Italy*, and the latter of *Vercelle* which is a City of *Liguria* in *Italy*;) were sensible, that the Eastern Bishops, by a ratification of the sentence against *Athanasius*, attempted the subversion of the Faith, they arose, and with great earnestness cry'd out, that deceit and fraud was covertly design'd against the Christian Religion by what was transacted: for they said, that the accusation against *Athanasius* was not true, but that these things were invented by them in order to the depravation of the Faith. After they had with loud voices spoken all this, the Congress of Bishops was for that time dissolv'd.

(a) We meet with the same number in *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 9. But his scarce credible that so great a number of Bishops should have been convened at this Council of *Millain*; I should rather think that the copies of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were false; and that instead of [τρεῖς ἑκατὸν τρεῖς hundred] it should be [τρεῖς ἑκατὸν thirty.] In the Epistle of the Council of *Millain* sent to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelle*, there are the names of thirty Bishops only, who consented to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and *Photinus*. Amongst whom some Eastern Bishops are recounted, as you may see in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 355. Valef.

(b) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* was not present at the Council of *Millain*, but at that of *Orleans*, which had been convened two years before, in the year of Christ 353. See *Baronius*. Valef.

(c) The reading is the same in *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 9. But *Baronius* has long since remarked, that *Alba* is here put instead of *Millain*. For *Millain* (not *Alba*) was the Metropolis of *Italy*. And *Dionysius*, who then opposed *Constantius* and the *Arians*, was not Bishop of *Alba*, but of *Millain*, as *Athanasius* attests in his Epistle ad *Solitar*. Valef.

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## C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning the Synod at Ariminum, and concerning the [Draught of the] Creed which was published there.

WHEN the Emperor understood this, he removed \* them out of the way by banishment. And resolved to convene a General Council, that so, by drawing all the Eastern Bishops into the West, he might (if it were possible) reduce them all to an agreement in opinion. But in regard the tediousness of the Journey rendred this design of his difficult, he order'd the Synod should be divided into two parts, permitting those then present to meet at *Ariminum* [a City] of *Italy*. But by his Letters he gave the Eastern Bishops order to assemble at *Nicomedia* [a City] of *Bithynia*.

(a) The Emperor issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion. But, this design of his had not a successful event. For neither of the Synods agreed among themselves, but each of them was divided into contrary factions. For neither could they convened at *Ariminum* be brought to agree in one and the same opinion: and those Eastern Bishops gather'd together at *Seleucia* of *Isauria* raised another Schism. Moreover, after what manner all these matters were transacted we will declare in the procedure of our History, having first made mention of some few passages concerning *Eudoxius*. For about that time

(b) *Leontius* (who had ordain'd *Aëtius* the Heretick Deacon departing this life, *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germanicia*, a City of *Syria*, being then present at *Rome*, consider'd

with himself that he was to make haste. And having framed a cunning discourse with the Emperor, as if the City *Germanicia* stood in need of his consolation and defence, he requested that leave might be granted him to make a sudden return. The Emperor foreseeing nothing [of a design,] sent him away. But he, having procured the chiefest Persons of the Bedchamber to the Emperor to be his assistants, left his own City [*Germanicia*] and \* clandestinely possess'd himself of the Episcopate of *Antioch*: immediately after which he attempted to favour *Aëtius*, and made it his business to assemble a Synod of Bishops, and (c) restore him to his dignity, [to wit,] his † *Diaconate*. But he was in no wise able to effect this, because the hatred conceived against *Aëtius* was more prevalent than *Eudoxius's* earnestness for him. Thus much concerning these things. But when the Bishops were assembled at *Ariminum*,

a *Diaconate*: but being afterwards reproved by *Diodorus* and *Flavianus*, because he had advanced a person to Sacred Orders who had been bred up in ill studies, and was an assertor of impious Tenets; he divested him of his Deaconship, as *Theodoret* relates (*Eccles. Hist.* Book 2. Chap. 24.) *Eudoxius* therefore, as soon as he had gotten the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, attempted to restore *Aëtius* to his former preferment. Valef.



Constan-  
tius.

the Eastern Prelates affirmed that they were come to the Council with a design wholly to omit the mention of the accusations against *Athanasius*. This desire and resolution of theirs was assisted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who at the beginning had been defenders of *Arius's* Opinion: but [afterwards] they publicly consented to the term *Homoousios*, by their Libel given in to the Bishop of Rome, as we said \* before. For these persons always inclined to the strongest side. They were assisted by *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*. When therefore some were ready to propose one thing in the Congress of Bishops then present, and some another; *Ursacius* and *Valens* said, that all Forms of the Creed heretofore publish'd were to be accounted null and void; and that that last draught was to be admitted and approved of, which they had a little before published in their Convention at *Sirmium*. Having said this, they caused a paper, which they had in their hands, to be read; [wherein was contained] another Form of the Creed (which they had drawn up before at *Sirmium*, but concealed it there, as I said \* before) which they then made publick at *Ariminum*. This (d) Creed was translated out of *Latin* [into Greek;] the Contents thereof are these.

\* Chap. 30.  
(d) We remark'd before,  
(Book 2. Chap. 30.

note (b.) that this third Exposition of Faith was not translated out of *Latin*; but was at first dictated in *Greek* by *Marcus Arethasius*. *Athanasius*, who has recorded this Creed in his Book de Synodis, does not say it was translated out of *Latin*; and yet, where-ever he produceth any monument rendred into *Greek* out of the *Latin* tongue, his continual usage is to give the Reader warning of it. Further, these words [*ἡ τῆς ἐν ῥωμαϊκῇ καὶ ἡρμενεύθη, καὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς ῥωμαῖς*, i. e. This Creed was translated out of *Latin* [into Greek,] the contents thereof are these] are wanting in *Robert Stephens's* Edition; nor are they in *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. Valef.

This Catholick Creed was published in the presence of our Lord Constantius, in the Consulate of the most Eminent *Flavius Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, at *Sirmium*, on the eleventh of the Kalends of June.

We believe in One Only and True God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Framer of all things. And in One Only begotten Son of God, who was begotten of God, without passion, before all Ages, and before every Beginning, and before all time conceivable in the mind, and before every comprehensible (e) No-

(e) In *Athanasius's* Book de Synodis, pag. 875. the reading is [*πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων καὶ ἀπαρχῆς, ὡς ἰσχυρίζεται, ὡς ἰσχυρίζεται, ὡς ἰσχυρίζεται*, be-fore every abolishing of Sin: And was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and conversed with the Disciples, and fulfilled every Dispensation according to his Father's Will: and was crucified, and died, and descended into the Infernal parts, and set in order what was to be done there: At the sight of whom the Door-keepers of Hell trembled. He arose again on the third day, and conversed with his Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of his Father. And he shall come in the last day in his Father's Glory, and render to every man according to his works. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only Begotten Son of God *Jesus Christ* himself promised to send as a Comforter to Mankind, according as it is written: I go away to my Father, and I will pray my Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, the Spirit of

truth. He shall receive of mine, and shall teach you, and bring all things to your remembrance. But for the term \* *Ousia*, in regard it has been used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense, and, being not understood by the people, gives an offence to many, in as much as it is not contained in the Scriptures, we thought good to have it wholly removed, and in future to make no mention at all of this term *Ousia*, when God is spoken of, in regard the sacred Scriptures have nowhere mentioned the Substance of the Father and of the Son. But (f) we do assert, that the Son is in all things like the Father, as the sacred Scriptures do affirm and teach.

(f) The latter part of this Sirmian

Creed is set down by *Germinius* in his Epistle to *Rufinus*, *Palladius*, and others, in these words: *Nam sub bonæ memoriæ Constantio Imperatore, &c. For under the Emperor Constantius of good memory, when there began to be a dissention amongst some concerning the Faith; in the presence of the said Empeor, there being also present Georgius Bishop of the Alexandrian Church, Pancratius of Pelusum, Basilus at that time Bishop of Anquiricum, Valens, Ursacius, and our slenderness; after a dispute had concerning the Faith until night, when it was reduced to a certain Rule, Marcus was chosen by us all to dictate it: In which Creed it is thus written, The Son is in all things like the Father, as the divine Scriptures do affirm and teach. To which entire Profession of Faith we all gave our consent, and subscribed it with our hands. The subscriptions are extant in Epiphanius (in Hæres. Semiarian. Chap. 22.) which ought to be annexed to this draught of the Creed. The same form of the Sirmian Creed is mentioned in the Exposition of the Faith at Seleucia, which Epiphanius hath recorded in the foresaid Hæresie, Chap. 25. in these Words: ὅτι δὲ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἰσοδυναμεῖ, ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἐκτεθέσθαι πίστις, &c. i. e. Moreover, that that Draught of the Creed heretofore published at *Sirmium* in the presence of the piety of our Emperor [Constantius] does exactly agree with this form of the Creed, is very well known by them who have read that Creed; which was subscribed by them that were then present, to wit, Basilus, Marcus, Georgius Bishop of Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, and most of the Western Bishops. Valef.*

After the reading of this Paper, those who were displeased with the contents thereof, rose up and said; We came not hither because we wanted a Creed: For we keep that entire, which we have received from our Ancestors. But [we are met,] that if any innovation hath hapned concerning it, we might repress it. If therefore what hath been recited doth contain nothing of novelty in it, do you now openly Anathematize the *Arian* Hæresie, in such sort as the ancient Rule of the Church hath rejected other Hæresies, as being blasphemous. For it has been made manifest to the whole World, that *Arius's* impious opinion hath been the occasion of those tumults and disturbances, which have hapned in the Church until this present time. This proposal, being not admitted of by *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*, wholly rent in sunder the Church. For these persons adhered to what had been recited in the Synod of *Ariminum*. But the others did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed. Moreover, they derided the inscription prefixt before the Creed which had been read. And especially (g) *Athanasius*, in the Epistle he sent to his acquaintance, where he writes word for word thus.

(g) The passage in *Athanasius* here quoted

by *Socrates*, occurs at the beginning of his Epistle de Synodis *Arimini* & *Seleucie*. Valef.

For what was wanting to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church as concerning Piety, that Disquisitions should now be made about the Faith, and that they should prefix the Consulate of the present times before that Draught of the Creed (forsooth!) which they have published? For *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, have done that which never was done, or so much as ever heard of amongst Christians. For having composed such a form



Constantinus. form of the Creed as they were willing to admit of, they prefix'd before it the Consulate, the Month, and the Day of the present Year, in order to their making it manifest to all prudent persons, that their Faith had not its beginning before, but now under the Reign of Constantius. For, they have written (b) all things with a respect had to their own Here-  
[πᾶντα, all things] as it is in Athanasius: See the fore-quoted passage. Vales. Besides, pretending to write concerning the Lord, they name another to be their Lord, [to wit,] Constantius. For he it was, who influenced and authorized their Impiety. And they who deny the Son to be eternal, have stiled him (i) Eternal Em-  
[πᾶντα, all things] as it is in Athanasius: See the fore-quoted passage. Vales. Besides, pretending to write concerning the Lord, they name another to be their Lord, [to wit,] Constantius. For he it was, who influenced and authorized their Impiety. And they who deny the Son to be eternal, have stiled him (i) Eternal Em-

(i) For this is the title prefixt before the exposition of Faith at Sirmium [ἐξήγησις τῆς πίστεως ἡ κατὰ Σερμιῶν ἐκκλησίας τῶν δεσποβόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιστολῶν, &c.] This Catholick Creed was expounded and published in the presence of our Lord the most Pious and Victorious Emperor Constantius Augustus, Eternal Augustus, &c.] as it is extant in Athanasius, at the forequoted place. Which Words I therefore annex here, because our Socrates, in his recitation of that Draught of the Creed, has omitted these titles. Indeed Constantius did so readily give credence to such Flatteries as these, that speaking of himself in his Edicts and Letters, he would sometimes assert his own eternity. This is attested by Amm. Marcellinus, not far from the beginning of his fifteenth Book, in these Words: Quo ille (speaking of Constantius) studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatu immunemq; se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim a iustitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut AETERNITATEM MEAM aliquoties subsereret ipse distando, &c. Vales.

having prepared it for us by Christ. Nor did they thereby manifest the times of their own Faith. For even before those times they themselves were Believers. But the times [which they mention] were the times of the Promise [which God made] by them. Now, the chief and principal Head of the Promise was concerning our Saviour's Advent. And by way  
Addition. of \* Appendix those things were added which should in future happen to Israel and to the Gentiles. These were the times manifested [by them, where-  
by was declared] not the beginning of Faith, as we said before, but the times wherein those Prophets themselves lived and foretold these things. But these † Wise Men in our days (whenas they nei-  
† He speaks ironically. ther compose Histories, nor predict future things, but) having written [those words,] The Catholick Faith was published, immediately add the Consulate, the Month, and the Day. And, as those holy persons wrote the History of Affairs [in their age, and noted] the times of their own ministra-  
tion; so these men do manifest the time of their own Faith. And would to God they had written concerning their own Faith only; (for now they first began to believe:) and had not attempted [to write] concerning the Catholick [Faith!] For they have not written, Thus we believe: But after this manner, The Catholick Faith was published. The audaciousness therefore of this design does reprehend their Impiety: But the novelty of  
\* Writing. the \* Expression by them invented is altogether like the Arian Heresie. For by their writing after this manner they have informed [all persons,] when

they themselves began first to believe; and from Constantinus. what instant they are desirous their Faith should be preached. And according to that saying of Luke the Evangelist, \* A Decree [of Enrolment] \* See was published; (which [Edict] was not before, Luk. 2. 1. but it began from those times, and was published by him that wrote it:) So these persons by writing thus, The Faith is now published, have demonstrated, that the Tenets of their Heresie are noviti-  
ous, and were not in former times. But, in as much as they add the term Catholick, they are insensible of their falling-into  
the (k) impious Opinion of the † Cataphrygæ: and as they did, so do these assert, [say-  
ing,] The Faith of the Christians was first reveal'd to us, and took its begin-  
ning from us. And, as they stiled Maximilla and Montanus, so these term Constan-  
tius their Lord and Master, instead of Christ. But if, according to them, the Faith took its beginning from this Consulate, what will the Fathers, and the blessed Martyrs do? More-  
over, what will they themselves do with such per-  
sons as were catechized and instructed by them, and died before this Consulate? How will they raise them to life again, that they may root out of their minds what they seemed to have taught them, and implant in them those [Sentiments,] which, as they write, are newly invented by them? To such a degree of ig-  
norance are they arrived, being only well skilled in framing Pretexts, and they such as are undecent and improbable, and which may be presently confuted.

Thus wrote Athanasius to those of his acquaintance. Such as are lovers of learning (after they have found out this letter) may understand the powerful expressions therein contained. For we, having an aversion for prolixity, have inserted but part thereof here. Further, you are to take notice, that the Synod deposed Valens, Ursacius, Auxentius, Germinius, Caius, and Demophilus, because they would not anathematize the Arian Opinion. Wherefore they highly resenting their Deposition, hastned forthwith to the Emperor, carrying along with them that Draught of the Creed which had been read in the Synod. And the Synod acquainted the Emperor with their determinations, by their letter: the purport whereof, being translated out of Latin into Greek, is this.

### The Letter of the Ariminum Synod to the Emperor Constantius.

(l) By God's Will, and the Command of your Piety, (l) This we believe order has been taken, that we Western Letter of the Ari-  
minum Synod is extant in Latin, in Hilarius, amongst the Fragments of his Book de Synodis, pag. 451. Edit. Paris, 1631. out of whom we have transcribed it, and placed it here instead of a Version. It ought not to seem strange to any Person, to see so great a disagreement between the Greek Version and the original Latin Copy of this Epistle. For this is an usual thing with Greek Translators, as often as they render Latin into Greek; which may be easily perceived from the Emperor's Rescripts, which occur in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. But, we need not fetch examples hereof from any other place, than from this Letter: in which do occur almost as many mistakes in the Greek translation of it, as there are periods in the Letter. But, the beginning of this Letter is commonly thus worded in Hilarius: Lubente Deo ex præcepto pietatis Tue credimus fuisse dispositum. &c. By Gods pleasure we believe it hath been ordered by the Command of your Piety, &c. But in the M. S. Copy made use of by Jacobus Sirmondus, the reading is thus: fubente Deo, &c. By God's will, &c. So the Greek Translator reads it: whom we have followed in this place. Any one may with good reason conjecture, that [fubente Deo, By God's will] is writ-  
ten instead of [fuvante Deo, By God's assistance.] Vales.



Constantinus. \* City of Ariminum: That the Faith of the Catholick Church might be made apparent to all men, and that Hereticks might be notified. For whilst all of us (who entertain such sentiments as are true) could review and consider matters, our determination was to hold the Faith which hath continued from [all] antiquity, which we have received by the Prophets, Gospels, and Apostles, by God himself and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Preserver of your Empire and Donor of your † Safety. For we accounted it a thing detestable to maim any of those matters which have been rightly and justly determined; and [to take away any thing] from those persons, who were Assessors in the Nicene \* Treaty, together with Constantine of glorious memory, the Father of your Piety. Which Treaty hath been manifested and insinuated into the minds of the people, and is found to have been then opposed to the Arian Heresie, in such manner that not only that, but other Heresies also have thereby been vanquished. From which Treaty should any thing be taken away, a passage would be opened to the

(m) These words have no very good coherence with the preceding sentence. I conjecture that this place was transposed in the Latin Copies. Therefore, next these words [a passage would be opened to the Poisons of Hereticks,] those, in my judgment, are to be placed, which follow a little after; in this manner: Constantine being present in this [Consult,] in regard, after a searching disquisition, &c. unto these words [our Lord Jesus Christ.] To which are to be subjoyn'd these [Therefore Ursacius and Valens, &c.] Valef.

(n) At Chap. 20. of this Book, Note (a) we have remarkt many things concerning this first Synod of Millain, wherein Ursacius and Valens, having presented a Libel of satisfaction, condemned the Arian Heresie. The said persons confit in the time in another Libel, which they presented afterwards to Julius Bishop of Rome, at Rome; in these words: *Hereticum vero Arrium, &c. sicut per priorem nostrum Libellum, quem apud Mediolanum porreximus, & nunc & semper anathematizasse profitemur.* Valef.

† Maimings.

they have kept all things [asserted by] the past Writers of the Catholick Church. And it hath continued to these very times, wherein your Piety hath received the power of ruling the World from God the Father by God and our Lord Jesus Christ. But [these] wretched Men, endued with an unhappy \* Sense, have again by a temerarious attempt proclaimed themselves the setters forth of impious Doctrine: and even now they endeavour to shake what had been founded in reason. For when the Letters of Your Piety ordered that the Faith should be treated of, there was proposed to us by the forenamed Disturbers of the Churches (Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius having joyned themselves to them,) a new [Creed] to be considered of, which contained much perverse Doctrine. But when the Creed they proposed publicly in the Council seemed to displease, their sentiments were that it was to be drawn up otherwise. And it is manifest, that they

(p) These have in a short time often (p) altered these things. Words are spoken against Ursacius and Valens, and their followers; who daily promulged new forms of the Creed, hereby demonstrating that they had no certain Faith; as Athanasius frequently objects against them. Valef.

But lest the Churches should be frequently disturbed, we have determined that the ancient Sanctions ought to be kept ratified and inviolable; and that the forementioned Persons should be removed from our Communion. In order therefore to the informing of Your Clemency, we have directed our Legates, who by our Letter will declare the Opinion of the Council. To whom we have given this Particular only in charge, that they should dispatch their Embassie no otherwise, than that the ancient Sanctions may continue firm and inviolable: As also that your Wisdom might know, that Peace cannot be accomplished by this which the forenamed Valens, Ursacius, Germinius, and Caius have promised, if any thing had been \* altered. For how can peace be kept by those who subvert peace? For away, all Regions, and especially the Roman Church hath been involved in greater disturbances. Upon which account we beseech your Clemency, that you would bear and look upon all our Legates with favourable Ears, and a serene Countenance: (q) and that your Clemency would not permit any thing to be reversed to the injury of the Ancients, but that all things may continue which we have received from our Ancestors, who (we are confident) were prudent Persons, and acted not without the Holy Spirit of God. Because, not only the believing Populace are disquieted by that novelty, but also Infidels are prohibited from making their approaches to a (r) credulity. We also intreat, that You would give order, that as many Bishops as are detained at Ariminum (amongst which there are many that are enfeebled with age and poverty,) may return to their Province; lest the Populace of the Churches suffer damage by being destitute of their Bishops. But we do with more earnestness petition for this, that no innovation may be made, nothing may be diminished; but those things may remain uncorrupted which have continued in the times of the Father of your holy Piety, and in your own religious days. And, that your Holy Prudence would not suffer us to be wearied out, and revivst from our Sces: but that the Bishops with their Laity, free from disquietude, may always attend the [putting up their] Petitions, which they \* make for your Health, for your Empire, and for Peace, which may the Divinity grant You to be profound and perpetual, according to your desires. Our Embassadors will bring both the Subscriptions and also the Names of the Bishops or Legates; as they will inform your (s) Holy and Religious Prudence by another writing.

(q) Here I followed the Greek Translator of this Epistle; and corrected the Latin Copy. For in Hilarius's Fragments, the common reading of this place is this [Ne vel permittat Clementia tua jura vetera convelli,] that Your Clemency would not permit the ancient Laws to be reversed. In the M. S. Copy, which Sirmondus had seen, the reading is [Ne vel aliquid permittat clementia tua injuriam veterum convelli.] Whence we smelt out the true reading, which we have express in our Version. Valef.

(r) Here the Greek translator was grievously out; for instead of Credulity he has rendred it Cruelty. Valef.

(s) The Greek Translator of this Letter makes use of the term *Θεότης*, Divinity, here: but in Athanasius 'tis *ὁσιότης*, Sanctity. It is improbable that the Bishops should have said, The Divinity of the Emperor. Valef.

Thus wrote the Synod, and sent it by the Bishops. But Ursacius and Valens having prevented their arrival, did before-hand calumniate the Synod, shewing [the Emperor] the Draught of the Creed, which they had brought along with them. The Emperor, whose mind had been long since wholly addicted to the Arian opinion, was highly incensed against the Synod: but had a great esteem and honour for Valens and Ursacius. Wherefore, the persons sent by the Synod staid a long while, being unable to get an



an answer. But at length the Emperor wrote back to the Synod by those that were present, after this manner.

(t) This Letter of Constantius's, together with the answer of the Bishops at Ariminum is extant in Athanasius's Book de Synodis, near the close of it. Valef.

(r) **CONSTANTIUS VICTOR and TRIUMPHATOR AUGUSTUS,** to all the Bishops convened at *Ariminum*.

That our chiefest care is always employ'd about the Divine and Venerable Law, even your Goodness is not ignorant. Notwithstanding, We could not hitherto see the twenty Bishops sent from your Prudence, who undertook the dispatch of the Embassy from you. For we are wholly intent upon an Expedition against the Barbarians. \* And, as you know, 'tis fit that a mind exercised about the Divine Law, should be vacated from all care and solicitude. Wherefore We have order'd the Bishops to expect Our return to Adrianople, that, after the publick affairs should be put into a good and settled posture, we may at length hear and deliberate upon what they shall propose. In the interim, let it not seem troublesome to your Gravity to wait for their return, in regard, when they shall come back and bring you our answer, you will be enabled to bring to a conclusion such things as appertain to the utility of the Catholick Church. When the Bishops had received this Letter, they return'd an answer after this manner.

We have received Your Clemencies Letter, (Lord Emperor most dear to God!) wherein is contained, that by reason of the pressing necessity of publick business, You could not hitherto see our Embassadors. And You order us to expect their return, till such time as Your Piety shall understand from them what hath been determined by us agreeable to [the Tradition of] our Ancestors. But we do by this Letter profess and affirm, that we do in no wise recede from our resolution. And this we have given in charge to our Embassadors. We desire therefore, that with a serene countenance You would order this present Letter of our Meanness to be read; and also graciously admit of those things which we have given in charge to our Embassadors. Undoubtedly Your Mildness, as well as we, doth perceive, how great the grief and sadness at present is [every where,] in regard so many Churches are destitute of their Bishops in these most blessed times of Yours. And therefore we again beseech Your Clemency, (Lord Emperor most dear to God!) that before the sharpness of Winter (if it may please Your Piety,) You would command us to return to our Churches, in order to our being enabled to \* put up our usual Prayers together with the People, to Almighty God, and to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, in behalf of Your Empire, in such manner as we have always done, and now most earnestly desire to do.

After they had written this Letter, and continued together some small time; in regard the Emperor would not vouchsafe them an answer, they departed every one to his own City. But the Emperor had long before had a design of disseminating the *Arian* Opinion throughout the Churches: Which he then earnestly endeavouring to effect, made their departure a pretext of contumely, saying, that he was despised by them, in regard they had dissolved [the Council] contrary to his will. Wherefore, he gave *Ursacius's* party free liberty of doing what they pleased against the Churches. He also commanded, that the Draught of the Creed which had been read at *Ariminum*, should be sent to the Churches throughout Italy, giving order that such as

would not subscribe it, should be put out of the Churches, and others substituted in their places. And in the first place (u) *Liberius* Bishop of Rome, having refused to give his consent to that Creed, is banish'd, the \* *Ursacians* having substituted *Felix* in his place. This *Felix* being a Deacon in the Church of Rome, (x) embraced the *Arian* Opinion, and was prefer'd to that Bishoprick. But there are some who affirm, that he was not addicted to the *Arian* Opinion, but was by force necessitated to be ordain'd Bishop. At that time therefore all places in the West were filled with innovations and disturbances, some being ejected and banish'd, and others put into their places. And these things were transacted by force, and the authority of the Imperial Edicts, which were also sent into the Eastern parts. Indeed, not long after *Liberius* was recalled from banishment, and recover'd his own See; the people of Rome having raised a sedition, and ejected *Felix* out of the Church: At which time the Emperor gave them his consent thereto against his will. But the *Ursacians* left Italy, went into the Eastern parts, and arriv'd at a City of Thracia, the name whereof was *Nice*. Wherein after they had continued some small time, they made up (y) another Synod there. And having translated that Form of the Creed, read at *Ariminum*, into the Greek tongue, (as it has been before related,) they publish'd and confirm'd it, giving out that that Creed, which was made publick by them at *Nice*, had been dictated by an *Oecumenical* Synod; their design being to impose upon the simpler sort of people by the likeness of the [Cities] name. For such persons were ready to think that it was the Creed publish'd at *Nicea* a City of *Bithynia*. But this cheat was not at all advantageous to them: for it was soon detected; and they themselves continued to be exposed to the reproach and laughter of all men. Let thus much be said concerning what was transacted in the Western parts. We must now pass to the relation of what was done at the same time in the East: And our Narrative must begin from hence.

to that Bishoprick. But there are some who affirm, that he was not addicted to the *Arian* opinion, but was by force. \* Moreover, *Baronius* maintains, that *Felix* the Deacon, preferred by *Acacius* to *Liberius's* See, never was an *Arian*, but was defiled with the Communion only of the *Arians*. *Theodoret* affirms the same, in the second Book, Chap. 17. of his *Eccles. Hist.* And so does *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 11. Valef.

(y) The Embassadors of the Synod of *Ariminum* (who were sent to *Constantius*,) having been corrupted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, held a Council at *Nice* a Town of Thracia, on the sixth of the Ides of October, in the Consulate of *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*. In which Council they in the first place rescinded the sentence of Excommunication, which the *Ariminum* Bishops had pronounced against *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and the rest: and pronounced them to be, and always to have been Catholicks. Then they published an Hæretical Form of the Creed. Part of their Acts are extant in *Hilarius's* Fragments, pag. 452, &c. where are recounted fourteen names of those that were Embassadors. Valef.

### C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Cruelty of Macedonius, and the Tumults by him raised.

THE Bishops of the *Arian* party assumed a greater degree of boldness from the Imperial Edicts. And upon what account they attempted to convene a Synod, we will relate a little afterwards. But we will first briefly recite those things done by them before the Synod, *Acacius* and *Patrophilus* having ejected *Maximus* Bishop



*Constantine.* Bishop of Jerusalem, placed *Cyrillus* in his See. *Macedonius* subverted the Provinces and Cities

(a) This place is in an especial manner to be taken notice of. For from it we conclude, that the Bishop of Constantinople had even then a right of ordaining throughout *Hellepont* and *Bithynia*, before the Council of Constantinople [was held.] The same is confirmed from the Acts of *Eudoxius* Bishop of Constantinople, who made *Eutimius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*. Indeed, the Bishops of *Byzantium* had a very great addition of authority and power, from the time that the Emperor *Constantine* gave that City his own name, and ordered it should be equal to the *Senior Rome*. Also, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, after his translation to that See, brought no small increase [of jurisdiction] to it. For he was the most potent Prelate of his own times. Further, the Reader is to take notice, that the reading should be [*τὰς γειτονίας τῆς Κωνσταντινῆς*], being near to Constantinople; so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* reads it. Unless we shou'd say, that the words are transposed here, (as it frequently happens in these Books,) and that the place is thus to be construed [*Μακεδονίᾳ δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινῶν τὰς γειτονίας ἐπαρχίᾳ*], &c. *Macedonius* in Constantinople subverted the neighbouring Provinces, &c. *Valef.*

(a) lying near to Constantinople, preferring those that were embark'd in the same wicked design with him against the Churches. He ordained *Eleusius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*; and *Marathonius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who had before been a Deacon, placed under *Macedonius*: he was also very diligent in founding *Monasteries* of men and women. But after what manner *Macedonius* subverted the Provinces and Cities which lay round Constantinople, we are now to declare. This person therefore, having possess'd himself of the Bishoprick in such a manner as is \* before related, did innumerable mischiefs to those who would not entertain the same sentiments with him. Nor did he persecute those only who were discerned [to be Members] of the Church, but the *Novatians* also, knowing that they also embraced the *Homoousian* Faith. These therefore

\* See chap. 16. of this book.

were together with the others disquieted, undergoing most deplorable sufferings. † Their Bishop, by name *Agelius*, made his escape by flight: But many of them, eminent for their piety, were taken and tortured, because they would not communicate with him. And after their tortures they forcibly constrained the men to partake of the Holy \* Mysteries. For they wrested their mouths open with a piece of wood, and thrust the Sacrament into them. Such persons as underwent this usage, look'd upon it to be a punishment far exceeding all other tortures. Moreover, they snatch'd up the women and children, and forc'd them to be initiated [by Baptism.] And if any one refused, or otherwise spoke against this stripes immediately follow'd, and after stripes bonds, imprisonments, and other acute tortures. One or two [instances] whereof I will mention, that I may render the hearers sensible of the apparent barbarity and cruelty of *Macedonius* and those persons who were then in power. They squeez'd the breasts of those women who refused to be communicants with them in the Sacrament, between [the doors of] † Presses, and cut them off with a Saw. They burnt the same members of other women, partly with iron, and partly with eggs exceedingly heated in the fire. This new sort of torture, which even the Heathens never used towards us, was invented by those who profess themselves *Christians*. These things I heard from the long-liv'd *Auxano*, of whom I have made mention in the first Book. He was a Presbyter in the Church of the *Novatians*. And he reported that he himself endured not a few miseries [inflicted upon him] by the *Arians*, before he received the dignity of a Presbyter. For he said that he was cast into prison together with *Alexander Paphlagon*, (who with him led a Monastick life,)

\* That is, the Bread of the *Novatians*.

\* That is, the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist.

† Or, Chests.

and sustain'd innumerable stripes. Which tortures [as he related] he was enabled to endure: but *Alexander* died in prison by reason of his stripes. His Sepulchre is now [to be seen,] on the right hand as you sail into the *Byzantine* Bay, which is named (b) *Ceras*, near the *Rivers*: where there is a Church of the *Novatians*, which bears *Alexander's* name. Moreover, the *Arians*, by *Macedonius's* order, demolish'd many other Churches in divers Cities; as also a Church of the *Novatians*, situate in Constantinople near *Pelargus*. Why I have made particular mention of this Church, I will here declare as I heard it from the very aged (c) *Auxano*. The Emperor's Edict and *Macedonius's* violence gave order for the demolishing of their Churches who embraced the *Homoousian* opinion. This Edict and Violence \* threaten'd this Church also with ruin, and they were at hand, to whom the execution hereof was committed. I can't choose but admire, when I reflect upon the great zeal and earnestness of the *Novatians* towards their Church, and the kindness which they had for those persons, who at that time were ejected out of the Church by the *Arians*, but do now peaceably and quietly enjoy their Churches! When therefore they, to whom the execution hereof was enjoyn'd, were urgent to demolish this Church also, a great multitude of people that were *Novatians*, and others who embraced the same sentiments with them, flockt together thither. And when they had pull'd down their Church, they convey'd it to another place. This place is situate over-against the City [Constantinople;] the name of it is *Sycæ*, and 'tis the thirtieth Ward of the City. Moreover, the removal of the Church was perform'd in a very short time, it being carried away by a numerous multitude of people with an incredible alacrity of mind: for one carried Tiles; another Stones; a third Timber. Some took up one thing, some another, and carried it to *Sycæ*. Yea, the very women and little children assisted in this business, looking upon it as an accomplishment of their desires, and esteeming it as a great gain, that they were vouchsafed to be pure and faithful preservers of the things consecrated to God. In this manner therefore was the Church of the *Novatians* at that time remov'd to *Sycæ*. But afterwards, when *Constantinus* was dead, the Emperor *Julian* ordered the place to be restored to them, and permitted them to rebuild their Church. At which time

*Constantine.*

(b) *Polybius* says the same, in the fourth Book of his History, and *Strabo*, in his sixth Book, to wit, that *Ceras* is a Bay near *Byzantium*, so termed from its likeness to an *Harts-horn*. But *Pliny* calls a promontory by this name, situated in that Bay. To whom agrees *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 212. Edit. Paris. 1635. which place (because the common reading of it is very corrupt, and is not yet mended in our Edition,) shall be here set down by me, as it ought to be read; thus: *Et promontorium Ceras, prælucentem navibus vehens constructam celsam turrim: quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde suetus oriri prægelidus: i. e. and the promontory Ceras, on which stands a Tower built very high, which gives light to the Ships: Wherefore, that extrem cold Wind, which usually arises from thence, is termed Ceratas.* Thus, I have corrected this place, having followed the footsteps of the written reading: for the common reading, (which is this, *Et promontorium Ceras prælucentem navibus vehens constructam celsam turrim, quapropter pharos appellatur: Et vetus inde fons Euripus prægelidus.*) The Author whereof was *Petrus Castellus*, is without any sense. It was the usage of the ancients to name the Winds from those places whence they blew. Thus, the *Arbenians* called the North-West Wind *Scironites*, because it blew from the promontory *Sciron*, as *Strabo* relates. After the same manner therefore, that Wind was by the *Constantinopolitans* called *Ceratas*, which blew from the promontory *Ceras*. *Valef.*

(c) In the *Allat. M. S.* and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, this old Man is called *Auxonius*. But at the beginning of this Chapter, and in *Socrates's* first Book, he is named *Auxano*. From this *Auxano Socrates* seems to me to have had all the stories throughout his History, which he relates concerning the *Novatians*, of whom he tells very many. *Valef.*



time the people, in the same manner as before, carried the materials back again, and built the Church in its former place: and having made it more beautiful and stately, they would have it call'd \* *Anastasia*, a name apposite and significative. This Church therefore was afterwards erected again, as I said, in the Reign of *Julian*. But then both parties, as well the *Catholicks* as the *Novatians*, were after the same manner persecuted. Wherefore the *Catholicks* abhor'd to (d) pray in those Oratories, wherein the *Arians* assembled themselves. But, in the other three Churches (for so many Oratories the *Novatians* had within the City [*Constantinople*]) the *Catholicks* assembled with them, and pray'd together. And there wanted but little of their being entirely united, had not the *Novatians*, who observ'd their old injunction, refused to do that. But as to other matters, they preserv'd such a singular benevolence and kindness mutually, that \* Or, they \* were ready to die for one another. Therefore both parties were at the same time persecuted, not only in the City *Constantinople*, but in other Provinces and Cities also. For in *Cyzicum*, *Elen-*

*fius* the Bishop there did the same things against the Christians that were acted by *Macedonius*, putting them to flight, and disquieting them every where. He also totally demolish'd the Church of the *Novatians* at *Cyzicum*. But *Macedonius* finish'd the enormous Villanies he had perpetrated, after this manner. Being inform'd that in the Province of *Paphlagonia*, and especially at *Mantinium*, there were very many persons of the *Novatian* Sect, and perceiving that so great a multitude could not be driven [from their habitations] by Ecclesiastick persons, he procured four \* Companies of Soldiers to be by the Emperor's order sent into *Paphlagonia*, that being terrified by those armed men, they might be induced to embrace the *Arian* Opinion. But they who inhabited *Mantinium*, out of a zeal to [defend] their Sect, made use of desperation against the Soldiers. And many of them getting together in one body, and providing themselves with long Hooks and Hatchets, and whatever weapon they could lay hands on, they march'd out to meet the Soldiers. An Engagement therefore hapning, many of the *Paphlagonians* were therein slain: but all the Soldiers (except a very few) were cut off. This I heard from a Countryman of *Paphlagonia*, who said he was present at that action. But many other *Paphlagonians* do affirm the same. Of this sort were *Macedonius*'s brave exploits in defence of Christianity, [to wit,] Murthers, Fights, Captivities, and intestine Wars. But these practices of *Macedonius*'s rais'd a deserved † *Odium* against him, not only amongst those he had injured, but amongst them also who were his adherents. Yea, the Emperor himself was offended at him, both upon this account, and also

for another reason, which was this. The Church, wherein lay the Coffin that contain'd the body of the Emperor *Constantine*, was threatened with ruin. (e) Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had entred that Church, as those that continued in it and pray'd, were in a great fear. *Macedonius* therefore resolv'd to remove the Emperor's bones, that the Coffin might not be (f) spoiled by the ruin [of the Church.] The people understanding this, attempted to hinder it, saying, that the Emperor's Bones ought not to be removed; in regard that would be the same, as if they were dug up again. Immediately the people were divided into two parties: the one affirmed, that no hurt could be done to the dead body by its being removed: the other side asserted it to be an impious thing. Those of the *Homousian* Opinion met together also, and opposed the doing hereof. But *Macedonius*, disregarding those that resisted him, removes the body of the Emperor into that Church, wherein lies *Acacius* the Martyr's body. This being done, the multitude, divided into two parties, ran forthwith to that Church: and when the two Factions were drawn up against each other, immediately an engagement followed; wherein so great a number of men were slain, that that Church-yard was full of blood; (g) and the Well therein overflowed with blood, which ran even into the adjacent *Portico*, and from thence into the very Street. The Emperor, inform'd of this calamitous accident, was incensed against *Macedonius*, both upon account of those that were slain, and also because he had been so audacious as to remove his Father's body without his consent. Having therefore left *Julianus* the *Cæsar* to take care of the Western parts of the Empire, he himself went into the East. But how *Macedonius* was soon after deposed, and underwent a punishment short of his enormous impieties, I will relate a little afterwards.

Wherefore for this reason they who presided over, &c.] But this Chasm is made up by the Allatian M. S. to which agrees *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. But his rendering [*πρεσβυτέρους, Custodes, Keepers*] I like not, I should rather translate the term thus, those that made their abode for some time in the Church, upon account of praying there. Valef.

(f) In the *Sforzian* M. S. the reading is [*συνήθη, spoiled*], which I think to be better than [*συνήθη, comprehended, or contained*]. Valef.

(g) I made good this place from the incomparable Allat. M. S. Our other M. S. make no alteration here: but when I perceived the vulgar reading (which is this, ἐξέεισε δὲ τὸ αἷμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἡ δὲ χεῖρ πλεῖστα αὐτῆς, i. e. and it ran to the adjacent Porch, even to the street) to be wholly uncouth, I was not scrupulous of admitting the reading of the Allat. M. S. which is this [*εἰς τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγέραι παρὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τοῦ αἵματος, ἐξέεισε δὲ τὸ αἷμα εἰς, &c. and the Well therein overflowed with Blood, which ran even into, &c.*]. *Socrates* says, there was so great a slaughter of Men, that the Church-yard of Saint *Acacius* was fill'd with Man's Blood, and the Well therein overflowed with Blood, in such sort that it ran into the neighbouring Porch, and from thence into the Street. Valef.

# C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning the Synod at Seleucia [a City] of Isauria.

BUT at present, I must give an account of the other Synod, which by the Emperor's Edict was to emulate that at *Ariminum* in the East. At first it was determined, that the Bishops should be convened at *Nicomedia* in *Bitbynia*. But, a great earthquake, whereby the City *Nicomedia* hapned to be ruin'd, hindred their being convened at that place. This hapned in the



*Constantinus.* Consulate of (a) *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the eight and twentieth day of the month *August*. They resolved therefore upon removing the Synod to the City *Nicaea* which was near to it. But this resolution was again altered: and it seemed [more convenient] to meet at *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia*. When this displeased them also, they were assembled at *Seleucia* [a City] of *Isauria*, which is surnamed *Aspera*. This they did on the (b) same year [whereon the *Ariminum* Council was held,] in the Consulate of *Euthe*

*Consulares*, and in *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This Man was one of *Libanius*'s chiefest Friends: to whom *Libanius* wrote very many of his *Epistles*, which are extant in the fourth Book of his *Epistles*. In the 71 *Epistle* of that Book he mentions his Consulate, and says he was Scholar to one of the Emperors, and Master to the other: His words are these: τὸ δὲ σὸν λαμπρὸν τε καὶ ὑπερὶ τὸν ἵσθεσθῆναι, &c. i. e. But your actions are illustrious, and better than that they should be extinguish'd. For your Consulate, and the honours bestowed upon you by the Emperors, and your having been one of the Emperor's Scholars, and the others Master: Moreover, the stateliness of your Houses, and the numerousness, largeness, and handsomeness of your Bathes: All these things will for ever retain your name, although your body does depart. In the 146 *Epistle* of the same Book, there is extant this Elogue of *Dacianus*: τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, &c. For, to bear such and so many brave exploits of a person, who has erected so many Kingdoms, and has been beneficial to so many Men, nor has ever hurt any body, who is eminent for prudence, and has filled the Earth and Sea with the Glory of his name; is, to a Man of discretion greater than all present or future wealth. And, at the close of the same *Epistle*, he intimates, that the same *Dacianus* had a Seat at *Constantinople*; and that in *Antioch* and the Suburbs thereof, he had Houses and Palaces beautified with Fountains and Baths; to take a view thereof he invites him, *Valef*.

(b) At this place occurs no trivial difficulty. For the destruction of the City *Nicomedia* hapned when *Dacianus* and *Cerealis* were Consuls, in the year of Christ 358, on the month of *August*. But the Council of *Seleucia* was held on the year following, in the Consulate of *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, in the month of *September*. These things therefore hapned not in one and the same year. Wherefore it seemeth, that the reading at this place should be [τὸ ἐχούσης ἐνιαυτῶ, on the year following.] Or, if the common reading must be retained, we must understand our Author's meaning to be, that the Council of Bishops at *Seleucia* was held on the same year with the *Ariminum* Council. *Valef*.

*sebius* and *Hypatius*. The persons convened were in number an hundred and sixty. There was present with them a personage eminent in the Imperial Palace, his name (c) *Leonas*; in whose presence, as the Emperor had given order by his Edict, the disquisition about the Faith was to be proposed. *Lauricius* also the Commander in chief of the Soldiers throughout *Isauria*, was order'd to be there, to provide the Bishops with what necessaries they might stand in need of. At this place therefore [the Bishops] were convened in the presence of these persons, on the twenty seventh of the month *September*, and began to dispute about making of publick Acts. For there were Notaries present also, who were to take in writing what was spoken by every one of them. A particular account of all matters then transacted, the studious Readers may find in *Sabinus's* Collection, where they are set forth at large. But we shall only cursorily relate the chief Heads thereof. On the first day of their being convened, *Leonas* order'd every one to propose what they would. But such as were present said, that no dispute ought to be raised, before the persons absent were come. For these Bishops were wanting, *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, and some others, who suspected they should be accused. *Macedonius* excused his absence by saying he was sick. *Patrophilus* affirmed he had a distemper in his eyes, and was therefore necessitated to continue in the Suburbs of *Seleucia*. All the rest proposed one occasion or other of their being absent. But, in regard *Leonas* said, that, notwithstanding the absence of these persons, the question was to be proposed; those

that were present made answer again, that they would in no wise enter into any debate, before the \* *Morals* of those accused were enquired into. For *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, and some others had been accused some time before. Hereupon arose a sharp contest amongst those that were present. For some affirmed, that the *Morals* of such as had been accused were in the first place to be look'd into: others were of opinion, that no controversy ought to be discuss'd before [that concerning] the Faith. This contest was rais'd by the different opinion of the Emperor. For his Letter was produced, in one passage whereof he gave order for the debating of this matter in the first place, in another for that. A disagreement therefore hapning concerning this matter, a Schism was made amongst the persons present. And this was the original cause of the *Seleucian*-Synods being divided into two parties. The one Faction was headed by *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*: of the same mind with whom there were only two and thirty other [Bishops.] The principal persons of the other Faction were *Georgius* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, *Sopkronius* of *Pompeiiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Elenus* of *Cyzicum*; who were followed by the major part. When therefore that side prevailed, which was for debating in the first place concerning the Faith, *Acacius's* party manifestly rejected the *Nicene* Creed, and intimated the publication of another. But those of the other Faction, who were superior in number, approved of all other matters [determined] in the *Nicene* Synod; excepting only the term *Homoousios*, which they found fault with. Therefore, after a very sharp contest amongst one another until evening, at length *Silvanus* (who presided over the Church at *Tarsus*) spake aloud, saying, there was no necessity of publishing a new Draught of the Creed, but that they ought rather to confirm that set forth at *Antioch*, at the Consecration of the Church. When he said this, *Acacius's* party secretly withdrew [out of the Council:] but the other Faction produced the Creed [composed] at *Antioch*; after the reading whereof the Council broke up for that day. On the next day they met in a Church in *Seleucia*, and having shut the doors, they read that Creed, and confirmed it by their Subscriptions. Instead of some [Bishops] who were absent, the Readers and Deacons there present subscribed, by whom the absent persons had profess'd, that they would acquiesce in that Draught [of the Creed.]

## C H A P. XL.

That *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Cæsarea* dictated another Draught of the Creed, in the Synod at *Seleucia*.

BUT *Acacius*, and those of his party found fault with what was done, because they had subscrib'd covertly when the Church-doors were shut. For matters, said he, transacted in secret were naught, and to be suspected. He made these objections, because he was desirous of publishing another Draught of the Creed instead of that [subscribed by them,] which [Form] he had about him, ready drawn up, and had before recited it to *Lauricius* and *Leonas* the Governours: and he made it his whole business to get that Draught only establish'd and confirmed. These were the transactions of the second day when nothing else was done. On the third day



*Constantinus.* day, *Leonas* was again very earnest to procure a meeting of both Parties. At which time neither *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, nor *Basilus* of *Ancyra* were absent. When therefore both these persons had joyn'd themselves to one and the same Faction, the *Acacians* were again unwilling to meet, saying, that as well those who had before been deposed, as them at present accused, ought in the first place to be put out of the Assembly. After a great contest on both sides, at length this opinion was prevalent, the persons charged with an accusation went out; and the *Acacians* came in. Then *Leonas* said, that *Acacius* had deliver'd a Libel unto him; [*Leonas*] not discovering it to be a Draught of the Creed, which in some passages secretly, in others openly contradicted the former. When silence was made amongst those that were present, (they supposing the Libel to contain any thing else, rather than a Form of the Creed;) *Acacius's* composition of the Creed with a Preface thereto was then recited, the Contents whereof are these.

*We having met together at Seleucia [a City] of Isauria (according to the Emperor's command) yesterday, which was before the fifth of the Calends of October, used our utmost endeavour with all modesty to preserve the peace of the Church, stedfastly to determine concerning the Faith (as our Emperor Constantius most dear to God hath ordered) according to the Prophetick and Evangelick expressions, and to introduce nothing into the Ecclesiastick Faith contrary to the Divine Scriptures. But in regard certain persons in the Synod have injured some of us; have stopt the mouths of others, not permitting them to speak; have excluded other-some against their wills; have brought along with them out of divers Provinces persons deposed; and have in their company such as have been ordained contrary to the Canon [of the Church:] in so much that the*

*Synod is on all sides filled with tumult, (a) of which the most eminent Lauricius, President of the Province, and the most Illustrious Leonas the Comes, have been eyewitnesses: upon this account we interpose these things. Not that we forsake the authentick Faith publish'd at the Consecration at Antioch, but we give that the preference, especially in regard our Fathers concurred about the proposition at that time in con-*

*trouersie. But whereas the terms Homoiouision and*

\* *Homoiouision have in times past disturbed very many, and do still disquiet them: and moreover, whereas 'tis said, that there is an Innovation lately coyn'd by some, who assert a dissimilitude of the Son to the Father. Upon this account we reject Homoiouision and Homoiouision, as being terms not to be met with in the Scriptures; but we anathematize the term † Anomoion: and do look upon all such, as are assertors thereof, to be persons alienated from the Church. But we do manifestly profess the likeness of the Son to the Father, agreeable to the Apostle that hath said concerning the Son, || Who is the Image of the Invisible God.*

*We acknowledge therefore, and believe in one God, the Father Almighty; the Maker of Heaven and Earth, of things visible and invisible. Moreover, We believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, begotten of him without any passion before all ages; God the Word, the only begotten of God, the Light,*

*the Life, the Truth, the Wisdom; by whom all things were made, which are in the Heavens, and which are on the Earth, whether visible or invisible. We believe him to have assumed Flesh from the Holy Virgin Mary, at the Consummation of Ages, in order to the abolition of Sin: and that he was made Man, that he suffer'd for our Sins, and rose again, and was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father: and that he shall come again in Glory to judge the Quick and Dead. We believe also in the Holy Ghost, whom our Lord and Saviour hath termed The Paraclete, having promised, after his departure, to send him to his Disciples, and he sent him. By whom also he sanctifies [all] Believers in the Church, who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But those who preach any thing contrary to this Creed, [(b) we look upon] to be*

*(b) This word [ver-  
miserum,*

*we look upon, or account] is wanting in our M. SS. It was first inserted by the Publishers of the Geneva Edition, from Christopherson's Version. But in regard we found not this reading in any Manuscript Copy, we took the boldness to expunge it. In Epiphanius, (in Hæres. Semiarian, pag. 872.) and in Athanasius (in his Book de Synod. Arimini & Seleucia;) the reading of this place is thus [*ἀποστεινόντες ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*, The Catholick Church hath determined them to be alienated [from it.] I found the same reading in the Allat. M. S. After these words there follow (in Epiphanius) the names of those Bishops, who subscribed this Draught of the Creed; being in number about forty. But before those Subscriptions, something is added there, which deserves to be set down here. The words therefore in Dionysius Petavius's Edition are these: *ὅτι δὴ ταύτη τῇ πίσει ἰσοδυναμεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐν σιρμίου πρώτῳ ἐκτεθεισὴ πίστις, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, γνωρίζουσιν οἱ ἐκτυγχάνοντες τῇ πίστει* i. e. now, that that Creed lately published at Sirmium, in the presence of the piety of our Emperor, does exactly agree with this Creed, is a thing manifestly known to those who have read that Creed. Then follows another Chapter, after this manner; *ἐπέγραψαν οἱ παρόντες βασιλεῖος, μέγιστος καὶ γεώργιος ὁ τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος παγκρατίος καὶ ὑπαλιανὸς καὶ οἱ πλείους ἐπίσκοποι τῆς εὐσεβείας* (I doubt not but the reading should be *ἡ ἐπίγραφαν*, to which subscribed.) i. e. To which they who were present subscribed, *Basilus, Marcus, Georgius Bishop of Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, and most of the Western Bishops. Valef.**

This is the Draught of the Creed published by *Acacius*. The persons who subscribed it were *Acacius* himself, and such as adhered to his opinion, being as many in number, as we have mentioned a little before. After the recitation hereof, *Sophronius* [Bishop] of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia* spake these words aloud: If to explain our own particular opinion every day be the exposition of the Faith, we shall be destitute of the exact discussion of the truth. These words were spoken by *Sophronius*. And I do affirm, that if as well those who lived before these men, as they that succeeded them, had at first entertained such sentiments concerning the

*Nicene Creed; all contentious disputes would have ceased, nor would a violent and irrational disturbance have been prevalent in the Churches. But let such as are prudent pass their judgment concerning the state of these matters. After they had mutually spoken and heard many things concerning this business, and concerning the persons accused, the Convention was for that time dissolved. On the fourth day they all met again in the same place, and with the same contentiousness began to dispute again. Amongst whom *Acacius* explained his opinion in these words: in as much as the *Nicene Creed* has been once, and after that frequently altered, nothing hinders, but a new Creed may be now published. Hereto *Eleusius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum* made a return, and said; the Synod is at present convened, not that it should learn (c) what it had not the knowledge of before, nor to receive a Creed*

*(c) In the Florent. M. SS. as says Valef. the reading is [*ἀπὸ μὲν ἀπὸ*], which we have expressed in our Version. But Valefius follows the other which is [*ἀπὸ μὲν ἀπὸ*], what it had the knowledge of before.]*



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which it was not heretofore in possession of: but that, proceeding on in the Creed of the Fathers, it should never recede from it, either during life, or at the time of death. With these words *Eleusius* opposed *Acacius's* Opinion, terming that Creed publish'd at *Antioch* the Father's Creed. But any one might have answer'd him also, in these words: How is it, that you stile those convened at *Antioch* the Fathers, O *Eleusius*, whereas you acknowledge not their Fathers? For they who were assembled at *Nice*, and by their consent firm'd the *Homo-ousian* Faith, ought more properly to be term'd the Fathers, both because they preceded in time, and also in regard those convened at *Antioch* were by them promoted to the Sacerdotal Dignity. Now, if those [assembled] at *Antioch* have rejected their own Fathers, they who come after them do not perceive themselves to be followers of Parricides. Moreover, how can they have admitted their Ordination to be legitimate, whose Faith they have rejected as impious? For if those persons had not the Holy Ghost, which is infused by Ordination, these have not received the Priesthood. For how could these have received [it] from them, who had it not to give? These words might have been spoken in opposition to what was said by *Eleusius*. After this they proceeded to another question. For, in regard the *Acacians* asserted in that Draught of the Creed which had been recited, that the Son was like the Father, they enquired of one another, in what respect the Son was like the Father. The *Acacians* asserted, that the Son was like the Father in respect of his Will only, not as to his Essence. But all the rest maintained, [that he was like the Father] in respect of his Essence also. They spent the whole day in their Altercations about this Query; and they confuted *Acacius*, because in the Books by him composed and publish'd, he had asserted that the Son is in all things like the Father. And how can you (said they) now deny the likeness of the Son to the Father as to his Essence? *Acacius* made this answer, no modern or ancient Author was ever condemned out of his own Writings. When they had maintain'd a tedious, fierce, and subtle dispute against one another concerning this question, and could in no wise be brought to an agreement, *Leonas* arose and dissolved the Council. And this was the conclusion, which the Synod held at *Seleucia* had. For on the day after, *Leonas* being intreated, refused to come any more into the Congress, saying, that he had been sent by the Emperor, to be present at an unanimous Synod. But in regard some of you do disagree, I cannot (said he) be there; go therefore and prate in the Church. The *Acacians* looking upon what had been done to be a great advantage to them, refused to meet also. But those of the other party met together in the Church, and sent for the *Acacians*, that cognizance might be taken of the Case of *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For you must know that *Cyrillus* had been accused before; upon what account, I cannot tell. But he was deposed, because having been frequently summon'd in order to the examination of his cause, he had not made his appearance during the space of two whole years. Nevertheless when he was deposed, he sent an *Appellatory Libel* to them who had deposed him, and appealed to an higher Court of Judicature. To which appeal of his the Emperor *Constantinus* gave his assent. In-

deed, *Cyrillus* was the (d) first and only person, who (contrary to the usage of the Ecclesiastick Canon) did this, [to wit,] made use of appeals, as 'tis usually done in the publick [se- long be- cular] Courts of Judicature. He was at that time present at *Seleucia*, ready to put himself upon his tryal: and therefore the Bishops called the *Acacians* into the assembly, (as we have said a little before,) that (e) by a general consent they might pass a definitive sentence against persons accused. For they had cited some other persons besides, that were accused, who for refuge had joyn'd themselves to *Acacius's* party. But in regard, after their being frequently summon'd, they refused to meet, [the Bishops] deposed both *Acacius* himself, and also *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, (f) *Uranius* of *Tyre*, (g) *Theodulus* of *Chæretapi* in *Phrygia*, *Theodosius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, *Euvagrius* of the Island *Mytilene*, *Leontius* of *Tripolis* in *Lydia*, and *Eudoxius* who had heretofore been Bishop of *Germanicia*, but had afterwards crept into the Bishoprick of *Antioch* in *Syria*. Moreover, they deposed (h) *Patrophilus*, because being accused by *Dorotheus* a Presbyter, and summoned by them to make his defence, he was contumacious. These persons they deposed. But they Excommunicated *Asterius*, *Eusebius*, *Abgarus*, *Basilicus*, *Phæbus*, *Fidelis*, *Eutychius*, *Magnus*, and *Eustathius*: determining they should continue excommunicate, till such time as by \*making satisfaction they had cleared themselves of their Accusations. Having done this, and written Letters concerning those Bishops they had deposed, to each of their Churches, they constituted a Bishop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*, whose name was *Annianus*: Whom the *Acacians* [soon after] apprehended, and delivered him to *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by whom he was banished. Those Bishops who had ordained *Annianus* [being incensed] hereat, deposited (i) *Contestatory Libels* against the *Acacians* with *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by which they openly declared, that the determination of the Synod was injured. And when nothing further could be done, they went to *Constantinople*, to inform the Emperor concerning the matters determined by them.

definitive sentence against the persons accused. For they had cited some other persons besides, that were accused,] were at this place, wanting in the common Editions; we have inserted them from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. To which agrees *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. But *Christophorus* made up the chasm at this place very unhappily by conjecture: whence it appears, that he had no Manuscript Copies of *Socrates*, but various readings only, gathered from the Margins of Printed Copies. Valef.

(f) This Person's name should be *Uranus* (not *Ursacius*; so he is called in *Athanasius's* Book, de Synod. Arimin. & *Seleucia*. pag. 880. which name also *Epiphanius Scholasticus* gives him; as does likewise *Epiphanius*, (in *Hæres. Semiarian.*) who names him among the Bishops that subscribed the *Acacian* Creed. Valef.

(g) In the *Florentine* and *Allatian* M. SS. this person is named (not *Theodorus*, but more truly) *Theodulus*. For that is his name in *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Philostorgius*. When this *Theodulus* had been divested of the Bishoprick of *Chæretapi*, in the Council held at *Seleucia*, he was afterwards ordained Bishop of *Palestina* by the *Eunomians*, as *Philostorgius* relates. Concerning *Leontius* of *Tripolis* you may meet with many passages in *Philostorgius*. Valef.

(h) Into his See they put one *Philippus* a Presbyter of *Scythopolis*, as *Epiphanius* attests, in *Hæres. Semiarian.* Valef.

(i) It should be but one word, thus, διαμαρτυρίας, so the Greeks term the *Libels* of protestation, (or, protests,) which were usually deposited with the Acts. We meet with a form of one of these *Libels*, at the close of *Athanasius's* Epistle ad Solitarios. I suppose, that two *Libels* of protestation were delivered by the Council; one to *Leonas* the Comes; another to *Lauricius* President of *Isauria*. Valef.



C H A P. XLI.

That, upon the Emperor's return from the Western Parts, the Acacians were convened in the City of Constantinople, and firm'd the Ariminum Creed, making some Additions to it.

FOR the Emperor, being return'd from the Western parts, resided [in that City :] at which time also he made a person whose name was (a) *Honoratus*, the first Præfect of Constantinople; having (b) abolish'd the Proconsul's Office. But the *Acacians* prevented and calumniated them before-hand to the Emperor, having inform'd him, that the (c) Creed which they had set forth was not admitted by them. Whereupon the Emperor was highly incens'd, and resolv'd to disperse them, having commanded by an Edict [which he publish'd,] that such of them as were subject to publick Offices, should be reduced to their former condition. For several of them were liable to [publick] Offices; some [were subject to the bearing of those Offices belonging] to the City Magistracy; others [to them appertaining] to the (d) Sodalities of Officials or Apparitors in several Provinces. These persons being after this manner disturb'd, the *Acacians* abode for some time at Constantinople, and assembled another Synod, to which they sent for the Bishops of *Bithynia*. When therefore they were all met together, being (e) fifty in number, amongst whom was *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, they confirm'd the Creed publish'd at *Ariminum*, which had the Consuls names prefixt. Which Creed it would have been superfluous to have insert'd here, had they made no addition to it. But in regard they added some words thereto, we thought it necessary to set it down at this place again. The Contents of it are these.

*Honoratus*, on the third of the Ides of December. Valef.

(b) Before the Emperor *Constantius* had made a Præfect of the City at Constantinople) the Province *Europa* (the chief City whereof was Constantinople) was governed by a Proconsul, as *Socrates* here attests. *Athanasius* mentions this Proconsul, in his *Apologétique de Fugâ suâ*, not far from the beginning; where he says that the Emperor *Constantius* wrote Letters to *Donatus* the Proconsul, against *Olympius* Bishop of *Thracia*. In the Emperor *Constantius*'s Epistle also, which he wrote to the Senate and Constantinopolitan-people concerning the praises of *Themistius*, there is mention of this Proconsul; at the close of that Epistle. Valef.

(c) That is, the Creed which had the Consuls names præfixt. Valef.  
(d) *Τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τάξεων*. So this place is worded in the Original. What the *τάξεις* were, I have long since explained in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*: to wit, the Bodies or Sodalities of Officials or Apparitors who attended upon the Presidents and Governours of Provinces. It was their duty to collect the tribute from the Inhabitants of the Provinces, and to put in execution the Presidents Orders. Further, as they who had list'd themselves in the *Camp-milice*, stood oblig'd by a Military-oath, and enjoy'd not a compleat liberty, but were bound in a servitude as it were, till such time as they were disbanded, (as *Suidas* declares, in the word *βέλεγερός*;) so those Officials, who follow'd the *City-milice*, were bound to this employment as it were, and lyable to the Offices of their *Milice*; and their Farms, as well as those of the *Decurions*, were incumber'd with these burdens, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code*. Valef.

(e) In the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, seventy two Bishops are said to have been present at the Constantinopolitan Synod, in the year of Christ, 360. Valef.

We believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the only begotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before every beginning: by whom all things, visible

Or, who and invisible, were made. \* Who is the only begotten is the only born of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, begotten like to the Father (who begat him) according to the Scriptures. Whose generation no person knoweth, only the Father only, who begat him. We know ther, &c. this Person [to be] the only begotten Son of God,

who upon his Father's sending of him, came down from the Heavens, according as 'tis written, upon account of the destruction of Sin and Death: and was born of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh, as 'tis written, and conversed with the Disciples; and having fulfilled every dispensation according to his Fathers will, he was crucified and died, and was buried, and descended into the parts beneath the Earth. At whom Hell it self trembled. Who arose from the Dead on the third day, and was conversant with the Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father; he shall come in the last day of the Resurrection in his Fathers Glory, that he may render to every Man according to his works. And [we believe in] the Holy Ghost, whom he himself the only Begotten of God, Christ our Lord and God, promised to send as an Advocate to Mankind, according as 'tis written, the Spirit of Truth; whom he sent unto them, after he was assumed into the Heavens. But we thought good to remove the term \* *Ousia*, (which Substance, was used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense; and being not understood by the People, has given offence,) in regard 'tis not contained in the Sacred Scriptures; and that in future not the least mention should be made thereof, for as much as the Sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the Substance of the Father and of the Son. (f) Nor (f) In A- ought the Subsistence of the Father, and of the Son, thanasius's Book de Such a manner as the Sacred Scriptures do affirm and the read- teach. Moreover, let all the Heresies, which have ing is [y] been heretofore condemn'd, and which may have risen d's d- of late, being opposite to this Creed published [by us,] edet, be Anathema. Nor ought, &c.] to which a-

agrees the Version of the Latin Translator. Which is also confirm'd by *Athanasius* himself, in the same Book, pag. 905. the place we will quote by and by. Valef.

This Creed was at that time recited at Constantinople. Having now at length pass'd through the Labyrinth of the Expositions of Faith, we will reckon up their number. After the Creed [publish'd] at Nice, they set forth two Epositions of the Faith at Antioch, at the Dedication. A third was that deliver'd to the Emperor *Constans* in the Gallia's, by *Narcissus* and those that accompanied him. The fourth was that sent by *Eudoxius* into Italy. Three [Draughts of the Creed were publish'd at *Sirmium*, one whereof was recited at *Ariminum*, which had the name of the Consuls prefixt. The eighth was that which the *Acacians* promulg'd at *Seleucia*. The last was set forth at the City Constantinople, with an addition. For hereto was annex'd, that neither Substance nor Subsistence ought to be mention'd in relation to God. Moreover, *Ulfila* Bishop of the *Goths* did at that time first agree to this Creed. For before this he had embrac'd the Nicene Creed; being *Theophilus*'s Follower, who was Bishop of the *Goths*, and had been present at, and subscribed the Nicene Synod. Thus far concerning these things.

C H A P. XLII.

That upon *Macedonius*'s being depos'd, *Eudoxius* obtained the Bishoprick of Constantinople.

BUT *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and those that were with them at Constantinople, made it wholly their business. that they also might on the other



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side depose some persons of the contrary party. Now, you must know, that neither of the factions decreed these depositions upon account of Religion, but for other pretences. For, tho' they differed about the Faith, yet they found not fault with one another's Faith in their mutual depositions of one another. Those therefore of *Acacius's* party, making use of the Emperor's indignation, (which he had kept [concealed in his mind,] and earnestly endeavour'd to wreak it against others, but most especially against *Macedonius*) do in the first place depose *Macedonius*, both because he had been the occasion of many murders, and also in regard he had admitted a Deacon taken in Fornication to Communion. Then, [they depose] *Eleusius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*, because he had baptiz'd one *Heraclius*, *Hercules's* Priest at *Tyre*, a person known to be a Conjuror, and ordain'd him Deacon. [In the next place they depose] *Basilus*, (or *Basilas*, for so he was also called) who had been constituted [Bishop] of *Ancyra* in the room of *Marcellus*, as having unjustly tortured a certain person, bound him with iron-chains, and confined him to prison; also, because he had fastned calumnies upon some persons; and moreover, in regard by his Letters he had disturbed the Churches in *Africa*. *Dracontius* [was deposed by them,] because he had remov'd from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*. Moreover, they deposed *Neonas* [Bishop] of *Selencia*, in which City the Synod had been convened, as also *Sophronius* of *Pompeipolis* in *Paphlagonia*, *Elpidius* of (a) *Satala* in *Macedonia*, and *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*; and others were ejected by them for other reasons.

(a) *Satala* was a Town in *Armenia*;

of which there is frequent mention amongst the Ancients. But in *Macedonia*, no mention is made of a City of this name by the Ancients. Wherefore I judge, that instead of *Macedonia*, it should be *Armenia*, here in the Greek Text. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XLIII.

Concerning Eustathius Bishop of Sebastia.

BUT *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, was not so much as admitted to make his defence, because he had been long before deposed by *Eulalius* his own Father, who was Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Cappadocia*, in regard he wore a garment misbecoming the Sacerdotal function. You are to know, that in *Eustathius's* room *Meletius* was constituted Bishop, concerning whom we will speak hereafter. But *Eustathius* was afterwards condemn'd in a Synod convened upon his account at *Gangra* [a City] of *Paphlagonia*, because, after his deposition in the Synod at (a) *Caesarea*, he had done many things repugnant to the Ecclesiastick Laws. For he had forbidden marriage, and maintain'd that meats were to be abstain'd from; and upon this account he separated many who had contracted marriages, from their Wives, and perswaded (b) those who had an aversion for the Churches, to communicate at home. He also entic'd away servants from their masters by a pretext of piety. He himself wore the habit of a Philosopher, and caused his followers to make use of a new and unusual garb, and gave order that women should

(a) *Sozomen*, Book 4. chap. 24. says 'twas at *Neocaesarea*. *Vales.*

(b) These words of *Socrates* [a. d. x. v. l. i. s. c. p. r. o. p. o. n. d. i. c. a. t. u. r. e. s. q. u. i. b. u. s. q. u. i. d. a. m. u. s. q. u. i. b. u. s. q. u. i. d. a. m. u. s. q. u. i. b. u. s. q. u. i. d. a. m. u. s.] those who had an aversion for, or, detested the Churches]

are not to be understood of all those who declined the Churches; but they must be joined to the foregoing words, and are to be meant of those persons, who by *Eustathius's* perswasion had separated themselves from the converse of their Wives. *Eustathius* perswaded these men to avoid the Churches assemblies, and not to communicate with other believers; but that, being as it were pure and perfect, they should participate of the sacred Mysteries by themselves at home. See what *Epiphanius* has related concerning this *Eustathius*, in his *Hæresie* of the *Aeriani*; and *Basilus*, in his *Epistles*. *Vales.*

be shorn. He [asserted] that set Fasts were to be avoided; but maintain'd fasting on *Sundays*. He forbid prayers to be made in the houses of those who were married; and taught, that the Blessing and Communion of a *Presbyter* who had a wife (whom he had lawfully married during his being a *Laick*) ought to be declined as a thing most detestable. Upon his doing and teaching these and several other such-like things as these, a Synod (as I have said) convened at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia* deposed him, and anathematized his opinions.

(c) These things were done afterwards. But *Macedonius* being then ejected, *Eudoxius*, despising the See of *Antioch*, is constituted [Bishop] of *Constantinople*, being consecrated by the *Acacians*; who forgot themselves, in that they decreed what was contradictory to their former determinations. For they who had deposed *Dracontius* because of his translation from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*, consider'd not with themselves, that by ordaining *Eudoxius*, who then made a second remove [to another Bishoprick,] they did what was contrary to their own Sanctions. Having done these things, they sent the Creed which had been read (d) to *Ariminum*, together with its Supplement, corrected by them; and gave order, that such as would not subscribe it, should be banished, according to the Emperor's Edict. [Lastly,] they made known what they had done both to others in the *East*, who entertain'd the same sentiments with them, and also to *Patrophilus* [Bishop] of *Scythopolis*. For he went from *Selencia* forthwith to his own City. Further, *Eudoxius* having been constituted [Bishop] of the \* *Great City*, the (e) *Great Church* named *Sophia* was at that time consecrated, in *Constantius's* Tenth, and *Julianus*, *Cæsar's* third Consulate, on the fifteenth of the month *February*. As soon as *Eudoxius* was seated in that See, he was the first that utter'd this sentence which is [still] the year of Christ

341. Indeed *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 361.) places the Synod of *Gangra* in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*. But he is confuted both by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For *Socrates* makes that Synod to be later than the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod. But *Sozomen* places it after *Eustathius's* deposition, which was done by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Now, *Eusebius* thrust himself into the *Constantinopolitan* See in *Constantius's* reign, as 'tis agreed amongst all Men. Lastly, *Basilus* (in his seventy fourth Epistle, which he wrote to the Western Bishops against *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*) makes no mention of the Council of *Gangra*. Whence 'tis manifest, that at such time as *Basilus* wrote that Epistle (which he did in *Valens's* reign,) the Council of *Gangra*, wherein *Eustathius* was condemned, had not been held. Some one will peradventure say, (which is objected by *Baronius*) that that *Eustathius* condemned in the Synod of *Gangra* was a different Person from *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. But this is *gratis dictum*, nor is it founded on the authority of any Author. *Vales.*

(d) I have rendred this place so, as to refer these Words [to *ariminum*] to these [they sent:] which Version of ours is confirmed by *Athanasius*, in his Book de Synodis, pag. 905. his Words are these: ταῦτα γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἰαυείᾳ, &c. Having written these things in *Isauria*, they departed to *Constantinople*, and repenting as it were [of what they had done,] according to their usual manner they altered their Draught: And when they had added some words, [to wit] that [the term] subsistence should not be used in relation to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they sent this [form of] the Creed to those at *Ariminum*, &c. Which passage in *Athanasius*, *Socrates* does seem to transcribe here. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Christophorus* have rendred this place to this effect; Having done this, they sent the Creed read at *Ariminum* together with its supplement, &c. *Vales.*

(e) I perfected and mended this place from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* Copies. Concerning the Consecration of this Church, it is thus recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*: *Constantii decimo*, &c. In *Constantius's Tenth* and *Julianus's Third Consulate*, the *Great Church* at *Constantinople* was consecrated, on the fifteenth of the *Kalends* of *March*. *Cedrenus* (in his *Chronicon*) says this was the second Consecration of this Church. For it was first consecrated, says he, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. But being afterwards ruined, it was re-edified by *Constantius Augustus*, and consecrated by *Eudoxius*. See the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, where many passages (in no wise trivial) occur concerning this Consecration. *Vales.*



*Constantinus.* in every bodies mouth, saying, *the Father is irreligious; the Son is religious.* When a tumult and a disturbance arose thereupon, Be not troubled (says he) at what has been spoken by me, for, the Father is irreligious, because he worships no person; but the Son is religious, because he worships the Father. When *Eudoxius* had spoken these words, the tumult was appeased; but instead of the disturbance, there was a great laughter raised in the Church. And this saying of his continues to be a ridicule even to this day. Such Cavils the Arch-Hereticks made use of, and busied themselves about such expressions as these, rending the Church in sunder [thereby.] This was the conclusion that the Synod had, which was convened at *Constantinople*.

C H A P. XLIV.

Concerning Meletius Bishop of Antioch.

**I**T now remains, that we speak concerning *Meletius*: For he (as we said a little before) was made Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, after *Eustathius*'s deposition. He was afterwards translated from *Sebastia* to (a) *Beræa* [a City] of *Syria*. When he had been present at the Synod in *Seleucia*, and subscrib'd the Creed publish'd there by *Acacius*, he went directly from thence to *Beræa*. Upon the Convention of the Synod at *Constantinople*, when the *Antiochians* understood that *Eudoxius* had despised [the Presidency over their Church, and removed to the wealth of the *Constantinopolitan* See, they sent for (b) *Meletius* from *Beræa*, and instal him [Bishop] over the Church of *Antioch*. At first he superseded making any discourses about points of Faith, and deliver'd moral Doctrine only to his hearers. But after his continuance there sometime, he expounded the *Nicene Creed*, and asserted the *Homoiousian* opinion. Which when the Emperor understood, he gave order that he should be banish'd: and caused *Euzo'us* (who had before been deposed together with *Arius*) to be ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*. But as many as reserv'd an affection for *Meletius*, left the *Arian* congregation, and made assemblies apart by themselves; [altho'] those who originally embraced the *Homoiousian* opinion, would not communicate with them, because *Meletius* had receiv'd his Ordination from the Suffrages of the *Arians*, and because his followers had been baptized by them. After this manner was the *Antiochian* Church affected towards the other party, altho' they agreed with them in the points of Faith. But the Emperor understanding that the *Persians* were raising another War against the *Romans*, went in great haste to *Antioch*. *Meletius*, perceiving a contumacy in those under his charge, he retired from thence to some other place. Then therefore he went to *Beræa*, as I conjecture; but he presided not over the City of *Beræa*. This mistake of *Socrates*'s was perceived by *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 360. Which he corrects so, as to affirm, that *Meletius* was translated from *Beræa* to *Sebastia*, not from *Sebastia* to *Beræa*. Which, as I suppose, is not true, in regard neither *Theodoret* nor *Sozomen* have affirmed that concerning *Meletius*. Valef.

(b) This Person's name is written sometimes with an [e] thus *Meletius*; sometimes with an [i] thus *Melitus*. See *Eusebius*'s *Ecclef. Histor.* Book 7. Chap. 32. Note (a) pag. 138.

C H A P. XLV.

Concerning Macedonius's Heresie.

**B**UT *Macedonius*, who had been ejected out of *Constantinople*, being unable to bear his

condemnation, could by no means endure to be at quiet. But joyn'd himself to those of the other party, who had deposed *Acacius* and his followers at *Seleucia*. He therefore sent an Embassy to *Sophronius* and *Eleusius*, exhorting them to adhere to that Creed which was at first publish'd at *Antioch*, and afterwards confirm'd at *Seleucia*, and that they should give it an

(a) adulterate name, [to wit] the *Homoiousian* Creed. Wherefore many of his acquaintance and friends flock'd to him, who are now from him call'd *Macedoniani*. And as many as dissented from the *Acacians* at the Synod of *Seleucia*, from thence forward manifestly asserted the term \* *Homoiousios*, (b) whereas, before this they had not openly own'd it. But there is a report, which has been prevalent amongst many men, that this [term *Homoiousios*] was not *Macedonius*'s invention; but *Marathonius*'s rather, whom they had made Bishop of *Nicomedia* a little before. Upon which account they call the followers of this opinion *Marathoniani* also. In like manner *Eustathius* (who had been ejected out of *Sebastia* for that reason which we have mention'd a little before) joyn'd himself to that party. But after *Macedonius* refused to include the Holy Ghost in the Divinity of the Trinity, then *Eustathius* said, I cannot assent to the terming of the Holy Ghost God, nor dare I call him a Creature. Upon which account, those that embrace the *Homoiousian* opinion, give these

persons the name of \* *Pneumatomachi*. The reason why these *Macedoniani* are so numerous in (c) *Hellepont*, I will declare in its due place. Now, the *Acacians* used their utmost endeavours that they might be convened again at *Antioch*, in regard they repented their having asserted the Son to be wholly like the Father. On the year following therefore, wherein *Taurus* and *Florentius* were *Consuls*, they met at *Antioch* in *Syria*, (over which Church *Euzo'us* presided, in which City the Emperor also resided [at that time]) when some few of them resumed a debate of those points which they had determin'd before, saying, that the term † *Homoios* ought to be expung'd out of the Creed, which had been publish'd both at *Ariminum* and at *Constantinople*. Nor did they any longer keep their Vizors on, but affirm'd bare-fac'd, that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father, not only as to his Essence, but in relation to his Will also. And they openly asserted (according as *Arius* had them affirm'd) that he was made of nothing. To this opinion those, who at that time were followers of *Arius*'s Heresie at *Antioch*, gave their assent. Wherefore, besides their having the appellation of *Arians*, they were also called \* *Anomoei*, and

(a) Translators understood not this place. And yet they might have been informed from *Harpocration's* *Lexicon*, that *παρομοιωσις* (the term here used,) does signify adulterate, or counterfeit; by a Metaphor taken from money which has a false stamp. *Socrates* therefore calls *Homoiousios*. (For so 'tis to be written, agreeable to the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* Manuscripts; and the import of the term is, that the Son is of a substance, or Essence like to the Father;) an adulterate name, because 'tis corrupted, and counterfeitedly put instead of *Homoiousios* (i. e. that the Son is of the same substance, or Essence with the Father;) which is the name of the true and uncorrupted Creed. Further, the *Acacians* rejected as well the term *Homoiousios*, as *Homoousios*; and retain'd only *Homoios* (i. e. like the Father;) and wholly abhorred the term *Ousia* (i. e. Substance.) Valef.

(b) That is, that the Son is of a Substance, or Essence like to the Father. (c) This place is corrupted by a transposition of the Words; which may easily be rectified thus; ἡ δὲ πόλις ὁμοιοῦσι τὸ ὁμοίον ἐπέστυξαν, τὸ παρ' ἐξ ἐντεταγμένον αὐτῷ, from thence forward manifestly asserted the term *Homoiousios*, whereas before this they had not openly own'd it. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Christopherson* and *Musculus* apprehended not the meaning of this place. But *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Rendition of it agrees with our Version: only instead of [ὅσοι τὲ, and as many as;] the reading in his Copy seems to have been [ὅσοι γὰρ, for as many as] which displeaseth us not. Valef.

\* That is, Adversaries, or Opposers of the Holy Spirit. (c) In the *Alluvian Manuscript*, the reading is [ὅσοι τὸν ἐλλήνων τὸν, about Hellepont.] Valef. † That is, Like the Father.

\* They termed because of their asserting the Son to be unlike the Father.



Constantius. and Eusebii, by those at Antioch, who embrac'd the Homousian opinion, who [notwithstanding] were at that time divided amongst themselves. † They had this name, in regard they maintained the Son to be made of nothing, or, of things which are not. See Athanasius, pag. 906. Edit. Paris; whence Socrates borrowed these names for these Hereticks.

upon Meletius's account, as has been said before. When therefore they were ask'd by the Homousians, why they were so audacious, as to term the Son to be unlike the Father, and to affirm that he exists of nothing; whenas in the Creed publish'd by them they had said he was God of God; they attempted to elude this objection by such fallacious artifices as these: The phrase *God of God* (said they) has the same import with those words of the Apostle, \* *but all things of God*. Wherefore, the Son is *of God*, he being one of those *all things*. And upon this account, in the Editions of the Creed, these words, *according to the Scriptures* are added. Georgius Bishop of Laodicea was the Author of this † *Sophism*: Who being a person unskill'd in such expressions, was ignorant after what manner Origen had in former times discuss'd and interpreted such peculiar phrases of the Apostle. But, notwithstanding their attempt to cavil after this manner, yet in regard of their inability to bear the reproaches and contempt [thrown upon them,] they recited the same Creed, which they had before [publish'd] at Constantinople; and so departed every one to his own City. Georgius therefore returning to Alexandria, continued his Presidency over the Churches there, (*Athanasius* as yet absconding) and persecuted those in Alexandria who embraced not his sentiments. He was also cruel and severe towards the Populace of that City; to most of whom he was very odious. At Jerusalem, (d) *Harrenius* was ordain'd in *Cyrillus's* room. You must also know, M. S. he is that after him (e) *Heraclius* was constituted [Bishop there,] who was succeeded by *Hilarinus*. But at length *Cyrillus* return'd to Jerusalem, and recover'd the Presidency over the Church there. Moreover, at the same time there sprang up thus another Heresie, upon this account.

worded: *ὁ δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις κλεινὸν καὶ δαυρεθέντος, ὃς ἔργου, παρὰ λαμβάνει τὴν ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν Ἐρριένιος· μέτ' αὐτὸν ἐρράκιος· ἐξέχουσ δὲ τὴν Ἰλδέϊον, ἰ. ε. Ἀτ Jerusalem, Cyrillus having been deposed, as has been said, Erennius succeeded in that Church; after whom, Erracius: and after him Hilarius. But Jerome (in his Chronicon) calls him Irenius: For this is the reading in the most correct Copies, and in *Johannes Miræus's* Edition; *Maximus Hierosolymorum Episcopus moritur. Post quem, Ecclesiam Arianam invadunt, id est Cyrillus, Eutychius, rursus Cyrillus, Irenius, tertio Cyrillus, Hilarius, quarto Cyrillus: id est, Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem dies; after whom, the Arians invade that Church, that is, Cyrillus, Eutychius, Cyrillus the second, Irenius, Cyrillus the third, Hilarius, Cyrillus the fourth. In Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus's Chronicon, he is very corruptly called Arsenius. Valef.**

(e) *Maximus* Bishop of Jerusalem had at his death ordained *Heraclius* to be his Successor. But *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, together with some other *Arian* Bishops, flighting his Ordination, substituted *Cyrillus* in the room of *Maximus* being now dead. This *Cyrillus* degraded *Heraclius* from his Episcopal dignity, and reduced him to the degree of a Presbyter; as *Jerome* relates in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

#### C H A P. XLVI.

Concerning the Apollinaristæ, and their Heresie.

AT Laodicea in Syria, there were two men of the same name, the Father and the Son: For each of their names was *Apollinaris*. The Father was dignified with a Presbyterate in that Church; the Son had a Readers place. They were both Teachers of Grecian Literature; the Father taught Grammar, the Son Rhetorick. The Father was by birth an *Alexandrian*, and having at first taught at *Berytus*, he removed afterwards to *Laodicea*, where he married, and begat his son

*Apollinaris*. They both flourish'd at the same time with *Epiphanius* the *Sophista*, and being very intimate friends, they conversed together with him. But *Theodotus* Bishop of *Laodicea*, fearing that by their continual converse with that person they should be perverted to *Gentilism*, forbade their going to him. They regarding the Bishop's [prohibition] very little, continued their intimacy with *Epiphanius*. After this, *Georgius*, Successor to *Theodotus*, endeavour'd to reform [and wean] them from conversing with *Epiphanius*; but being unable to persuade them by any means, he punish'd them both with Excommunication. *Apollinaris* the son look'd upon what was done to be an injury, and confiding in the fluency of his *Sophistick* faculty of speaking, he also framed a new Heresie, which flourisheth at this present, and bears the name of its Inventor. But some do report, that they dissented from *Georgius*, not so much upon account of the foremention'd reason, but because they saw he maintain'd absurdities; sometimes professing the Son to be like the Father (according as it had been determined [in the Synod] at *Seleucia*;) at others inclining to the *Arian* opinion. Laying hold therefore of this specious pretext, they made a separation [from him.] But when they saw no body adhered to them, they introduce a [new] Scheme of Religion: and at first asserted that (a) *Humanity* was assumed by God the Word in the *Oeconomy* of his Incarnation, without the Soul. But afterward, rectifying their former error, by repentance as it were, they added, that the Soul was indeed assumed; but that it had not a Mind, but that God the Word was in the place of a Mind, in his assumption of *Humanity*. As to this point only these [Hereticks] do affirm that they dissent [from Catholics] who from them are now called *Apollinaristæ*. For they assert that the Trinity is *Consubstantial*. But we shall mention the two *Apollinaris's* again in due place.

(a) The Arians asserted a tenet near of kin to this of the Apollinaristæ, or Apollinarians. "Απειὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὡς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς ὁ πατήρ, ὡς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πατήρ ὁ υἱός." (says Athanasius de Adv. Christi.) professes the flesh only to be the Cover of the Deity; and asserts the Word to have been in the flesh, in the stead of our Inner man, that is, the soul. In this opinion he was followed by *Eunomius*, as *Theodore* informs us, *Contr. Hæres.* Book 5. Chap. 11. But the *Apollinarians* differed from him: for they distinguished (as we may see from this passage in our *Socrates*) between the Soul and Mind of Man; acknowledging (in the second Edition of their Heresie) that God the Word assumed an humane Body and a Soul; (which latter *Arius* and his Crew denied) but not the Mind, or Spirit of Man; the place whereof was supplied, said they, by the Word it self. This Philosophick notion (making Man consist of three parts, a Body, a Soul, and a Mind;) they borrowed from *Plotinus*; so says *Nemesius* in his *de Nat. Hom.*

#### C H A P. XLVII.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Constantius.

MOREOVER, whilst the Emperor *Constantius* resided at *Antioch*, *Julianus Cæsar* engages with a numerous army of *Barbarians* in the *Gallia's*. And having obtain'd a victory, was for that reason greatly belov'd by all the Soldiers, by whom he is proclaim'd Emperor. This being told to the Emperor *Constantius* put him into an agony. He was therefore baptiz'd by *Euzoius*, and \* undertakes an expedition against *Julianus*. But arriving between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, he ended his life at *Mopsucrenæ*, (being seiz'd with an *Apoplexy* by reason of his too great solicitude) in the Consulate of *Taurus* and *Florentius*, on the third of November. This was the first year of the two hundred eighty fifth Olympiad. *Constantius* lived forty five years, and reigned thirty eight. He was his Father's Colleague in the Empire thirteen years: after whose death [he govern'd] twenty five; which space of years this Book doth contain.

T H E

\* Or, proceeded to a War against, &c.



THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Julianus, his Extract and Education.  
And how, upon his being made Emperor, he  
revolted to Gentilism.

Julianus.

**T**HE Emperor Constantius ended his life on the Confines of Cilicia, about the third of November, in the Consulate of Taurus and Florentius. During the same persons Consulate, Julianus arriving from the Western parts (a) about the eleventh of December next ensuing, made his Entry into Constantinople, where he was proclaimed Emperor. Now whereas 'tis our design to say something concerning the Emperor Julianus, a person famed for his eloquence; let none of those who were his Intimado's, expect we should do it in a pompous and majestic style, as if it were necessary, that a character of so eminent a person should in every particular Correspond with his greatness of whom 'tis given. But, the composition of an History of the

Christian Religion being our business, we will continue making use of a low, plain, and mean style for perspicuity's sake. And this we promised [to do] at the beginning. Being therefore to speak concerning him, his Extract, Education, and how he came to the Empire; in order to our performing hereof, we must begin a little higher. Constantius, he who gave Byzantium his own name, had two Brothers begotten by the same Father, but not born of the same Mother. The name of the one was Dalmatius, the other was called Constantinus. Dalmatius had a Son who bore his own name. Constantius begat two Sons, Gallus and Julianus. After the death of [Constantine] the Builder of Constantinople, when the Soldiers had murther'd Dalmatius the younger,

at that time these \* two also being Orphans, Julianus wanted but a little of falling into the same danger with Dalmatius; had not a distemper which seem'd to be mortal deliver'd Gallus [from their violence:] and the tenderness of Julianus's age (for he was not then eight years old compleat) protected him. But, after the Emperor's rage against them was mollified, Gallus frequented the Schools at Ephesus in Ionia, in which Country they had large possessions left them by their Ancestors. And Julianus being grown up, was an Auditor in the Schools at Constantinople; going into the Palace (where there were then Schools) in a private habit, and was tutor'd by Macedonius the Eunuch. (b) Nicocles the

Laconian taught him the Grammar; he had for his Rhetoric-master Ecebolius the Sophista, who was at that time a Christian. For the Emperor Constantius took great care, lest by his being an hearer of a Pagan-master, he should revolt to the superstition [of the Gentiles:] For Julianus was at first a Christian. Upon his making a great progress in Literature, a rumour [begun] to be spread amongst the people, that he was fit to govern the Roman Empire. Which report being more openly divulged, much disturb'd the Emperor's mind. Wherefore, he removed him from the \* Great City to Nicomedia, ordering him not to frequent [the School] of Libanius the Syrian Sophista. For at that time Libanius, having been expelled Constantinople by the School-masters, had opened a School at Nicomedia. Wherefore, he vented his gall against the School-masters, in an (c) Oration which he wrote against them. But Julianus was forbidden to go to him, because Libanius was as to his Religion a Pagan. Nevertheless, being a great admirer of Libanius's Orations, he procured them privately, and perused them frequently and studiously. When he had made a great proficiency in Rhetorick, there came to Nicomedia, Maximus the Philosopher, not

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*Julianus.* (d) *Maximus of Byzantium, Euclid's Father, but Maximus the Ephesian, whom the Emperor Valentinianus order'd to be slain afterwards, as being a practiser of Magick. But this hapned a long while after. At that time, his coming to Nicomedia was occasion'd by nothing else but Julianus's fame, which induc'd him to go thither. Julianus having had a taste of Philosophick Literature from him, began forthwith to imitate his Master's Religion, who also instill'd into his mind a desire of the Empire. When the Emperor was made acquainted with these things, Julianus being betwixt hope and fear, became very desirous of avoiding suspicion; and he who had before been a sincere Christian, then began to act the Hypocrite. Being therefore shav'd to the very skin,*

he pretended to lead a Monastick life. Privately he employ'd himself about the study of Philosophy; but in publick he read the Sacred Writings of the Christians. Moreover, he was made a Reader in the Church of Nicomedia; and by this specious pretext he avoided the Emperor's fury. All this he did out of fear. But [in the interim] he receded not from his hope, but told many of his friends, that those would be happy times, when he should be possesst of the Empire. Whilst his affairs were in this posture, his Brother Gallus was created Cæsar, and in his journey into the East came to Nicomedia, to give him a visit. Not long after this Gallus was slain, immediately upon which the Emperor grew suspicious of Julianus. Wherefore he order'd a guard should be set upon him. But as soon as he could get an opportunity of slipping away from his Keepers, he removed from place to place, and by that means made his escape. At length the Emperor's Wife Eusebia, having found him out during his absconding, perswades the Emperor to do him no harm, but to allow him a liberty of going to Athens, to study Philosophy. From whence (that I may be brief) the Emperor sent for him, and created him Cæsar. After which he married him to his Sister Helena, and sent him into the Gallia's against the Barbarians. For the Barbarians (whom the Emperor Constantius had a little before hired to be his Auxiliaries against Magnentius,) having been employ'd in no service against the Tyrant, fell to destroying the Roman Cities. And in regard Julianus was as yet but young, he ordered him not to enter upon any thing of action without the advice of the Commanders of the Army. Who having receiv'd so large a Commission, grew negligent in their management of affairs; upon which account the Barbarians increased in strength. Julianus permitted the Commanders to spend their time in luxury and drinking; but he made the Soldiers more couragious, by promising a set reward to him who should kill a Barbarian. This was the original cause, whereby both the Barbarians Forces were diminish'd, and also he himself was rendred more acceptable to the Soldiers. There is a report, that as he was entring into a Town, a

(e) Crown, with which they [usually] adorn the Cities, being hung up by Ropes between two pillars, fell down upon his head, and fitted it exactly, at which all that were present gave a shout; for by this sign [it seem'd] to be portended, that he should be Emperor. There are those who say, that Constantius therefore sent him against the Barbarians, that he might perish there, in an engagement with them. But I know not whether they who report this, speak the truth. For should he have framed such a design against him, after he had joyn'd him in marriage to his own Sister, it would have been no other than a conspiracy against himself. But let every one judge of this matter according to his own pleasure. Moreover, upon Julianus's making a complaint to the Emperor of the slothfulness of his Military Officers, there was another Commander sent to him, exactly agreeable to Julianus's courage. Having got such an assistant, he made a bold attack upon the Barbarians. They dispatch'd away an Ambassador to him, informing him, that they were order'd by the Emperor's Letters to march into the Roman Territories, and the Letters were produced to him. But he clapt their Ambassador into prison; and having engaged their forces, routed them totally. He also took the King of the Barbarians prisoner, and sent him to Constantius. Upon this fortunate success, he is proclaim'd Emperor by the Soldiers. But because they wanted an Imperial Crown, one of his Guard took the Chain which he wore about his own neck, and put it upon Julianus's head. After this manner therefore Julianus came to be Emperor. But what he did afterwards, let the hearers judge, whether or no they became a Philosopher: For he neither sent an Ambassador to Constantius, nor did he shew him that reverence which was due to him, as being his Benefactor, but managed all affairs according to his own arbitrement. He changed the Governours of Provinces, and reproach'd Constantius in every City, by reciting in publick his Letters sent to the Barbarians. Whereupon [those inhabitants] revolted from Constantius, and came over to him. At that time he manifestly pull'd off his Mask of Christianity. For he went from City to City, open'd the Heathen Temples, offer'd sacrifice to idols, and term'd himself the \* Pontifex Maximus. And such as professed Gentilism celebrated their heathenish Festivals [after their own manner.] By these proceedings of his he

(f) takes an occasion of raising a Civil War against Constantius. And, as far as in him lay, [he took care] that all those Calamities should have hapned, which are the consequents of a War. For this Philosopher's desire could not have been (g) fulfilled without much blood-shed.

*Epiphanius Scholasticus* rendred thus; *quasiâ occasione, he took an occasion, &c.* But there may be another rendition of these words, thus: *By doing hereof, he raised a Civil War against Constantius, being undertaken an expedition against him.* Valef.

(g) The term *διὰ τῆς αἱμάτων* must signifie here, to be fulfilled, completed, or perfected, *Epiphanius Scholasticus* therefore renders it thus: *Non enim sine multo sanguine studium ejus Philosophi poterat adimpleri, i. e. for the desire of this Philosopher could not have been accomplished without much blood.* Musculus's Version (which is, *declarari, could not have been declared*) and also *Christophorson's* (which is, *internosci, could not have been discerned*) are in my judgment absurd. Valef.

But



*Julianus.* But God the *Arbiter* of his own Counsels, repress'd the \* *Impetus* of one of these two *Antagonists* without any † damage to the Republic. For when *Julianus* arriv'd amongst the *Thracians*, news was brought him, that *Constantius* was dead. And thus the *Roman Empire* at that time escap'd a Civil War. But *Julianus* having made his entry into *Constantinople*, began immediately to consider with himself, after what manner he might win the favour of the people, and procure their benevolence towards himself. He makes use therefore of this artifice. He very well understood, that *Constantius* was odious to all such as embraced the *Homoiousian* opinion, both because he had driven them from their Churches, and also in regard he had proscribed and banish'd the Bishops belonging to them. He assuredly knew also, that the Heathens were sorely vexed, because they were prohibited sacrificing to their Gods; and that they were very desirous of getting an opportunity, wherein their Temples might be open'd, and they have a liberty of offering sacrifices to their Idols. He was sensible, that for these reasons both those sorts of people had privately rancor'd minds against his Predecessor [*Constantius*]. He also found, that all people in general highly resent'd the violence of the Eunuchs, and

(b) Translators perceived not that this place was faulty. I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote thus: [*Εὐσεβίου τὸ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἀρχιερέα, and the rapines of Eusebius the principal Person of the Bed-chamber to him.*] For *πρωτοβύσιος* signifies the *Provost*, or chief Officer of the sacred Bed-chamber, which Office *Eusebius* then bore. *Socrates* does frequently use this word in this sense; as we may see in his second Book, Chap. 2. *Valef.*

the rapines (b) of *Eusebius* the principal person of the Bed-chamber to him. He therefore treated them all with a great deal of craft and subtlety. With some he dissembled: Others he obliged by kindnesses, being a great affecter of vain-glory. But he made it evident to all in general how he was affected towards the

superstition [of the Heathens.] And first, that he might make *Constantius* odious for his cruelty towards his Subjects, and render him infamous amongst the Vulgar, he commanded that the exiled Bishops should be recalled; and restored to them their Estates which had been confiscated. Then he issued out an Order to his Confidants, that the Heathen-Temples should be forthwith open'd. He also order'd, that such persons as had been injured by the Eunuchs, should be repossessed of their goods which were unjustly taken from them. He punish'd *Eusebius* the principal person of the Imperial Bed-chamber with death, not only because many persons had been wronged by him, but also in regard he was assured, that his Brother *Gallus* had been murther'd upon account of his calumny [against him.] He took care that *Constantius's* body should be honour'd with an Imperial funeral. He expelled the Eunuchs, Barbers, and Cooks out of his Palace: The Eunuchs, because he had lost his Wife, after whose death he resolv'd not to marry any other; the Cooks, in regard he fed upon a very slender and mean diet: And the Barbers, because, said he, one is sufficient for a great many. For these reasons he put these sorts of men out [of the Palace.] Most of the Notaries he reduced to their former condition, and ordered that the rest should be allow'd a salary befitting a Notary. He also retrenched the (i) publick way

(i) *Crisostomus*, in his former *Invective* against *Julian*, does confess also that the publick way, or manner of travelling and conveying of necessaries from place to place, was well rectified by *Julian*. For *Constantius* had

impaired it much, by allowing the Bishops every-where the use thereof, that they might come to the Synods convened by him. But, what regulations *Julianus* made in this matter, 'tis hard to determine. And yet we may conjecture from *Socrates's* words, that the way of travelling by Chariots (which was also called the *Cursus Clavularis*;) was put down by him, and that travelling on Horse-back (upon Horses provided for publick uses) remained only in use. *Johannes Lydus* has treated at large de *publico Cursu*, in his Book de *Mensibus*. *Valef.*

of conveyance of necessaries for [publick] uses. *Julianus.* For example, [the use] of Mules, Oxen, and Asses; and permitted Horses only to serve for such publick conveniences. These Acts of his are commended by some few persons; but most men discommend them, because the grandeur and magnificence of the Imperial riches being lost, which creates an admiration in the minds of the Vulgar, he thereby rendred the dignity of an Emperor despicable, and obnoxious to contempt. Moreover he sat up all night, composing Orations, which he recited at his going into the Senate-house: For he was the first and only Emperor since *Julius Caesar's* times, that made Speeches in the Senate-house. He had an high esteem for such as were studious about [any part of] Literature; but more especially for those who professed Philosophy. Wherefore, the report hereof brought such as were pretenders to this sort of Learning from all parts to the Palace, who wore their \* *Palliums*, and were most of them more conspicuous for their Garb, than their Learning. But they were all troublesome to the Christians, being persons that were Impostors, and who always own'd the same Religion with the Emperor. He himself also was so excessively vain-glorious, that he reviled all his Predecessors in the Empire, in a Book he compos'd, which he entitl'd *The Caesars*. The same proud temper of mind excited him to write Books against the Christians also. His expulsion of the Cooks and Barbers was an act [befitting] a Philosopher indeed, but not an Emperor. But in his reproaching and reviling [of others,] he did neither like a Philosopher, nor an Emperor. For both those sorts of persons are to be [of a temper of mind] superior to all detraction and envy. An Emperor may indeed be a Philosopher, in what bears a respect to modesty and temperance: But a Philosopher, should he imitate an Emperor in all things, would transgress his Rules. Let thus much be cursorily said concerning the Emperor *Julianus*, his Extract, Education, and Disposition, and after what manner he came to the Empire.

\* See *Eusebius's Eccl. Hist.* Book 6. Chap. 19. Note (p.)

## C H A P. II.

Concerning the Sedition which hapned at Alexandria, and after what manner Georgius was slain.

WE come now to mention what was transacted in the Churches at that time. In the great City *Alexandria* there hapned a disturbance upon this account. There was a place in that City, which had for a long time lain waste and neglected, (being filled with a great deal of filth,) wherein the Heathens had formerly celebrated their Mysteries to || *Mithra*, || The Persians suppose *Mithra* to be the Sun to whom they offer many sacrifices. No Person was initiated into the Mysteries hereof, before he had arrived to them by certain degrees of torture, and had declared himself holy, and approved by sufferings.

and



*Julianus.* and useless, *Constantius* had some time before bestow'd upon the Church of the *Alexandrians*. *Georgius*, desirous to erect an Oratory therein, gave order that the place should be cleansed.

Whilst they were clearing of it, there was an *Adytum* discover'd, of a vast depth, wherein were hid the Mysteries of the Heathens. Which were the Skulls of many Men, young and old, who, as report says, had heretofore been slain, at such time as the Heathens made use of Divinations by the inspection of entrails, and performed Magick sacrifices in order to the enchantment of Mens Souls. The Christians therefore, upon their discovery of these things in the *Adytum* of the Temple of *Mithra*, made it their business to expose these Heathenish mysteries to the view and derision of all men. And they began forthwith to carry them in triumph as 'twere about the City, shewing the multitude mens bare Skulls. When the Heathens that were at *Alexandria* beheld this, being unable to endure this ignominious affront, they became highly enraged: and making use of what came next to hand for a weapon, they fell with great violence upon the Christians, and destroy'd many of them (a) by various sorts of death. Some of them they killed with swords, others with clubs and stones: Others they strangled with ropes: Some they crucified, inflicting this sort of death on them designedly, in contumely to the Cross [of Christ.] They wounded most of them. At which time, as it usually happens in such [Riots,] they spared not their nearest Friends and Relatives. But one Friend slew another; Brother [murder'd] Brother; Parents their Children, outrageously embrueing their hands in one another's blood. For which reason the Christians left off cleansing *Mithra's* Temple: But the Heathens dragg'd *Georgius* out of the Church, and having bound him to a Camel, tore him to pieces, after which they burnt him, together with the Camel.

† That is, A secret place in the Heathen Temples, to which none but their Priests had access.

(a) Or, by all manner of treacheries; for that's the reading in the *Sforzian* M. S. Valef.

### C H A P. III.

*That the Emperor, incensed at Georgius's Murther, sharply rebuked the Alexandrians by his Letter.*

**B**UT the Emperor highly repented *Georgius's* murther, and by his Letter severely reprehended the Citizens of *Alexandria*. There was a report spread abroad, as if they had done this to *Georgius*, who hated him upon *Athanasius's* account. But my opinion is, that such as entertain malice and hatred in their minds, do usually put themselves into their company who make insurrections against unjust persons. The Emperor's Letter, 'tis certain, lays the blame upon the Populace, rather than upon the Christians. But *Georgius* was then, and had before (a) appear'd, troublesome and offensive to all persons. And for this reason the multitude was incensed against him in such an high degree. But, that the Emperor [as I said] does rather blame the People, you may hear from the Letter it self.

(a) For an account of the reasons of the *Alexandrians* hatred towards

*Georgius*, consult *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 223, &c. Edit. Paris 1631. See also *Epiphanius*, in *Heref.* 76, to wit, that of the *Anomæi*. Valef.

EMPEROR CÆSAR JULIANUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Citizens of *Alexandria*.

*Although you have no reverence for Alexander the Builder of your City, and (which is more)*

*for that Great God the most holy Serapis; yet how Julianus is it that you have forgot both that Humanity and \* Decorum, due to mankind in general? We will add, [which is due] to Us also, to whom all the Gods, especially the Great Serapis, have assigned the Empire of the World. For whom it was fit you should have reserved the Cognizance of their case who had injured you. But perhaps, you were imposed upon by anger and rage, which where it inhabits the mind,*

*does usually perpetrate most enormous facts. (b) But when you had repressed your fury, you afterwards added the commission of an unjust act to what had on a sudden been advisedly resolved by you. Nor were you of the Commonalty ashamed of perpetrating those things, for which you deservedly hated them. For, declare to Us, [We adjure you] by Serapis, for what unjust acts were you incensed against Georgius? You will undoubtedly make answer, because he exasperated Constantius, of blessed memory, against us: Also, because he brought*

*an Army into the sacred City, and the (c) King of Egypt possessed himself of God's most Holy Temple, and took away from thence the Images, the consecrated Gifts, and the Furniture in those sacred places. At which when (as it was meet) you were highly incensed, and attempted to defend God, (or rather his Goods and Possessions,) from violence; He, contrary to Justice, Law, and Piety, audaciously sent armed men against you. [But] perhaps (in regard he was more afraid of Georgius than Constantius (d) He had made better provision for his own safety, had he at first behaved himself more moderately and civilly towards you, and not so tyrannically. You being therefore for these reasons enraged against Georgius the enemy of the Gods, have again polluted your sacred City, when as you might have brought him to his Trial before the Judges. For by this means neither murther, nor any other unlawful fact had been committed: but justice had been equitably and exactly done, which would have preserv'd you guiltless from all manner of wickedness, and would have punish'd him who had impiously committed such enormous crimes, and [lastly] would have curbed all those who contemn the Gods, and disrespect so great Cities and such a flourishing people; making the barbarity they practised against them the Prælude [as it were of]*

*But perhaps, &c. But Petavius (in his notes on this Epistle of Julianus, see the forementioned Edition) has produced another Emendation from some M. SS. Copies; after this manner, ὅς αὐτὸν παρεφύλαττεν who had preserv'd himself, &c. Valef.*

(b) In the Florentine and *Sforzian* M. SS. instead of [ἀνασελάς] the reading is [ἀνασελάης]; wherefore, I doubt not but this whole place is to be thus restored: εἰτα τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνασελάης, τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν βεβουλευμένοις καλῶς, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιπαρρησίᾳ; But when you had repressed your fury, &c. Valef.

(c) He means *Artemius*, Commander in chief of the Forces in Egypt; as he is styled by *Theodoret*, (Book 3. Chap. 17. *Eccles. Histor.*) who relates, that he was deprived of his estate, and beheaded by *Julian*; because, being Captain of Egypt in the reign of *Constantius*, he had broken many Images. It was he, who allowed *Georgius* the *Arian* a guard of Soldiers for his assistance, whilst he destroyed the heathen Temples in *Alexandria*. See our notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 228. The Martyrdom of this *Artemius* is extant in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, in which many things are contained that do much illustrate the History of these times. Valef.

(d) In that Edition of *Julianus's* works published by *Petavius*, printed at Paris 1630, (where this Letter of *Julianus's* to the *Alexandrians* is reckoned to be his tenth Epistle;) and in *Nicetorus* (Book 10. Chap. 7.) the reading and punctuation of this passage is thus: ἐαυτὸν παρεφύλαττεν, εἰ μετεώτερον οὐκ ἔστι πόλιτικώτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ βανικώτερον πόρρωθεν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. The best Version of which passage (for no less than four have rendred it into Latin) is *Langus's*; who has rendred it thus: Qui melius sibi ipsi consuleret, si moderate vobiscum & civiliter, nec tam tyrannicè ab initio egisset. We have followed the same sense in our Rendition. But *Christophorus's* Version is reprovable, both for his inserting the word [ἢ, for] contrary to the authority of all Copies; and also, because he excuses *Artemius* Commander of the Forces in Egypt, as if he had carried himself civilly and moderately at the beginning of his Government. It would certainly have been most absurd, should *Julian* have excus'd him, whom he had ordered to be executed as a Criminal. If any one therefore has a mind to follow our Version, 'tis but inserting one Particle only thus: ἵνα δέ.

their



*Julianus.* their power. Compare therefore this Our Letter  
(e) with that We sent a while since, and consider  
the difference between them. How highly did We  
then commend you? But now, by the [immortal]  
Gods! When We should praise you, We cannot, by  
reason of your heinous Offence. The People are so  
audacious as to tear a Man piece-meal like Dogs.  
Nor are they afterwards abashed or careful of  
preserving their Hands pure, that they \* may stretch  
them out undefiled with Blood in the presence of  
the Gods. But Georgius deserved to undergo  
these Sufferings. We might perhaps grant, [that  
he deserved] more horrid and acute Tortures.  
And should you say, [he deserved them] upon  
your account, We also assent to that. But should  
you add, [he deserved to have this inflicted on  
him] by you; that We can in no wise allow. For  
you have Laws, which ought to be observ'd and  
revered by you all, as well privately, as in pub-  
lick. Now, suppose it happens, that some private  
persons do violate these Laws, yet the Community  
must be regulated by good Laws, and you are to  
pay obedience to those Laws, and not transgress what  
has from the beginning been well and prudently  
constituted. It has hapned very fortunately for you,  
O ye Alexandrians! that you have perpetrated such  
a Fact as this in Our Reign; Who, by reason of  
Our Reverence towards God, and upon account of  
Our (f) Grandfather and Uncle whose name We  
bear, (who governed Egypt and your City,) do  
retain a fraternal Affection for you. Certainly,  
that Power which suffers not it self to be dis-  
respected, and such a Government as is severe, en-  
tire, and of an healthy Constitution, (g) could not  
connive at such an audacious insolence in its Sub-  
jects, but would diligently purge out that deadly Di-  
stemper as it were by a more acute Medicine. But  
We, for the reasons now mentioned, make use of that  
most mild and gentle Remedy in your Case, [to wit,]  
Exhortation and Discourse. To which, We are con-  
fident, We shall find you more readily submissive,  
because, (as We are informed) you are not only Gre-  
cians by original extract, (h) but do also still re-  
tain in your Minds and Endeavours a splendid and  
generous Character of that your Noble Descent.  
(i) Let it be published to Our Citizens of Alexan-  
dria. Thus wrote the Emperor.

*Julian* Expresseth of Egypt; concerning whom *Amm. Marcellinus* re-  
lates much. In *Julianus's* Epistles, both readings are retained thus:  
*ἰδὲ τὸν πάππον καὶ ἐμὲν καὶ τὸν θείον ὁμόθυμον*, upon account of our  
Grandfather and Uncle whose name we bear. But this reading is not  
to be endured; for, what reason has *Julianus* to mention his Grand-  
father here? *Sozomen* does confirm *Nicephorus's* reading, as we may  
see, Book 5. Chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* Valef.

(g) I doubt not but this place should be thus worded; *καὶ ποτὶς οὐ*  
*δύναται ἐξείσοιεν τὸ λημπνῆμα*; and we have rendred it accordingly.  
Valef.

(h) The reading should doubtless be *καὶ τὰνδὺν ἔτι, τῆς ἐν γένειας*  
*ἐκείνης*, &c. but do also still, &c.

(i) It must be *περὶ τὴν πόλιν* Let it be published. We have spoken  
concerning this clause (which was usually annext to the Emperors  
Edicts) in our Annotations on *Eusebius*, and think it superfluous to  
repeat it here. Valef.

CHAP. IV.

How, upon Georgius's being murdered, Athanasius returned to Alexandria, and recovered his own Church.

NOT long after, Athanasius returning from his Exile, was kindly received by the people of Alexandria, who at that time expelled the Arians out of the Churches; and gave Atha-

nasius possession of the Oratories. But the A-Julianus. rians assembled themselves in some obscure and mean Houses, and Ordained Lucius in the place of Georgius. Such was the state of affairs then at Alexandria.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Lucifer, and Eusebius.

AT the same time Lucifer and Eusebius were by an Imperial Order recalled from banishment. Lucifer was Bishop of Caralis, a City of Sardinia: Eusebius of Vercellæ, which is a City of the Lygurians in Italy, as we have said before. Both these persons therefore returning from Exile out of the Upper Thebais, (a) held a consult how they might hinder the impaired Laws of the Church from being violated and despised.

who entred into a consult about repairing the decayed state of the Church, and establishing the Canon of Faith; but other Bishops besides them, who by *Julianus's* Edict were at that time recalled from Exile: to wit, *Hilarius*, *Asterius*, and the rest, as *Theodoret* truly remarks, Book 3. Chap. 4. *Eccles. Hist.* These Prelates, moved thereto by a Zeal to the Catholick Faith, took in hand to reduce Hereticks and Schismaticks to the path of Truth, and recal them to their former Concord. Therefore, what *Baronius* says, to wit, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were created Legates of the Apostolick See by *Libertius*, in order to their repairing the state of the Church, can in no wise be true. For the same must have been said concerning *Hilarius* and the other Prelates. Besides, *Rufinus* does expressly disprove this. For he relates, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were Commissionated with this Legantine power by the *Alexandrian Synod*. Valef.

CHAP. VI.

How Lucifer arriving at Antioch, Ordained Paulinus.

IT was concluded therefore, that Lucifer should go to Antioch in Syria, and Eusebius to Alexandria: that, by assembling a Synod together with Athanasius, they might confirm the opinions of the Church. (a) Lucifer sent a Deacon as his Substitute, by whom he promised his assent to what should be determined by the Synod. But he himself went to Antioch, and finds that Church in a great disturbance: for the People disagreed amongst themselves. For, not only the Arian Heresie, which had been introduced by *Euzoius*, divided the Church: but (as we have said \* before) *Meletius's* followers also, by reason of their affection towards their Master, differ'd from those who embraced the same sentiments with them. Lucifer therefore, when he had constituted Paulinus Bishop over them, departed from thence again.

treated by Eusebius, that they might go together to see Athanasius at Alexandria, and in a general Consult with those Prelates that were left, determine concerning the state of the Church; refused to be present himself, but sends his Deacon as his Deputy. But from the Synodick Epistle, which Athanasius wrote in the name of the Alexandrian Synod to the Catholick Bishops which were in the City of Antioch, we are informed that Lucifer sent two of his Deacons to the Synod of Alexandria, *Herennius* and *Agapetus*; whom he sent after he had Ordained Paulinus Bishop of Antioch. For the Legates of Paulinus himself were present at this Synod, and subscribed Athanasius's Synodick Epistle. For these things were transacted thus. Soon after Eusebius's going to the Alexandrian Synod, Lucifer together with these two Bishops *Cymatius* and *Anatolius* (the one whereof was Bishop of Palsus, the other of Beroea,) created Paulinus Bishop of Antioch. Who, immediately after his Ordination, sent his Legates *Maximus* and *Calamergus* to the Alexandrian Synod. Also, *Apollinaris* Bishop of Laodicea (who had a peculiar Sect, and a Bishop of his own faction, at Antioch) sent his Legates at the same time. The Bishops



of Egypt therefore who were met at *Alexandria*, when they had heard that *Eusebius*, *Asterius*, and *Lucifer's* Legates were sent by *Lucifer*, *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*, and when they had admitted the Legates sent by *Paulinus* and *Apollinaris*; departed every one to their own Sees, and gave order to *Athanasius* and some other Bishops who continued at *Alexandria*, that they should write a Letter to the Bishops convened at *Antioch*, concerning receiving the Hereticks and Schismatics into communion, how they ought to behave themselves in that affair. In obedience to their Order, *Athanasius* wrote a Letter to the Bishops convened at *Antioch*, to wit, to *Lucifer*, *Eusebius*, and *Asterius*, (for these were now returned from the *Alexandrian* Synod:) *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*. This Letter is extant in *Athanasius's* works, which *Baronius* supposed to be the Synodick Epistle of the *Alexandrian* Synod. But 'tis manifest from the Contents of that Letter, that it was not written from the Synod itself, but from *Athanasius*; nor was it sent to all the Bishops, but to those of *Antioch* in particular. Which may be concluded both from the inscription itself, and also from the Text of the whole Letter. For he treats therein concerning the affairs of the *Antiochian* Church only, as (besides others) we are informed from this passage: Πάντας τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρηνοῦντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συναγωγῇ, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρειανῶν, προσελάμβαντες παρ' ἐαυτοῦ. Which place *Athanasius's* Translator has rendred ill: The import of it in English is this; Invite therefore to you all those that are desirous of continuing in peace with you, especially those who celebrate their Conventions in the Old City, and such as [come] from the Arians. *Athanasius* means those that adhered to *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*. For they, being Separatists from the *Eustathians*, had their Religious Meetings in the *Palae* (that is, in the Old City,) as *Theodoret* attests, Book 2. Chap. 31. and Book 3. Chap. 4. *Eccles. Histor.* *Athanasius* speaks of the same Persons afterwards in the said Epistle; and distinguishes those that had their meetings in the Old City, from the followers of *Paulinus*, that is, the *Eustathians*. For *Paulinus* was one of their number. Those therefore that had their Assemblies in the *Palae* can be no other than *Meletius's* favourers, whom *Athanasius* does most especially commend. *Valef.*

*Julianus.*

#### C H A P. VII.

*How Eusebius and Athanasius accorded together, and assembled a Synod of Bishops at Alexandria, wherein they expressly declared, that the Trinity is Consubstantial.*

**B**UT, as soon as *Eusebius* arrived at *Alexandria*, he, together with *Athanasius*, was very diligent about convening a Synod. There assembled Bishops out of several Cities, and conferred amongst themselves concerning many and most weighty matters. In this Synod they asserted the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and included him in the Consubstantial Trinity. They likewise determined that Christ at his Incarnation assumed not only flesh but an Human Soul, which was also the opinion of the primitive Ecclesiasticks. For they introduced not any new Doctrine, invented by them, into the Church, but [confirmed] those points which Ecclesiastick tradition had from the beginning asserted, and which the learnedst persons amongst the Christians had demonstratively affirmed. For such sentiments as these all the Antients in their Disputations concerning this Point have left us in their Writings. *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, and *Serapion* President of the Church in *Antioch*, do assert this in the Books by them composed, (a) as an

(a) This clause is thus worded in the Greek [ὡς ὁμο-λογῶν] where the term [ὁμο-λογῶν] ought in my judgment to be expunged, as being unnecessarily inserted here by some careless Transcriber out of the foregoing line, where it occurs. But *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 14. where he writes out this passage of *Socrates*) makes use of the term [ὁμο-λογῶν] instead of [ὁμο-λογῶν]; either because that was the reading in his Copy; or else in regard he thought [ὁμο-λογῶν] was to be so explained, *Valef.*

(b) *Nicephorus* (at the Book and Chapter now mentioned) calls this person *Cyrillus*. But, from the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. we have termed him *Berillus*. Our emendation is

confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. *Berillus* was not Bishop of *Philadelphia*, as *Socrates* says here, but of *Bostra* (or of *Bostris*) in *Arabia*: he denied Christ to have been God before his Incarnation, as *Eusebius* informs us, Book 6. Chap. 33. of his *Ecclesiastick History*; where see note (a.) That passage of *Origen's* must be understood concerning this Heresie of *Berillus's*, which occurs in his *Comment on the Epistle to Titus*: where his words are these: Sed eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jesum, &c. Also those, who affirm the Lord Jesus to be a Man fore known, and predestined, who before his coming in the flesh had no peculiar existence of his own, but that being born Man he had the Deity of the Father only in him; these persons, I say, cannot, without great danger, be accounted members of the Church. This passage occurs also in *Pamphilus's* *Apologetic* in defence of *Origen*. And *Gennadius* has mentioned it, in his Book *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, Cap. 4. *Valef.*

*Berillus*, in their Letter to the said *Berillus* hath *Julianus* maintain'd the same Doctrine. *Origen* also doth acknowledge every where, in his Works which are extant, that Christ at his Incarnation assum'd an Human Soul: but more particularly, in the ninth Tome of his *Comments upon Genesis*, he has explain'd the mystery hereof; where he hath copiously prov'd, that *Adam* is a Type of Christ, and *Eve* of the Church. *Holy Pamphilus*, and *Eusebius* who borrow'd his surname from him, persons worthy to be credited, do attest this. For both these persons (who club'd in their drawing up the Life of *Origen* in writing, and answered such as were prepossess'd with a prejudice against that person, in those famous Books, wherein they made an *Apology* in defence of him,) do affirm, that *Origen* was not the first person engaged in this subject, but that he interpreted the mystical Tradition of the Church. But, those Bishops present at the Synod of *Alexandria*, omitted not their researches into this question, to wit, concerning \* *Ousia* and † *Hypostasis*. For *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain* (whom we formerly mention'd) who was sent before by *Constantine* the Emperor, to compose the disturbance at that time raised by *Arius*, being desirous to root out the opinion of || *Sabellius* the Libyan, raised a dispute concerning *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*, which was the occasion of another dissent. But the *Nicene* Synod, which was soon after convened, made not the least mention of this dispute. Notwithstanding, in regard some persons were afterwards desirous of contending about this matter, for that reason these determinations were made in this Synod concerning *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*. (c) It was resolved by them, that these terms ought not to be used concerning God. For, [they said that] the

ed the persons in the sacred Trinity, *Arius* divided the substance.

(c) The Acts of the Synod of *Alexandria* are not now extant; but 'tis sufficiently apparent, both from that Synodick Epistle which *Athanasius* wrote in the name of that Council, and also from hence, because the Great *Athanasius* was present at that Synod, that what *Socrates* here says is false. For, as to the Synodick Epistle, there occurs no such passage in that, as this, that the terms *Ousia* and *Hypostasis* are not to be used as often as we speak concerning God. Nor, would *Athanasius* ever have suffered that to have been determined in his Synod, which does manifestly contradict the *Nicene Creed*. For in that Creed the term *Ousia* does occur. *Socrates* seems to have been deceived by this passage in the Synodick Epistle: Πάντες τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογίας, &c. And, by the grace of God, all persons, after such interpretations of those terms, unanimously agreed, that that Creed, which the Fathers made profession of at *Nice*, was better and more accurate, and that in future, it was sufficient, that the terms thereof should be made use of. In which words, the terms *Ousia* and *Hypostasis* are not condemned: But this only is asserted, that it is more site to use the terms of the *Nicene Creed*, than these, of three *Hypostasis's* and of one *Hypostasis*. For the debate at that time was only concerning these words; some affirming there were three *Hypostasis's* in the sacred Trinity, as did the followers of *Meletius*: Others, with *Paulinus*, professing there was but one *Hypostasis*. But no question was then started concerning the term *Ousia*. For both sides can that which *Socrates* here says stand good, to wit, that it was Decreed in the *Alexandrian* Synod, that these terms *Ousia* and *Hypostasis* were not to be used concerning God? Perhaps also *Sabellius* (whose Collection *Socrates* had diligently perused) had led him into this mistake. *Valef.*

term



*Julianus.* term *Ousia* was not so much as mention'd in the sacred Scriptures : and, that the \* Apostle, obliged thereto upon a necessity of [delivering some] Opinions, had not rightly used the word *Hypostasis*. But they decreed, that these terms were to be admitted of upon another account, to wit, when they refute *Sabellius's* Opinion, lest, for want of expressive words, we should suppose [the Trinity to be] one thing called by a triple name; but we must rather believe every one (*d*) of those named in the Trinity, to be truly God in his proper person. These were the determinations of the Synod at that time. But nothing hinders, but we may briefly declare our knowledge concerning [the terms] *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*. Such persons amongst the Greeks as were Expositors of their Philosophy, have given various definitions of *Ousia*; but they have not made the least mention of *Hypostasis*. (*e*) *Irenæus Grammaticus*, in his *Alphabetical Lexicon*, entitled *Atticistes*, affirms this word [*Hypostasis*] to be a barbarous term : for it is not, [says he,] used by any of the Antients : but should it be any where found occurring, it is not taken in that sense wherein 'tis now used. For, in *Sophocles* (in [his Tragedy entitled] *Phœnix*) the term *Hypostasis* signifies *Treachery*. In *Menander* it imports *Sauces*; (*f*) as if any one should term the Lees in any Hoghead of Wine *Hypostasis*. But, you must know, that altho' the ancient Philosophers did not make use of this term *Hypostasis*, yet the more modern Philosophick Writers used it frequently instead of \* *Ousia*. Moreover, they have given us (as we said) various definitions of *Ousia*. But if *Ousia* may be circumscribed by a definition, how can we properly make use of this term in reference to God, who is incomprehensible? *Euvagrius*, [in his piece intitled] *Monachicus*, dissuades us from discoursing rashly and inconsiderately concerning God. But he altogether forbids the defining of the Divinity, in regard it is a most † simple thing. For definitions, says he, belong to things that are compounded. The same Author delivers these very words. Every pro-

*Owen's* account of this phrase, in his *Exposition on the Hebrews*, p. 55. &c. Edit. London. 1668.

(*d*) Instead of [*ἡ ὀνομασία*, of the names,] which is the common reading; the Florentine M. S. words it thus [*ἡ ὀνομαζυμεία*, of those named.] But *Nicephorus* maintains the common reading; for he has recorded this passage of *Socrates* thus: ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον ἑνὶ τῇ τελευτῇ παραλαμβάνον ὀνομάτων ἐν ἑστίᾳ ὑποστάσει θεολογοῦτο τελευτῇ εὐνοίας. Which his Learned Translator *Langus* has thus rendred: Sed tribus usurpatis nominibus, res quæque in Trinitate tripliciter distincta peculiari substantiâ suâ intelligatur. But I cannot approve of this Rendition, in regard it recedes too far from the Authors words. *Langus* was puzzled with these Words [*ἡ ὀνομασία*, of the names,] and not without reason. For the bare name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is neither believed, nor asserted to be God; but the things [or persons] signified by those names. Wherefore, the reading in the Florentine M. S. is, in my judgment, to be preferred before the vulgar reading; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valef.*

(*e*) *Irenæus Grammaticus* was an *Alexandrian*, the Scholar of *Heliodorus Metricus*, who by a Latin name was called *Minucius Pacatus*. He wrote many Books concerning the propriety of the *Attick Language*. For he compiled three Books of *Attick names*, and as many more de *Atticâ consuetudine in dictione & in prosodia*, which were alphabeticaly digested: he composed one Book also de *Atticismo*, as *Suidas* relates in his *Lexicon*. *Valef.*

(*f*) *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 15.) reads this passage otherwise. For, instead of [*ὅς τις λέγει*, as if any one should term] he words it thus [*ὅς ἄλλος τινὶ ἐν πίθῳ τεύχεα φασίν*. And another styles it the Lees in an Hoghead.] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* translates this place thus: Apud Menandrum vero veluti facies quæ ex vino colliguntur in dolio, & οὐσαίν, id est, substantiam designare dicit. But, I think that there is another sense of these words; to wit, that *Menander* should term *Sauce Hypostasis*, because it settles in the bottom of the dish, like Lees, or sediment, in an Hoghead. *Valef.*

*Julianus.* position, says he, has either a Genus which is prædicated, or a Species, or a Differentia, or a Proprium, or an Accidens, or what is compounded of these; but none of these can be supposed to be in the Sacred Trinity. Let that therefore which is inexplicable, be adored with silence. Thus [argues] *Euvagrius*, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter. But, altho' we may seem to have made a digression by relating these things; yet we have mention'd them here, in regard they are useful and pertinent to the subject of our History.

## C H A P. VIII.

[Some Passages quoted] out of *Athanasius's* Apologetick, concerning his own Flight.

AT the same time *Athanasius* recited the Apologetick he had formerly made concerning his own Flight, in the audience of those that were present. Some passages whereof, being useful and profitable, I will here insert, and leave the whole Book, in regard 'tis large, to be enquired out and perused by the studious. Behold [says he] these are the audacious Villanies of those impious wretches. These are their practises, and yet they blush not at the mischiefs they have formerly (*a*) contrived against us, but do even at this time accuse us, because we were able to escape their murdering hands. Yea rather, they are sorely troubled, because they have not quite dispatch'd us. In fine, under a pretence and colour they upbraid us with

(*a*) In *Athanasius*, pag. 705. the reading is [*καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνυπόστατον*, Tyrannically acted against us:] But I do rather approve of *Nicephorus's* reading, to wit, [*καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνυπόστατον*, contrived against us:] which *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has followed in his Version. *Valef.*

fear, but are ignorant that whilst they make a noise about this, they retort the crime upon themselves. For, if it be bad to fly, it is much worse to pursue. For the one absconds that he may not be murdered: but the other pursues with a design to murder. Yea, the Scripture informs us, that we must fly. But, he that seeks an occasion to murder, violates the Law, and does himself give [others] an occasion of flying. If therefore they upbraid us with our flight, they should rather be ashamed of their own pursuit. Let them leave plotting, and those that fly will soon desist from making their escape. But they cease not from acting their own Villanies; but do all they can to apprehend: being very sensible, that the flight of such as are pursued is a great evidence against them that pursue: For no body flies from a meek and good-natured person, but rather from one that is of a barbarous and malicious disposition. And therefore, \* Every one that was discontented and in debt, fled from Saul to David. Wherefore, these persons also endeavour to slay such as conceal themselves, that there may seem to be no evidence to convince them of their wickedness. But in this case also these mistaken persons seem to be blinded. For by how much the more manifest the flight is, by so much will the slaughters caused by their treacheries, and the banishments be more evidently exposed to the view of all men. For, whether they kill, death will make a greater noise against them; or again, whether they banish, they do in every place † erect monuments of their own injustice against themselves. Were they therefore sound as to their Intellectuals, they might perceive themselves intangled herein, and egregiously mistaken in their own measures. But in regard they are infatuated, for that reason they are incited to persecute, and whilst they seek

\* 1 Sam. 22. 2.

† Or, send forth.



*Julianus.* seek to murder others, perceive not their own impiety. For, if they reproach such as conceal themselves from those that seek to murder them, and calumniate such as fly from their pursuers, what will they do when they see Jacob flying from his Brother Esau; and Moses retreating into [the Country] of \* Madian for fear of Pharaoh? What answer will these Bablers make to David who fled from Saul, (when he † sent [Messengers] from his own House to murder him,) bid himself in a Cave, and changed his Countenance, until he had passed by \* Abimelech, and avoided the Treachery? Or, what will these Fellows, who are ready to utter any thing, say, when they see the Great Elias (who called upon God and raised a Dead Man) hiding himself for fear of Ahab, and flying because of Jezebel's Menaces? At which time the Sons of the Prophets also, being sought for [to be slain,] absconded, concealing themselves in Caves with † Abdia. Or have they not read these Passages, in regard they are ancient? But they have also quite forgot what is related in the Gospel. For the Disciples for fear of the Jews retreated and hid themselves. And Paul, || when he was sought for at Damascus by the Governour, was let down from the Wall in a Basket, and escaped the hands of him that sought him. Since therefore the Scripture records these things concerning the Saints, what excuse can they invent for their rash precipitancy? For, if they upbraid [them] with timidity, that audacious reproach recoils upon themselves, being Mad-men as it were. But if they calumniate those [Holy] Persons, as having done this contrary to the will of God, they [demonstrate themselves] to be altogether unskill'd in the Scriptures. For in the Law there was a Command that \* Cities of refuge should be appointed, to the intent that such as were sought for to be put to death, might some way or other be enabled to secure themselves. But, in the consummation of Ages, when the Word of the Father (he who spake to Moses,) came himself into the World, he did again give this command, saying, † But when they persecute you, flee from this City to another. And a little after he says; \* When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the Holy place, (who so readeth, let him understand :) Then let them who be in Judea flee into the mountains. Let him who is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house. Let not him who is in the field, return back to take his cleaths. When therefore the Saints understood these things, they entred upon such a course of life as was agreeable hereto. For, the same commands which the Lord has now given, he had delivered by the Saints before his coming in the flesh. And this is a rule for [all] Men, which leads them to perfection, [that is] to do what ever God hath commanded. Upon this account, the Word himself also, (made Man for our sakes,) when he was sought for, vouchsafed to conceal himself, as we do; and being persecuted again, he [was pleased] to fly, and avoid the Conspiracy. For, it became Him, that as by hungering, thirsting, and undergoing these afflictions, so by this means also he should demonstrate himself to be made Man. At the very beginning, as soon as he was made Man, he himself, being as yet but a Child, gave this command to Joseph by an Angel, \* Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt: for Herod will seek the young child's life. And after the death of Herod, it appears, that (for fear of his Son

Archelaus,) he retired to Nazareth. Afterwards, Julianus, when he had demonstrated himself to be God, and had healed the withered Hand, the Pharisees went out and entred into a consult against him, \* how \* See they might destroy him. But when Jesus <sup>Matt. 12.</sup> knew it, he withdrew himself from thence. <sup>14. 15.</sup> Moreover, when he had raised Lazarus from the dead, † From that day forth (says the Evangelist) they took counsel for to put him to death. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness. Further, when our Saviour had said, || Before Abraham was, I am; the Jews took up stones to cast at him: but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple. And going thorow the midst of them, went away, and so escaped. When therefore they see these things, (b) or rather hear them, (for they see them not,) ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire, in regard they design and speak the contrary to what our Saviour did and taught. In fine, when John had suffered Martyrdom, and his Disciples had buried his Body; \* When Jesus <sup>Matt. 14. 13.</sup> heard of it, he departed thence by Ship into a desert place apart. These things our Lord did, and thus he taught, But I wish these persons could be persuaded to] be even in such a manner ashamed, that they would confine their rashness to men only, and not proceed to such an height of madness, as to charge our Saviour with fearfulness, (c) against whom they have once already designedly invented Blasphemies. But no Man will ever tolerate this, their madness: but rather by their ignorance in the Gospels they will be confuted by all Men. For, there is a rational and true cause for such a retreat and flight as this is: which, as the Evangelists have recorded, \* was made use of by our Saviour. And from hence we ought to suppose, that the very same [cause of flight] † was made use of by all the Saints. For what ever is recorded concerning our Saviour as Man, the same ought to be referred to Mankind in general. For he assumed our Nature, and demonstrated in himself † such affections and dispositions of Mind as are agreeable to our infirmity. Which John <sup>John 11.</sup> has set forth in these words: \* Then they sought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come. Yea, before that hour came, he himself said to his Mother, † Mine hour is not yet come. And to those who were called his Brethren [he said] \* My time is not yet come. Again, when the time was come, he said to his Disciples, || Sleep on now, and take your rest: for behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners. Neither therefore permitted he himself

(b) Instead of [*οὐκ ἔβλεπον* δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον] we follow the reading in the Edition of Athanasius, which is thus [*οὐκ ἔβλεπον δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον* ἀπὸ τοῦ βλεπεῖν, πῶς κατὰ τὸ γέγραπτον ἐβλήθησαν ἵνα καύσονται, καὶ οὐκ ἔβλεπον, &c. or rather hear them, (for they see them not,) ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire, &c. Which reading Epiphanius Scholasticus followed, as 'tis apparent from his Version. But Musculus and Christopherson join these words [*οὐκ ἔβλεπον* δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον] with these [*οὐκ ἔβλεπον* δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον] as if Athanasius had alluded to this saying of the Gospel, *Matt. 13. 13*; they seeing, see not: Which Reading I like not. For the Arians could not then see those things, which had been done long before their age. I am also of the same opinion with Langus, that the term [*καύσονται*, burnt with fire] is to be understood of eternal fire, or of fire sent from heaven. Lastly, the word [*ἐβλήθησαν*] seems to be used here instead of [*ἐβλέπον*], (shall they not,) or [*οὐκ ἔβλεπον*], ought they not, and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

(c) All Translators have rendered this place ill; excepting Langus only, Nephodius's Translator: whose Reading of it is this: *Qui semel blasphemare, & maledicere cum incessere consilio instituerunt*, i. e. who have once already with deliberation undertaken to blaspheme and assail him with slanderous reproaches. For he means the Arians, who ranked Christ amongst the Creatures. Valef.

\* Or, was in our Saviour.

† Or, was in the Saints.

\* Matt. 2. 13.



*Julianus* to be apprehended before the time came; nor, when the time was come, did he conceal himself: but voluntarily resigned up himself to the Traytors. After the same manner also did the blessed Martyrs consult their own preservation in the Persecutions which now and then hapned. When they were persecuted they fled, and continued in places of concealment: But when found out, they suffer'd Martyrdom. Thus has *Athanasius* discoursed in his *Apologetick* concerning his own Flight.

## C H A P. IX.

How (after the Synod at Alexandria [made up] of those who asserted the Homoousian Faith,) *Eusebius*, returning to Antioch, found the Catholics disagreeing there upon account of *Paulinus's* Ordination; and being unable to bring them to an agreement, he departed from thence.

**B**UT *Eusebius* Bishop of Vercellæ, immediately after the Synod, went from Alexandria to Antioch: Where finding *Paulinus* ordained by *Lucifer*, and the Populace disagreeing amongst themselves, (for the followers of *Meletius* had their assemblies apart by themselves:) he was troubled, because all people did not unanimously agree to the Ordination that had been made, and in his own thoughts disapprov'd of what was done. But, by reason of the reverence and respect he bore to *Lucifer*, he held his peace, and went away, having promised, that he would rectifie what had been done, in a Synod of Bishops. Afterwards, he used his utmost diligence to unite the Dissenters, but could not effect it. In the interim, *Meletius* returned from his Exile. And finding his followers celebrating their assemblies apart by themselves, he headed them. But *Euzoius*, a Prelate who embraced the Arian Tenets, was possess'd of the Churches. *Paulinus* had only one of the lesser Churches within the City, out of which *Euzoius* had not ejected him, by reason of the reverential respect he had for him. But *Meletius* had his meetings without the gates of the City. After this manner therefore did *Eusebius* depart from Antioch at that time. But when *Lucifer* understood that his Ordination was not approved by *Eusebius*, he lookt upon it as an injury, and was highly incensed. Wherefore he separated himself from *Eusebius's* Communion, and out of a pertinacious Contentiousness, presumed to reprove what had been determined by the Synod. These things being transacted in a time of sadness and discord, caused many persons to separate from the Church. For there sprung up another new Heresie, [the followers whereof were termed] *Luciferians*. But *Lucifer* was not in a capacity of satisfying his anger. For he was bound by his own (a) promises, by which

(a) The term here in the original is [*ἀπολογία*, defences,] which is in no wise agreeable here. Therefore, instead thereof, *Nicephorus* substituted these words [*ταῖς ἰδίαις πάλαις*, by his own Nets.] In my judgment, it should be [*ταῖς ὁμολογίαις*, by his own promises;] and so *Epiphanius* read it, as appears by his Version. But *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 30. *Eccles. Hist.*) has this passage only; *sed constringebatur*, &c. But he was bound by the bond of his Legate, who by his authority had subscribed in the Council. Afterwards, *Rufinus* adds these Words concerning *Lucifer*, *si vero recepisset Alexandrini decreta concilii*, &c. But, had he admitted of the determinations of the Alexandrian Council, he saw that all his attempts must have been frustrated. But I see no reason why *Lucifer* should reject the Alexandrian Synods determinations. For that Synod had approved of *Paulinus's* Ordination, as I have remark'd before from *Athanasius's* Synodick Epistle. And whereas *Eusebius* subscribed that Epistle, he also may seem to have approved of *Lucifer's* Ordination of *Paulinus*. Yet, the same *Eusebius* coming to Antioch after the Alexandrian Council, and perceiving the disagreement between the

Catholics, would communicate with neither party, as *Rufinus* attests in the fore-quoted Book and Chapter: that is, he obtained as well from *Paulinus's* as *Meletius's* Communion. *Valef.*

(being sent by his Deacon) he had engaged *Julianus*, that he would assent to the Synod's determinations. Wherefore, he retained the Ecclesiastick Faith, and departed into *Sardinia* to his own See. But such as at first were aggriev'd together with him, do hitherto continue Separatists from the Church. Further, *Eusebius*, like, a good Physician, travelled over the Eastern Provinces, where he perfectly recovered those that were weak in the Faith, teaching and instructing them in the Doctrines of the Church. Departing from thence, he arriv'd in *Illyricum* and afterwards went into *Italy*, where he took the same course.

## C H A P. X.

Concerning Hilarius Bishop of Poitiers.

**B**UT *Hilarius* Bishop of Poitiers (which is a City of the second Aquitania) had prevented him, having before-hand laid the foundations of such points as were agreeable to the Catholic Faith [in the minds] of the Bishops in *Italy* and *Gallia*. For he, returning first from banishment, arrived in those Countries before him. Both of them therefore vigorously defended the Faith. But *Hilarius*, being a person endow'd with a great stock of eloquence, asserted the Homoousian opinion in Books which he wrote in the Latin tongue: wherein he sufficiently confirmed \* that Faith, and powerfully confuted \* That is, the Arian Tenets. These things hapned a little after the recalling of those that had been banished. But you must know, that at the same time *Macedonius*, *Eleusius*, *Eustathius*, and *Sophronius*, (and [the rest of that Sect] who were all called by one general name *Macedoniani*) held frequent (a) Synods in various places. And having called together those who in *Seleucia* were followers of their opinion, they Anathematized the Prelates of the other party; I mean, the *Acacians*. They also rejected the *Ariminum* Creed, and confirmed that which had been recited at *Seleucia*. Which Creed was the same that had before been set forth at Antioch, according as we have remark'd in our foregoing \* Book. And when by some persons they were asked this question: You who are termed *Macedoniani*; if you differ in your sentiments from the *Acacians*, how comes it to pass, that you have (b) communicated with them (c) until now, as (b) This

was with good reason objected against the *Macedonians*, that whereas they dissented from the *Acacians* in the Draught of the Creed, and were deposed by them in the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod; yet notwithstanding this, they communicated with them. *Basilius*, 'tis certain, accuses them upon this account in his 73 Epistle ad suos Monachos. *Basilius's* words there are to be understood concerning *Eustathius* and the *Macedonians*, who blamed *Basilius*, because he had heretofore communicated with *Eudoxius*, as 'tis apparent from his 79th Epistle to *Eustathius*. *Valef.*

(c) *Nicephorus* understood this passage of *Socrates* otherwise; he words it thus: *τίδ' ἡ πόλε νῦν τοῖς ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν διακρίσονται, ὁμοφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ κοινῶς καθέσθαι, ἰ.ε. Why do you now dissent from the Acacians, with whom you have heretofore agreed and communicated?* *Nicephorus* therefore seems to have taken these words [*ἄχρι νῦν* until now] for [*ἄχρι τῶτε*, hitherto.] But I like not this exposition, and am of opinion, that [*κοινωνεῖτε*, did communicate] is by *Socrates* used instead of [*κοινωνεῖτε*, do communicate].



### *How the Emperor Julianus exacted Money from the Christians.*

is obscure enough. But the censure and reprehension of that answer (which *Socrates* now subjoins,) seems to be much more obscure. Nor does *Nicephorus* give us any assistance here; for he has transcribed this passage of *Socrates's* almost word for word. Notwithstanding, we will endeavour to produce something in order to the illustration of this place. This therefore is our Sentiment. The *Macedonians* were asked, why they dissented from *Acacius*, with whom they had before held Communion. In their answer they blamed the *Homousians* and *Aëtius*. This is nothing to the purpose, says *Socrates*. For you were not questioned concerning *Aëtius*, but concerning *Acacius*; you do merely sophisticate: For *Acacius*, as well as you, does condemn *Aëtius's* opinion. Now, whereas you condemn *Aëtius's* opinion, you are not for that reason any whit less Hereticks. For by your own words you are convinced of a Novelty or Heresie, whilst you assert the Son to be like the Father according to subsistence. Wherein you dissent as well from the Catholick followers of the Nicene Creed, (who profess him to be of the same substance with the Father,) as from the Arians, who asserted him to be a Creature, or dislike in respect of his Substance. 'Tis certain, *Theodore* (Book 4. *Heret. Fabul.*) does say, that *Macedonius* asserted the Son of God to be every way like to the Father, and that he was the first who invented the term *Homousios*. He was therefore one of the *Semiarians*, as well as *Acacius*. Valef.

(b) He means I suppose, that *Basilica* [or Cathedral] which was in the fourth Ward of the City *Constantinople*. For this was simply and absolutely called *The Cathedral*. The other was termed the *Theodosian Cathedral*, which stood in the seventh Ward of the City, as we are informed from the old description of that City. In the former *Basilica* therefore, the Image of the City *Constantinople's* publick *Genius* had heretofore been placed. For so these words of *Socrates* [τῆς κωνσταντίνου πόλεως τύχη δημοσία] must be rendrd. For the *Greeks* do usually call that *τύχη*, which the *Latines* term *Genius*; and *τύχαι* are the *Temples* of the publick *Genius*; see *Euseb. Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, Chap. 11. note (q.) *Vales.*

*Concerning Maris Bishop of Chalcedon.*

MOREOVER, at this time, *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Bitbunia* being led by the hand into the Emperor's presence, (for he was very aged, and had that distemper in his eyes termed the *Pin and Web* :) when he came before him, he reproved him sharply, terming him an Impious person, an Apostate, and an Atheist. The Emperor returned him opprobrious language for his reproaches, calling him blind fellow. And your *Galilæan* God (said he) will never cure you. (For *Julianus* did usually term Christ *The Galilæan*; and *Christians Galilæans*.) But *Maris* answer'd the Emperor with a greater confidence: I thank God (said he) for depriving me of mine eyes, that I might not behold your face, who have fall'n into such horrid impieties. The Emperor made no return hereto, (b) but was severely revenged on him [afterwards.] For when he perceived, that those who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, were honour'd by the Christians; and having observ'd that many persons were very desirous of being made Martyrs, as if he resolved to be (b) In the Florent. and Sforzian MSS. the reading here is [αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχον] but revenged it afterwards:] which reading pleases me best. For *Julianus* was not afterwards in any instance revenged upon *Maris* in particular; but he persecuted all the *Christians* in general, with that sort of persecution which *Socrates* relates. *Nicephorus* met with the same reading in his Copy: For thus he has express'd this passage in *Socrates*: θεῶς δὲ λίαν τὸ ἐξῆμα μὴ ἐχέειν, but he was in a very horrid manner revenged for this thing. Vale.

revenged



• Or, Logicians.

Concerning the Tumult raised by the Heathens  
against the Christians.

HE also issued out an Order, that those who would not relinquish the Christian Religion, and come and offer sacrifice to Idols, should not hold any Military employ about Court. Nor would he permit the Christians to be Governours of Provinces, saying, that their Law forbade the use of the sword against such Delinquents as had deserv'd a capital punishment. Moreover, he induced many persons, partly by flatteries, and partly by gifts, to sacrifice. Immediately therefore both those who were true Christians, and also they who pretended [the profession of that Religion, being try'd] in a furnace as it were, were apparently manifested to all men. For such as sincerely and cordially professed Christianity, willingly left their Military Offices, being resolv'd to suffer any thing, rather than renounce Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovianus, Valentinianus, and Valens*, all which persons afterwards wore the Imperial Crown. But others, who were not

(1) Instead of [ῥοοὶ τὰ χρεῖ-  
μα]ta, who preferred riches, &c.]  
I suppose it should be] ὡς τὰ  
χρεῖματα, in regard they prefer-  
red, &c.] Which emendation is  
confirmed by Epiphanius Scholasti-  
cus's Version; and by Nicepho-  
rus's expressing of this passage, in  
his tenth Book, Chap. 23. *vales.*

head of [ἄρα τὰ χρῆμα] preferred riches, &c.] it should be] ὡς τὰ in regard they prefer. Which emendation is by Epiphanius Scholasticus; and by Nicephorus in his explanation of this passage, in Book, Chap. 23. vales.

ror, by an unjust collection of ill-gotten money, was in a short time mightily enrich'd. For that Law was put in execution, not only where the Emperor was present, but in those places also to which he came not. At the same time also the *Pagans* made incursions upon the professors of Christianity: and there was a great conflux of such as termed themselves Philosophers. Moreover, they constituted certain detestable Rites; in so much that they sacrificed young Children, as well males, as females, inspected their entrails, and tasted of their flesh. And these were their practices, both in other Cities, and also at *Athens* and *Alexandria*. At which City likewise they framed calumnious accusation against *Athanasius* the Bishop, acquainting the Emperor that he would destroy that City and all *Egypt*, and therefore that it was requisite he should be driven from that City. The *(b)* Prefect also of *Alexandria*, according to the Emperor's command, made an attempt against him. *(b)* The name of this Prefect of *Egypt* [who in the Greek is called *Prefect of Alexandria*] was *Hermogenes*, as we are informed from *Julian's* 23d Epistle. *rules.*

### Concerning Athanasius's Flight.

BUT \*he fled again, saying these words to his intimate acquaintance; Friends, let us recede a little while; for 'tis a small cloud, which will soon vanish. Having spoken these words, with all possible celerity he went aboard of a ship, and passing over the Nile, fled into Egypt. They who endeavour'd to apprehend him, made a close pursuit after him. When he understood that his pursuers were not far behind, those that accompanied him, perswaded him to fly into the Wilderness again. But by making use of prudent advice, he escaped those that pursued him. For he perswaded his followers to turn back and meet the pursuers, which was done with all possible speed. When therefore they, who a little before fled, approach'd the pursuers (a) the persons who sought [for Athanasius,] ask'd his followers nothing [but this,] whether they had seen Athanasius. They gave them notice, that he was not far off, and said, that if they made haste, they would soon apprehend him. Being after this manner impos'd upon, they pursued him very hotly, but in vain. Athanasius having made his escape, came privately to Alexandria, and absconded there till such time as the persecution ceased. Such were the miseries which beset the Bishop of Alexandria, after his frequent persecutions and troubles, occasion'd partly by the Christians, and partly by the Heathens. Moreover the Presidents of Provinces, supposing the Emperor's superstition to be a fair opportunity of [increasing] their private gain, treated the Christians very ill, beyond [what] the Imperial Order [commission'd them to do:] one while exacting greater sums of money from them than they ought to have done; at other times inflicting on them corporal punishments. These things the Emperor was sensible of, but conniv'd at them. And to the Christians, making their addressees to him upon this account, his answer was, 'Tis your duty, when you are afflicted, to bear it patiently: for this is the command of your God.

(a) In my judgment, this passage should be worded thus [*ἡ δὲ οὐσία ὧν αὐτὰς ἀπαίτησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τε βιάσθηται, τοὺς οὖτοις αὐτοὶ τὸν Αθανάσιον ἐκείνην ᾤοντο εὑρεῖν*] Those who sought for him, ask'd his followers, whether they had seen Athanasius: the term [*ἐκεῖθεν, nothing*] being expunged; which is superfluous. Nicephorus confirms our emenda-

tion; in whom this word [nothing] occurs not; either because he found it not in his Copy, or else in regard he disliked that expression. Further, this whole story is taken out of Rufinus. Valeſ.



Julianus.

## C H A P. XV.

Concerning those who in the Reign of Julianus suffered Martyrdom at Merus a City of Phrygia.

AT the City Merus, Amachius President of the Province of Phrygia, gave order for the opening of the Temple there, and commanded it should be cleansed from the filth heapt up therein by length of time, and that the Images in it should be polish'd and trim'd up. This fact did forely trouble the Christians. One Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatianus, out of their zeal to the Christian Religion, were unable to bear that indignity. But, having acquired a warmth and fervency of affection towards Vertue, they rush'd into the Temple by night, and brake the Images in pieces. The Governour, highly incensed at what was done, resolv'd to destroy many in that City who were guiltless: whereupon the Authors of this fact rendred themselves on their own accord; and chose rather to die themselves in defence of the Truth, than to see others put to death in their stead. The Governour having seized these persons, order'd them to expiate the crime they had committed, by sacrificing. Upon their refusal to do that, he threatened them with punishment: But, being persons endow'd with a great courage of mind, they disregarded his menaces, and shew'd themselves prepared to undergo any sufferings whatever. And chose to die, rather than be polluted by sacrificing. When therefore he had made these Men undergo all manner of tortures, at last he gave order they should be laid on Grid-irons, under which he commanded fire to be put, and so destroyed them. At which time they gave the highest and most heroick demonstration of their fortitude, by these words of theirs to the President: *Amachius, if you desire to eat broyled flesh, turn us on the other side, lest we should seem half broyled to your taste.* After this manner these persons ended their lives.

## C H A P. XVI.

How (when the Emperor prohibited the Christians from being educated in the Grecian Literature,) the two Apollinaris's betook themselves to writing of Books.

BUT, that Imperial Law, which prohibited the Christians from being educated in the Grecian Literature, made the two \*above-mentioned Apollinaris's far more eminent than they had been before. For, whereas both of them were persons well skill'd in Human Learning, the Father in Grammar, the Son in Rhetorick, they shew'd themselves very useful to the Christians at that juncture of time. For, the Father, being an exquisite Grammarian, † composed a Grammar agreeable to the form of the Christian Religion: He also turn'd the Books of Moses into that term'd Heroick Verse: and likewise paraphrased upon all the Historical Books of the Old Testament; putting them partly into † Dactyllick Verse, and partly reducing them into the form of \* Dramatick Tragedy. He [designedly] made use of all sorts of Verse, that no mode of expression [peculiar to] the Grecian Language, might be unknown, or un-heard-of amongst the Christians. But the Younger Apollinaris, a person provided

with a good stock of eloquence, explain'd the Gospels and Apostolick Writings, by way of Dialogue, as Plato amongst the Grecians [had done.] Having rendred themselves useful after this manner to the Christian Religion, by their own labours they vanquish'd the Emperor's subtlety. But Divine Providence was more prevalent and powerful, than either these persons industry, or the Emperor's attempt. For that Law quickly became extinct, together with the Emperor [who made it,] as we will manifest in the procedure [of our History.] And these Mens Works are reputed no otherwise, than if they had never been written. But some one will perhaps make this formidable objection against us; How can you affirm these things to have been effected by Divine Providence? For, it is indeed evident, that the Emperor's sudden death proved very advantageous to the Christian Religion. But certainly, the rejecting of the Christian Writings composed by the two Apollinaris's, and the Christians beginning again to be cultivated with an education in the Grecian Literature, can in no wise be of advantage to Christianity. For, the Grecian Literature, in regard it asserts \* Polytheism, is very pernicious. To this objection we will (according to our ability) make such a return as at present comes into our mind. The Grecian Learning was not admitted of, either by Christ, or his Disciples, as being divinely inspired; nor was wholly rejected, as hurtful. And this, in my opinion, was not inconsiderately done by them. For, many of the Philosophers amongst the Grecians were not far from the knowledge of God. For, [being furnish'd] with a discursive knowledge, they strenuously opposed those that denied God's Providence, of which sort were the Epicureans, and other contentious [Cavillers;] and confuted their ignorance. And by these Books they rendred themselves very useful to the Lovers of piety: but they apprehended not the principal Head of Religion, because they were ignorant of the Mystery of Christ, † Which has been hid from generations and ages. And that this is so, the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans does declare, in these words: \* For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them. For God had shew'd it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, that they may be without excuse: because, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. From these words 'tis apparent, that they had the knowledge of the Truth, which God manifested unto them. But they were obnoxious, in regard when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Whereas, therefore [the Apostles] prohibited not an education in the Grecian Learning, they left it to the choice of such as were desirous of it. Let this be one argument, in answer to the objection made against us. Another is this, The divinely inspired Scriptures do indeed deliver Doctrines that are admirable and truly divine: they do likewise infuse into [the minds of] those that hear them, both an eminent piety, and exact course of life; and also exhibit to persons that are studious a Faith acceptable to God. But they teach not an Art of reasoning, whereby we may be enabled to answer those that resolutely oppose the truth. Besides,

\* Book 2.

Chap. 46.

† Τὸν

τέκνον

γερμα-

τικὸν χε-

στατικὸν

τὸν ὡς συ-

τάσει,

compiled

an art of

Grammar

conform to

the Chri-

stian mode.

† See Sea

lig. Poet.

Book 2.

Chap. 6.

\* Or, Tra-

gedy that

might be

represent-

ed by

Authors.

\* Or, a multitude of Gods.

† Col. 1. 26.

\* Rom. 1. 18, 19, 20, 21.



*Julianus.* Besides, the adversaries are then most effectually baffled, when we make use of their own weapons against them. (But, the Christians could not be furnish'd herewith, from the Books written by the *Apollinaris's*.) Which when the Emperor *Julianus* had accurately considered, he by a law prohibited the Christians from being instructed in the *Grecian Literature*. For he very well knew, that the Fables [therein contain'd] would render the Opinion he had imbibed obnoxious to reproach. Which fabulous stories when *Socrates* (the eminentest of the Philosophers amongst them) contemn'd; as if he had been a person that attempted to violate their Deities, he was

(1) At what place this precept of our Saviour's [that we should be skilful Money-changers] does occur, is uncertain. For 'tis not to be met with in the Gospels. But, in as much as *Origen* and *Jerome* do agree, that this command was given by our Saviour, and was afterwards inculcated by the Apostle; I am of the same opinion with the Learned *Usher*, who supposes, that that saying of our Saviour was recorded in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Further, this saying is frequently mentioned amongst the Ancients. Amongst the rest, *Palladius* makes mention of it in the *Life of John Chrysostome*. See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* Book 7. Chap. 7. Note (a.) and the following remark. *Valef.*

\* Titus 1. 12.

(b) *Epimenides* did indeed predict many things, partly to the *Athenians*,

partly to the *Lacedaemonians*, and partly to the *Cretians*, as may be seen in *Diogenes Laertius*; (See *Laertius in Epimenides*.) But I never read, that Oracles were written by him. *Suidas* affirms, that he wrote some mystical and expiatory Poems, and some other obscure things. These therefore must be stiled Oracles. *Epimenides* was a person incomparably well skilled in *Lustrations* and *Consecrations*. In his *Lustrations* or purgations, he made great use of the *Sea-Onyon*; and therefore one kind of it was from him called the *Epimenidian Sea-Onyon*. So *Theophrastus*, Book 7. Chap. 10. Hence it appears, why *Socrates* termed *Epimenides* ἀνδρ' ἐξ τελεσῶν, an Initiator. *Valef.*

\* Or, exercising.

\* Titus 1. 12.

(b) *Epimenides* did indeed predict many things, partly to the *Athenians*,

(a) Christ, and also his Apostle do give order, that we should be skilful Exchangers of

\* 1 Thes. money, \* that we should prove all things, holding fast that which

is good; and to

† Colos. † beware, lest any man spoil you thro'

Philosophy and vain deceit.

But, we shall never obey this [Precept,] unless we

can possess our selves of the Adversaries weapons;

and whilst we are in possession of them, we are not

to entertain the same sentiments with our Adversaries,

but must abominate the evil, and retaining what is good and true, examine

all things we embrace. For good, where-ever it is, is the property of truth. But if any one

suppose, that by asserting these things we use violence [towards the Scriptures, by wresting

of them,] let such a one consider, that the Apostle does not only not forbid our being instructed in the *Grecian Learning*; but he himself

seems not to have neglected it, in regard he knew many sayings which were spoken by the

*Grecians*. For, whence took he an occasion of using this saying; \* *The Cretians are always liars,*

*evil beasts, slow-bellies*, except it were from his perusal of the (b) *Oracles of Epimenides* the *Cretian*,

a person that was an Initiator? Or whence knew he this, \* *For we are also his off-spring*, unless he had been acquainted with the *Phaenomena* of *Aratus* the *Astronomer*. Moreover, this, † *Evil*

*communications corrupt good manners*, is a sufficient evidence that he was not unacquainted with *Euripides's Tragedies*. But, what

need is there of making a large discourse concerning these things? For, 'tis evident, that anciently, by an uninterrupted usage as it were,

the Ecclesiastick Doctors studied the *Grecian Arts and Sciences*, until they arriv'd at a very great age: and this [they did,] partly upon account of [gaining] eloquence, and of

\* polishing the mind; and partly in order to a confutation of those things,

concerning which [the Heathens] were mistaken. Let thus much be said by us, according to our capacity, upon account of the two *Apollinaris's*.

\* Or, exercising.

\* Titus 1. 12.

(b) *Epimenides* did indeed predict many things, partly to the *Athenians*,

partly to the *Lacedaemonians*, and partly to the *Cretians*, as may be seen in *Diogenes Laertius*; (See *Laertius in Epimenides*.) But I never read, that Oracles were written by him. *Suidas* affirms, that he wrote some mystical and expiatory Poems, and some other obscure things. These therefore must be stiled Oracles. *Epimenides* was a person incomparably well skilled in *Lustrations* and *Consecrations*. In his *Lustrations* or purgations, he made great use of the *Sea-Onyon*; and therefore one kind of it was from him called the *Epimenidian Sea-Onyon*. So *Theophrastus*, Book 7. Chap. 10. Hence it appears, why *Socrates* termed *Epimenides* ἀνδρ' ἐξ τελεσῶν, an Initiator. *Valef.*

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\* Or, exercising.

*How the Emperor, making Preparations for an Expedition against the Persians, arrived at Antioch: and being derided by the Antiochians, he [published] an Oration [against them] entitled \* Misopogon.*

\* That is, Beard-baser.

**B**UT, the Emperor, having extorted a vast treasure from the *Christians*, and hastning his Expedition against the *Persians*, goes to *Antioch* in *Syria*. When he was come thither, being desirous to demonstrate to the *Antiochians* how superabundantly he affected glory, he depressed the prizes of vendible commodities lower than was fitting: [for] he respected not the present time, nor considered with himself, that the presence of a numerous Army does necessarily endamage the Inhabitants of a Province, and cut off plenty [of provisions] from the Cities. Wherefore, the (a) petty Merchants and Provision-sellers, unable to endure the loss they sustain'd by the Imperial Edict, at that time left off trading. Whereupon, [the Markets] were unfurnish'd with Provisions. The *Antiochians* could not tolerate this violence [used towards them;] (for they are persons naturally prone to revile :) but presently brake forth [into invectives] against the Emperor, and cried out upon him. They also derided his Beard; (for he wore a very large one:)

(a) Οἱ μελαβολῆς. So the Greeks do in general term all small and minute-Merchants, because they barter'd their Wares for a mean value. For μελαβολῆς signifies to buy and sell for gain; and μελαβολῆ imports a Merchandizing Trade, as *Julius Pollux* informs us, Book 3. Chap. 25. Hence, he was termed παλιβορὸς ὁ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ μελαβολῆς, (says *Harpocration*) who had been frequently sold. These Traders are in Latin termed *Cochiones*, *Arilatores*, and *Dardanarii*. But *Nicephorus* calls them παλινκαπῆδες, whom *Socrates* here terms μελαβολῆς; παλινκαπῆδες may in English be termed *Retailers*, such as the *Dardanarii* heretofore were. *Valef.*

saying, it ought to be shaved, and Ropes made of it. [They said] likewise, that he had the stamp of a Bull on his Coyn; [which was an Emblem] that he had turned the World upside down. For the Emperor, extremely addicted to superstition, and continually \* sacrificing Bulls upon the Altars of his Idols, had commanded, that an Altar and a Bull should be stamp'd upon his Coyn. The Emperor, enraged at these scoffs, threatned that he would most severely punish the City of *Antioch*; (b) and that he would return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia* [and reside there.] And having given order for a provision of necessaries to be made there, he prepared for his departure thence. Upon which account, *Libanius* the *Sophista* took an occasion of writing two Orations; the one he compos'd by way of address to the Emperor, in behalf of the *Antiochians*; the (c) other he wrote to the *Antiochians* giving a Character of him, says thus: *Præfagiorum sciscitationi nimis deditus, ut equiparare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum: superstitiosus magis, quam sacrorum legitimus observator innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes Mañans: ut estimaretur si revertisset de Parthis boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accepimus dictum, οὐ λευκὴ ὄρεϊ Μαρκῶ πρὸ καὶ σαεὶ. Ἄν σὺ γιγῆσθης, ἡμεῖς ἀπαλούμεθα.*

(b) In the original, the reading here is [ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀντιόχειας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τάρσους ἐξυποσέλει; And returns to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*:] which reading *Nicephorus* has followed. But in my opinion it should be thus [ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀντιόχειας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τάρσους ἐξυποσέλει; and that he would return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia* [and reside there.] For *Julian* threatned, that when he returned from *Persia*, he would go to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and would not Winter any more at *Antioch*. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 23. pag. 239. of our Edition. *Valef.*

(c) This Oration of *Libanius* is in my hands; 'tis transcribed from two M.SS. Copies, the one belonging to *Johannes Altinus*, the other to the most eminent Cardinal *Francis Barberini*. We will (God willing) translate this, and more than twenty other Orations of the same *Sophista* into Latin, and publish them within a little while. *Valef.*



*Julianus.* concerning the Emperor's displeasure. But, 'tis said, this *Sophista* wrote these Orations only, and did not recite them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor, relinquishing his resolution of revenging himself upon those Revilers by deeds, discharged his rage by reciprocal Taunts and Scoffs: For he compiled a Book [against them,] which he entitled *Antiochicus*, or *Misopogon*, wherein he has left a perpetual brand upon the City of *Antioch*. Thus much concerning these things. We must now relate what [mischiefs] the Emperor then did to the *Christians* in *Antioch*.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*How, when the Emperor was desirous to consult the Oracle, the Daemon gave no answer, being afraid of Babylas the Martyr.*

FOR, having given order, that the Heathen Temples in *Antioch* should be opened, he was very desirous of receiving an Oracle from *Apollo* \* *Daphneus*. But, in regard the *Dæmon* inhabiting that Temple, feared his Neighbour (I mean (a) *Babylas* the Martyr,) he gave no answer: For the Coffin lay hard by, wherein was inclosed the Body of that Martyr. When the Emperor understood the reason thereof, he forthwith issued out an order for the immediate translation of the Coffin. The *Christians* of *Antioch* understanding this, [flock'd together all of them,] as well Women, as young Children, and carried the Coffin from *Daphne* into the City with great rejoycings and singing of Psalms. [The contents of] those Psalms were reproachful reflections upon the Heathenish Gods, and upon those who confided in them, and in their Images.

\* There was a Grove in the suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphne*, which was consecrated to *Apollo*; whence he was termed *Apollo Daphneus*. *Sozomen* spends a great many words in describing this Grove, at Chap. 19. Book 5. of his *Ecclef. Histor.* (a) He succeeded *Zabimus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, says *Eusebius*, Book 6. Chap. 2. *Ecclef. Histor.* The same Author (Chap. 39. Book 6.) says that he died in prison (but *Chrysostome*, Lib. de S. B. 1. Tom. 9. pag. 659. tells us he was beheaded,) in *Decius's* Reign. Where his body was first buried, is not known: but where ver it was, there it rested, till *Gallus*, *Julian's* brother, built a Church over against the Temple of *Apollo Daphneus*, (see *Sozom.* Book 5. Chap. 19.) into which he caused *S. Babylas's* body to be translated. After this removal of it, mentioned in this Chapter, 'twas intomb'd within the City *Antioch*, in a Church dedicated to his name and memory.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Concerning the Emperor's Wrath, and concerning Theodorus the Confessor.*

MOREOVER, the Emperor's *Genius* and Disposition, which he had [hitherto] kept concealed, was at that time clearly discover'd and manifested. For he who before profess'd himself to be a Philosopher, could not moderate himself any longer. But being very easily provok'd to anger by those reproachful Hymns, was ready to inflict the same punishments upon the *Christians*, which *Diocletian* heretofore laid on them. But in regard his sollicitude about the *Persian Expedition* afforded him not a convenient opportunity of prosecuting this design, he order'd *Salustius Prefect* of the *Pretorium*, to apprehend those persons that had been most zealous and busie in singing Psalms, in order to their being punished. The *Prefect* (altho' as to his Religion he was an Heathen, yet) did not willingly receive that order. But, in re-

gard he could not contradict it, he commands *Julianus* many of the *Christians* to be apprehended, and confines some of them to prison. Upon one young man (whose name was *Theodorus*, whom the Heathens brought before him,) he inflicted Tortures, and various sorts of punishment, ordering that his body should be lacerated all over; and then, when 'twas supposed he could live no longer, he released him from his tortures. But God preserved this person: for he survived that confession a long time. *Rufinus*, who wrote an *Ecclesiastick History in Latin*, \* says, that he conversed with this *Theodorus* a long while after this, and enquired of him, whether, during his being scourged and racked, he felt an acuteness of pain: And that his answer was, that the pain [proceeding] from his tortures was very little: and that there stood by him a certain young man, who both wiped off the sweat caused by his agony, and also corroborated his mind, and that he caused that space of time wherein he was tortured, to be a delight to him, rather than a conflict. Let thus much be said concerning the admirable *Theodorus*. At the same time arrived Embassadors from the *Persians*, requesting [the Emperor] to put an end to the War (a) upon certain express Articles and Conditions. But he dismiss'd them, with these words, *You shall ere long see Us in person, and so there will be no need of an Embassy.*

(a) 'Επιφανείης is the phrase in the Original; which neither *Musculus*, nor *Christophorson* understood, as appears from their Versions. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XX.

*How the Emperor perswaded the Jews to sacrifice, and concerning the utter Destruction of Jerusalem.*

WHILST the Emperor was very desirous to endamage the *Christians* some other way besides this, he betrayed his own Superstition. For, being much addicted to sacrificing, he not only delighted in the Blood [of Sacrifices] himself, but thought himself wrong'd unless others would do so too. But, in regard he found but few such men as those, he sent for the *Jews*, and enquired of them, upon what account they abstained from sacrificing, when as the Law of *Moses* enjoyned it. Upon their answering him, that they could not sacrifice in any other place, but only at *Jerusalem*, he gave order, that *Solomon's Temple* should be forthwith re-edified. [In the interim] he himself proceeds in his Expedition against the *Persians*. But the *Jews* (who for a long time had been desirous of getting an opportune time, wherein their Temple might be rebuilt, in order to their offering sacrifice,) were then very industrious about that work. They also shew'd themselves very formidable to the *Christians*, and their behaviour towards them was proud and insolent, threatening they would do them as much mischief, as they themselves had formerly suffered from the *Romans*. In regard therefore the Emperor had given order, that the charge [of that Structure] should be paid out of his Exchequer, all things were soon provided; [to wit,] Timber, Stone, burnt Brick, Clay, Lime, and all other materials necessary for building. At which time, *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* called to mind the Prophecy of *Daniel*, (which Christ also has confirmed in the holy Gospels,)



*Julianus.* Gospels,) and (a) predicted in the presence of many persons, that that time would come very shortly, wherein one stone should not be left upon another in that Temple, but that our Saviour's prophecy should be fulfilled. These were the Bishop's words: And in the night there hapned a great earthquake, \* which tore up the stones of the old foundation of the Temple, and dispersed them all, together with the adjacent edifices.

*is, Cyri-  
llus predicted in the presence, &c.  
For the term [αετέριον] must  
not be referred to Christ; tho'  
Musculus and Christophorus both  
tender it so. Nicephorus does  
evidently confirm our Version,  
at Book 10. Chap. 33. Ecclef.  
Hiftor. Valef.  
Ἀνέβρασε τὰς λίθους ὅσας  
ἦσαν θεμελίων τῆς ναῦ, which  
made the stones of the old founda-  
tion of the Temple sceth, or  
boyle.*

By reason of this accident, the Jews were extreemly terrified. And the fame of it brought many persons, who lived at a great distance, to that place. When therefore a numerous multitude were gathered together, there hapned another prodigy. For there came down a fire from Heaven, which consumed all the Builders Tools. You might have seen Mallets, Irons to smoothe and polish stones with, Saws, Hatchets, Axes; in short, all things the Workmen had, which were to be used about that work, destroy'd by the flames. The fire prey'd upon these things for a whole day together. The Jews, being in the greatest fear imaginable, acknowledged (tho' unwillingly) that Christ was God. But they obey'd not his will, but were prepossess'd with an opinion of their own Religion, and continued firm thereto. For neither did a third Miracle, which hapned afterwards, induce them to a belief of the truth. For, the night following, the impressions of a Cross, which cast forth beams of brightness, appeared printed upon their garments. Which impressions when they saw the next day, they endeavour'd to wash and rub them out, but could not. They were blinded therefore, as the Apostle says, and cast away that good they had in their hands. Thus was the Temple, instead of being rebuilt, at that time totally demolish'd.

### C H A P. XXI.

Concerning the Emperor's Inroad into Persia, and concerning his Death.

**M**OREOVER, the Emperor made an irruption into Persia, a little before the Spring, being informed that the Persians were a people that were weakest, and of the least courage in the Winter. For, being unable to endure the cold, they abstain from undertaking any military action at that time. But, according to the Proverb, *A Medewill not pull so much as his hands from under his Cloak at that time.* [On the contrary,] in regard he very well knew, that the Romans were able to endure a Winter Campaign, he pour'd his Army into the Persian Territories. When therefore they had depopulated a large tract of Ground, [laid waste] many Villages, and Garrisons, they then [began] to take Cities. And, having invested the great City Ctesiphon, he reduced the Persian King to such straights, that he dispatcht frequent Embassies to Julian, entreating him that he might be punish'd with the loss of some part of his Country only, provided he would depart out of his Territories, and put an end to the War. But Julianus was not in the least affected in his mind, nor shew'd any compassion towards these

suppliants. Neither did he take into his consideration this common saying, to wit, *To conquer is famous, but to \* be more than Conqueror, is odious.* But, giving credit to certain Divinations, which *Maximus* the Philosopher (with whom he conversed continually) suggested to him; and imagining, that he should not only equal, but exceed the glory of *Alexander the Macedonian*; [for these reasons, I say,] he rejected the humble addressees of the Persians. And he supposed, agreeable to the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, that by a Transmigration of Souls he was possesst of *Alexander's* Soul; or rather, that he himself was *Alexander* in another Body. This opinion deceived him, and was the cause of his not admitting of the Persian King's humble addressees at that time. The King of Persia therefore, perceiving his Embassy to be ineffectual, was reduc'd to a necessity [of fighting.] Whereupon, the next day after he had sent his Embassy, he draws out all the Forces he had against the Roman Army, in order to his giving them battel. The Romans did indeed blame the Emperor, in regard he would not avoid an engagement, when as he might have done it with advantage. Nevertheless, they gave the Enemy battel, and routed them again. The Emperor was in the engagement in person, on Horseback, and encourag'd his men: but he had no Armour on, in regard he solely confided in his hope of success. But [on a sudden] a Dart is cast at him from an unknown place, which pierced through his Arm, and entred his Side: (a) of which wound he died, the person that killed him being unknown. For some say, [the Dart] was thrown by a certain Persian who fled: others, [that it was cast] by one of his own men, which is the strongest and most common report. But *Callistus* (who had ded this a military imploy in this (b) Emperor's Guards, and recorded his Acts in *Heroick Verse*), in his Narrative of this War, says, that Julian was wounded by a *Dæmon*, of which he died. This was perhaps a poetical fiction of his; peradventure 'twas really true: For revengeful Furies have destroy'd many persons. But, however that matter was, this is not unknown, that [this Emperor] was a person, by reason of his too great heat and ardency of mind, unwary; because of his learning, vain-glorious; upon account of his counterfeit mildness, obnoxious to contempt. *Julianus* therefore ended his life in Persia (as we have said in his fourth Consulate, which he bore with *Salustius* [his Colleague,] about the twenty sixth of June. This was the third year of his Empire, the seventh from his having been created *Cæsar* by *Constantius*; and the thirty first year of his Age.

his hand with blood, and threw it up into the air, and said, O Galilean: [so he termed our Saviour, and the Christians he called Galileans] Thou hast overcome, &c.

(b) The Greek term *ἀνέκτοι*, signifies in this place *Protectores Domesticos*, The Emperors Guards; concerning whom we have spoken at large, in our Notes on Book 14. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 33. In this sense *Socrates* uses this term, Book 4. Chap. 1. This is that *Callistus* (if I mistake not) whom *Libanius* (Epist. 120. Book 4.) calls *Callistio*, friend to *Salustius* *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium*. For *Libanius* attests there (as well as *Socrates* does here) that he was a Poet. Valef.

### C H A P. XXII.

Concerning Jovianus's being proclaim'd Emperor.

**T**HE Roman Army, reduced to the greatest streight imaginable, without delay, on the day after, proclaim *Jovianus* Emperor, a person



*Julianus*. son courageous and nobly descended. He being Tribune of the Soldiers, \* when *Julianus* by publishing of an Edict, gave the Soldiers their choice, whether they would sacrifice, or leave their Military Employments; chose rather to lay down his Commission, than obey the command of the impious Emperor. But *Julianus*, necessitated thereto by the imminent War, had continued him in Commission, amongst his chief Commanders. Being at that time elected to the Empire, he refused it. And when he was forcibly drawn forth by the Soldiers, he cried out, saying, that being himself a Christian, he would not reign over men firmly addicted to *Genilism*. But, after all of them with one voice answer'd, professing that they also were Christians, he accepted of the Empire. Moreover, in regard he was on a sudden left in very great streights † in an Enemy's Country, and his men being destroy'd by a famine, upon terms he put an end to the War. The Conditions were indeed misbecoming the Roman glory; but they were necessary in that conjuncture. For, being punish'd

with the loss of the (a) Borders of the Empire, and having surrendred *Nicibus* (a City in *Mesopotamia*), to the Persians, he departed out of Persia. At the relation of these things the Christians were encouraged (b): But the Pagans bewailed *Julianus's* death. Further, the whole Army blamed his imprudent heat and rashness, and ascribed the disgrace of the loss of their Borders to him; because, being imposed upon by a Persian Deserter, he had burnt the Ships, which supplied them with provision by water, whereupon the Army was reduced to a great extremity by a Famine. Further, at that time *Libanius* the Sophista composed a Funeral Oration upon *Julian*, which he entitled *Julianum*, or *The Epitaph*. In which Oration he does at large recite and extol almost all his actions: he has also mention'd the Books which *Julian* wrote against the Christians, wherein he says, the Emperor has demonstrated the Books of the Christians to be ridiculous, and stuff with trifles. Had it sufficed this Sophista, to have commended the Emperor's other actions only, I should quietly have proceeded to the following part of my History. But whenas, being a sharp Orator, by mentioning *Julian's* Books he does inveigh against the Christian Religion; for this reason we are resolv'd to speak something concerning this matter: and in the first place we will produce his own words.

*Julianus* surrendred *Nisibis* to the Persians: And *Nicephorus* words this passage thus: Καὶ δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἀσφαλῶν ῥωμαίων παρὰ δὲ Πέρισσας, τὴν σύγκλητον ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ νισίβιν, &c. Moreover, surrendring some places to the Persians, that were tributary to the Romans, I mean the Government of the Syrians, and, *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*. But, *Julianus* surrendred not Syria to the Persians. He gave them *Nisibis* only, and the Countries beyond the *Tigris*. Wherefore, I doubt not, but instead of [τὴν σύγκλητον, the Syrians] it should be [τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον ἀρχὴν, the Borders of the Empire; and accordingly we have rendred it. Than which Emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Socrates* himself confirms it, who speaking concerning this matter a little after, in this Chapter, says thus, καὶ τὴν ἀκρίαν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπὸ ὅραν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέφερον, and ascribed the disgrace of the loss of the Borders to him. Valef.

(b) Between these two words [encouraged] and [death,] there was wanting in the printed Copies of *Socrates* this whole line [ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀποκαταστάσιν ἔχωντες, πένοντο ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλιανὴν, But the Pagans bewailed *Julianus's*;] which we have inserted from the Florent. and Sfortian M. SS. Further, from this very one place 'tis evident, that *Christophorus* made use of no M. S. Copies, in his translation of *Socrates*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIII.

A Confutation of what *Libanius* the Sophista has said concerning *Julianus*.

THE Winter (says he) having lengthened the Nights, the Emperor undertook those Books,

which make the Man of Palestine God, and the Son *Julianus* of God; and by a long dispute and validity of Arguments he evinced, that those [Records] revered and honoured [by the Christians] are ridiculous and meer trifles: having in this matter demonstrated himself to be more skilful and wiser, than the \* Tyrian Old Man. But, may that Tyrian be propitious to me, and not be disgusted at what I am said, (a) in regard he was out-done by his Son! (a) In the Florent.

and Sfortian M. SS. the reading is: [ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡλιανὴν ἐκείνην, in regard he was out-done by his Son.] But in *Libanius's* Oration, which I have read in Manuscript, it is thus worded [ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡλιανὴν ἐκείνην,] which reading pleases me best. This Funeral Oration of *Libanius* concerning the praises of *Julian* the Emperor, is published indeed by *Morellus*, in the Second Tome of the said *Libanius's* works; but very corruptly. For, two parts in four of it are transposed; and besides, there are some pages of it wanting. We have some time since found out the transposition of this Oration; and made up its defects from *Johannes Alsinus's* Manuscript; in which Copy this passage is extant, which *Socrates* does here quote. Valef.

These are *Libanius* the Sophista's words. I am indeed of opinion, that he was a most incomparable Sophista: but, I am confident, had he not entertained the same sentiments with the Emperor, as to Religion, he would have spoken against him all that hath been said by Christians, and (as 'tis very likely,) being a Sophista, would have enlarged upon that subject. For, whilst *Constantius* was living, he wrote \* *Encomiums* upon him; but after his death, he loaded him with reproaches and abusive accusations. Wherefore, had *Porphyrius* been an Emperor, he had undoubtedly prefer'd his Books before *Julian's*: and, had *Julianus* been a Sophista, he would have termed him an ill Sophista, as he does *Ecebolius*, in his Epitaph upon *Julian*. Since therefore he, as being of the same Religion with the Emperor, as a Sophista, and as the Emperor's Friend, has related what he thought good; we, according to our ability, will answer what he has written. In the first place therefore, he says, that the Emperor undertook those Books, when Winter had lengthened the Nights. This term, to undertake, or attempt, imports, that he made it wholly his business to write a discommendation, as the Sophistæ usually do, when they instruct young Men in the rudiments of their Art. For he had been acquainted with those Books long before, but then he made his attempts against them. And, having spent a great deal of time in a tedious contest, he did not [oppose them] (as *Libanius* says) with solid arguments; but for want of truth betook himself to Jest and Drollery, (whereof he was a great admirer,) by which means he derided what is firmly established in those Books. For, whosoever undertakes a contest against another, does usually belie him against him whom he manages the dispute; one while by perverting the truth, at another by concealing it. And he that has a Pique against another, as an adversary endeavours, not only to act, but to speak against him in all things: and delights to turn the \* faults that are in himself, upon him with whom he is at variance. That *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* (whom *Libanius* calls *The Tyrian Old Man*) did both of them take great delight in scoffing, is evident from their own Books. For *Porphyrius*, in the Books he wrote concerning Philosophick History, has made the Life of *Socrates* a ridicule, who was the eminentest of the Philosophers: and has left such passages upon record concerning him, as neither *Melitus*, nor *Anytus*, *Socrates's* Accusers, would have attempted to say. Concerning *Socrates*,



Julianus. crates, I say a person admired amongst the Gre-  
cians, for his Modesty, Justice, and other Vir-  
tues. Whom Plato the most admirable Philo-  
sopher among them, Xenophon, and the whole  
† Or, Quie. † company of Philosophers, not only honour  
as a person beloved by God, but also repute him  
to have been endow'd with a wisdom more than  
human. And Julianus, imitating his \* Father,  
has discover'd the distemper of his own mind in  
[the Book he entitled] *The Cæsars*, wherein he  
has discommended all the Emperors his Prede-  
cessors, not sparing even Marcus the Philosopher.  
That both of them therefore took great delight  
in scoffs and taunts, their own writings do suf-  
ficiently declare. Nor need I many or solid ar-  
guments, but this is sufficient to represent the

(b) After these words this line  
[ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω τι αὐτῷ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀναίστηται  
λόγος αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ.] was wan-  
ting in the Printed Copies;  
which I inserted from the *Sforzian*  
M.S. Valef.

of them. But, what Gregorius Nazianzenus has  
said concerning Julianus, you may hear [deli-  
vered] in his own words. For, in \* his second  
Oration against the Gentiles, he says thus: Expe-  
rience, and his assuming the Imperial Dignity and  
Authority, evidenced these things to others. But  
to me they were in a manner apparently manifest  
long before, at such time as I was conversant with  
him at Athens. For he came thither immediat-  
ly after the Innovations attempted by his † Brother,  
having requested this of the Emperor. The design  
of this his journey was two-fold; and the one was  
† He more honourable, [namely,] to see Greece, and  
means the Schools there: The other was kept secret, known  
Gallus Ca- but to a very few, [to wit,] that he might consult  
sar, S. c. the Sacrificers and Impostors there concerning his  
Book 2. own affairs: For his Impiety was not yet in possession  
and Chap. of confidence and liberty. At that time therefore,  
1. Book 3. I well remember, I was no bad Diviner concerning  
this person, although I pretend not to be one of their  
number who are well versed in the knowledge and  
use of these Predictions. But, the unevenness and  
inconstancy of his Disposition, and the incredible Ex-  
travagancy of his Mind, made me a Prophet, if he  
be the best Prophet, who gives the truest conjecture.  
For, 'twas my opinion, that no good could be porten-  
ded by an instable Neck; by Shoulders which some-

(c) In Gregory Nazianzen's se-  
cond Inveective against Julian (out  
of which this passage is quoted)  
the term here is ἀνασπασμαρτα  
which word Billius renders, at  
collebat, he lifted up. But I had  
rather it should be rendered Libra-  
tor, poised. Nicephorus retains  
the vulgar reading, to wit, ἀνα-  
σπασμαρτοι, repress; whole Tran-  
slator gives this Rendition of  
these words: *Humeri, quos sub  
inde iustaret ac reduceret mobiles,*  
i. e. movable shoulders which he  
would sometimes thrust out, at others  
pluck back. Valef. See Mr.  
Montagu's account of this term,  
in his Notes on pag. 98. of Nari-  
anzen's second Inveective, Edit. E-  
ton. 1610.

times he brandished, at others  
(c) repress; by wandring and  
rowling Eyes; a furious Coun-  
tenance; Feet unsteady and  
stumbling; a Nose breathing  
forth reproach and contempt;  
ridiculous cuttings of faces sig-  
nifying the same thing; immo-  
derate and excessively loud  
laughter; noddings, and then  
denials by his countenance, with-  
out any reason; a voice repress  
and cut off by his Breath; im-  
methodical and indiscreet Que-  
stions; Answers no whit better  
than these, crowding one after  
another, inconsistent to them-  
selves, nor yet proceeding in a  
learned Order. - What need I give a particular de-  
scription of every thing? Before his Actions I saw  
he would be the same that I have since found him  
to be by his Actions. And, were some of those per-  
sons here, who were then present and heard me, they  
would be easily induced to attest this. To whom,  
when I saw these things, I forthwith spake these

words, How great a mischief to it self does the *Forianus*.  
Roman Empire breed up! When I had utter'd these  
words, I pray'd to God, that I might be a false Pro-  
phet: For that was better, than that the World should  
be filled with such horrid mischiefs, and that such a  
Monster should appear, the like to which had never  
been seen before; although many Deluges are recorded;  
many Devastatsons by Fire; many Earthquakes and  
\* Chasms; (d) and moreover many monstrous and \* Or, ope-  
inhuman Men, and Beasts that were prodigious and nings of  
compounded of several kinds, of which Nature pro- the earth.  
duced new forms. Upon this account he ended his (d) This  
life in a manner answerable to his madness. passage is  
to be  
made

good from Gregorius Nazianzenus, thus: Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπαυθρά-  
πων καὶ θηρίων ἀνομήτων τε καὶ συνδυαίων, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐκφυετομένης  
and we have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

This Character Gregorius has given us con-  
cerning Julianus. Moreover, that in those ma-  
ny Books (in the compiling whereof they im-  
ploy'd themselves,) they have attempted to vi-  
olate the truth, by perverting some passages  
of the sacred Scriptures, by making insertions  
in other some, and by explaining all things

agreeable to their own de-  
sign; (e) many persons  
have demonstated in their  
answers to them, who have  
also overturned and con-  
futed their Fallacies. But  
above all other [Ecclesia-  
stic Writers,] (f) Origen,  
(who lived long before Ju-  
lian's times,) by raising  
objections against himself  
from such passages in the  
sacred Scriptures as seem'd  
to disturb the Readers, and  
after that by clearing of  
them, has put a stop to the  
fallacious cavils and ver-  
bose niceties of ill-affected  
persons. Which Works of  
his, had Julianus and Por-  
phyrius perused carefully,  
and given them a candid  
reception, undoubtedly  
they would have turn'd  
their discourses to some o-  
ther subject, and would not  
have applied their minds  
to the writing of fallacies  
stuffed with impiety and blas-

(e) Many of the Antients have  
undertaken to refute Porphyrius  
and Julianus's Books against the  
Christians. Methodius, Eusebius,  
and Apollinaris wrote Books a-  
gainst Porphyrius. Cyrillus wrote  
against Julian; which Books of  
Cyrillus's are still extant, but are  
not extraordinarily acute. Valef.

(f) In what Books Origen has  
explained such passages in sacred  
Writ as might trouble the Rea-  
ders, and has confuted the falla-  
cious arguments brought against  
the Christian Religion; 'tis hard  
to assert. For, in his Books against  
Celsus, he has in no wise done this.  
Nor, was it his design in that  
work, to explain those passages  
in the sacred Scripture, which had  
any difficulty in them, but only to  
answer Celsus's objections. Per-  
haps, Socrates does mean Origen's  
σφωατάας. For in those Books Ori-  
gen shew'd the congruity of the O-  
pinions of our Religion with those  
of the Philosophers; as Jerom in-  
forms us in his Epistle to Magnus  
the Orator. In order to his effe-  
cting of this, 'twas requisite for  
Origen to expound those places of  
Scripture, which seemed to con-  
tradict the sentiments of the Phi-  
losophers. Valef.

phemy. That the Emperor made it his business  
to cavil in his discourses before ignorant and  
the simpler sort of men, not in their presence  
who retain a representation of the truth taken  
from the sacred Scriptures; is evident from  
hence: For, having pick'd out as many expres-  
sions as upon account of necessity are by way of  
dispensation used concerning God in a more  
human manner, and put them and many such  
like phrases altogether; at length he subjoyns  
these very words; Every one of these expressions there-  
fore (unless the phrase contains in it some secret and oc-  
cult sense and meaning, which I suppose,) is stuff with a  
deal of blasphemy against God. Thus much he has  
said in express words, in his third Book against the  
Christians. And in that Book of his, to which he  
gave this title (g) Concerning the Cynick Philejo-  
phy, declaring after what manner sacred Fables means his

(g) He  
Book a-  
gainst Heraclius the Cynick; the title whereof is, πῶς κυνιστὸν, the  
way of living like a Cynick. For, in the 403 pag. of that Book, this  
passage here quoted occurs. Valef.

ought



*Forianus*. ought to be feigned, he says, that in such things as these Truth must be concealed: these are his very words: *For Nature loves concealment: and the hidden substance of the Gods cannot endure to be thrown into polluted ears in bare and naked words.* From these words 'tis apparent, that the Emperor had this sentiment concerning the Divine Scriptures, [to wit,] that they were mystical Discourses, containing in them an abstruse sense and meaning. Moreover, he is very angry, because all men don't entertain the same opinion concerning them; and inveighs against those persons amongst the *Christians*, who take the sacred Oracles in their plain and obvious sense. But, it was not decent to rail in such manner against the Simplicity of the Vulgar, nor upon their account to use such insolence towards the sacred Scriptures: nor yet,

(h) In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading here is τὰ καλὰς αὐτῶν τοῦ μύθου. But I am better pleased with my former conjecture, which was to read it thus, τὰ καλὰς ἀποὶς τοῦ μύθου, those things which are rightly understood by others. Although, the reading may be barely thus τὰ καλὰς τοῦ μύθου, those things which are rightly understood. For the word [αὐτῶν] crept in hither, from the following line. *Valef.*

(i) Ἀπελεγε in the *Florentine* M. S. the reading is κατέλεγε, he deserted. *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 36. *Ecclef. Hist.*) words it thus, ἑξέμουνται, abjured. *Valef.*

to hate and have an aversion for (b) those things which are rightly understood by others, because all persons understood them not, as he had a mind they should. But now, the same accident seems to have befallen him, which hapned to *Porphyrius*. For he, having been beaten by some *Christians* at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*; and being unable to master his passion, in a great fury (i) relinquish'd the *Christian* Religion: and out of his hatred towards those that had beaten him, he fell to writing blasphemous Books against the *Christians*; as *Eusebius Pamphilus* has manifestly made it out against him, who has clearly confuted his Books. But the Emperor, having uttered disdainful expressions against the *Christians* in the presence of unthinking persons, through the same distemper of mind fell into *Porphyrius's* Blasphemy. Since therefore both these Persons voluntarily [deserted the truth and] brake out into impiety, they are punished by the very knowledge and consciousness of their own Crime. Further, whereas *Libanius* the *Sophist* in derision to the *Christians* does say, that they make a Man of *Palestine*, God and the Son of God; in my opinion he seems to have forgot, that he himself has deified *Julianus* at the close of his Oration. *For they almost stoned to death* (says he) *the first messenger of his death, as if he had belyed the God.* Then, a little afterwards he adds these words; *O thou Darling* (says he) *of the Dæmons, Thou Disciple of the Dæmons, Thou Assessor with the Dæmons!* Altho' *Libanius* himself understood this otherwise; yet, in regard he avoided not the ambiguity of the term [*Dæmons*,] which is [sometimes] taken in an ill sense, he seems to have said the same which the *Christians* usually do in their reproaches. Wherefore, had it been his design to have commended the Emperor, he ought to have shun'd an ambiguous term; as he did avoid another word; for which being reproacht, he afterwards raz'd it out of his Orations. Moreover, how Man in *Christ* may be said to be God, and how he was apparently Man but invisibly God; and after what manner both these assertions are infallibly true, the Divine Books of the *Christians* do evidently shew. But the *Heathens*, before they believe, cannot understand. For 'tis the Oracle of God which saith, that

\* If you will not believe, surely you shall not understand. *Forianus*. Wherefore, they are not ashamed to deify many men; and I wish at least they had been men good as to their morals, just, and sober; and not rather impure, unjust, and persons addicted to drunkenness: I mean, the *Hercules's*, *Bacchus's*, and *Esculapius's*, by whom *Libanius* blushes not to swear frequently in his Orations. Whose Sodomies and Adulteries should I give a particular account of, my discourse thereof would be long and a tedious digression. Those that are desirous of information about these things, will find a satisfactory account thereof in (k) *Aristotle's* (k) *Con- Peplum*, (l) *Dionysius's* *Corona*, (m) *Rhiginus's* *Polymnemon*, and in the crowd of the Poets; who by writing concerning these things, do demonstrate to all men, that the Heathen Theology is trifling and ridiculous. Further, that 'tis the peculiar practice of the Heathens, and a thing usual amongst them, with great readiness to deify men, 'twill be sufficient to advertise you by a few instances. To the *Rhodians* (who consulted the Oracle upon their being fallen into a calamitous distress,) an answer was given, that they should worship *Attis* the *Phrygian*, an Heathen Priest who instituted mad Ceremonies in *Phrygia*. The Contents of the Oracle are these.

this *Dionysius* was, who wrote a Book with this Title. I am of opinion, it was *Dionysius Miletius*; who (as *Suidas* attests) wrote *ἱστορίων*, an *Historical Circle*; For *κύκλος* and *σέφανος* are the same. *Valef.*

(m) *Suidas* relates, that *Rhiginus Grammaticus* wrote a Boook with this title, *Polymnemon*. *Valef.*

Appease (n) *Attis*, the Great God, chaste *Adonis*, (n) That The Donor of a prosperous Life, and Happiness, *Attis* is the same Person The beautifully-hair'd *Bacchus*.

with *Bacchus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* also does inform us (in his *Protrepticon*) in these words: *Δὲ ἢν ἀτίαν ἐκ ἀπεικότως τὸν Διόνυσον τινες ἀτίαν περιπαρεῦσαι θέλουσιν ἀδιδόων ἐς ἐρημόν, upon which account some will have Attis, deprived of his Genitals, not unfitly termed Bacchus.* *Demosthenes*, in his Oration pro *Corona*: *ἐς βῶν εὐοὶ σαβοὶ, ἐς ἐπαρχέμεν ὅς ἑστι, i. e. and shouting Eui Saboi* [these were the usual Acclamations of those celebrating *Bacchus's* Feasts] and triumphing in words, *Hues Attis*. Which words of *Demosthenes's* *Harpocration* supposed were meant of *Attis* the *Phrygian*. But some of the Antients, read not in that place of *Demosthenes*, *Attis*, but *Ates*, which is an additional name to *Bacchus*, as is also *ἕνς*. See the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the term *ἕνς* and *ἀτης*. *Valef.*

The Oracle calls *Attis* (who by reason of his Love-madness castrated himself,) *Adonis*, and *Bacchus*. And when *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians* passed over into *Asia*, the *Amphictyones* made him presents, and *Pythia* uttered this Oracle.

Adore the Supreme God *Jove*,  
And *Minerva Tritogenia*,  
The King concealed in a mortal Body,  
Whom *Jove* has begotten (o) of a race ineffable, (o) Instead  
Mortals Defender of Equity, King *Alexander*. of [ἀεί-  
ταις ὅς

*vaïs*, of a race most incomparably the best] the reading (is the rule of Verse require) should be [ἀρρήτοις γένεσ, of a Race ineffable.] *Valef.*

These are the words of the Oracle which the *Dæmon* utter'd at *Delphos*: He himself, when he would flatter Potentates, deified them. And this was perhaps done meerly out of flattery. But, what shall we say concerning *Cleomedes* the *Champion*, whom they have made a God, and utter'd this Oracle concerning him.

The last of the Heroes, *Cleomedes Astipalaus*.  
Him worship with Sacrifices, as being no longer a Mortal.

Upon



*Jovianus.* Upon account of this Oracle, *Diogenes* the Cynick, and (p) *Oenomaus* the Philosopher condemned *Apollo Pythius*. The Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* have declared *Adrianus* to be the thirteenth God. And *Adrianus* himself has deified *Antinous* his own \* Catamite. These things *Libanus* does not term ridiculous, and meer trifles; although he very well knew these Oracles, and that single Book, which (q) *Adrias* wrote concerning the Life of *Alexander*. (r) Nor is he himself ashamed to deify *Porphyrus*: For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperor's. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of Digression, upon account of the *Sophista's* scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

\* That is, his favourite, whom he kept to abuse contrary to nature. *Antinous* his own \* Catamite. These things *Libanus* does not term ridiculous, and meer trifles; although he very well knew these Oracles, and that single Book, which (q) *Adrias* wrote concerning the Life of *Alexander*. (r) Nor is he himself ashamed to deify *Porphyrus*: For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperor's. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of Digression, upon account of the *Sophista's* scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

A discovery of *Cozeners*: this *Eusebius* tells us from *Porphyrus*, in his fifth Book de *Preparat.* Valef. (q) *Musculus* and *Christophorus* took [*Adeias*] to be a proper name. *Langus* (in his Notes on *Niceph.* book 10. chap. 36.) was of opinion, that instead of *Adrias*, it should be *Adrianus*. Indeed the word *Adrias* is not to be endured: for no body was ever called by that name. Therefore *Nicephorus*, instead of [*Adeias*] substituted this word [*Αλεξανδρεως*]; very erroneously. In this place *Socrates* means that Book of *Lucian's*, which has this title, *Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢ Λεωδμήανης, Alexander, or The False Prophet*. In which Book *Lucian* describes the frauds and impostures of one *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, who had craftily forged an Oracle. Wherefore instead of *Adeias* (or *Andeias*, as 'tis in the *Florentine M.S.*) it must be *Lucianus*. Unless we should say, that *Socrates* mistook, and ascribed this Book to one *Adrianus*, or *Arrianus*. Valef.

(r) Before these words I placed a full-point, following herein *Nicephorus's* authority. Moreover, the reading should be [*ἐδὲ ἑκαταλυσταί*, nor is he himself ashamed.] Valef.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

That the Bishops flock'd from all places to *Jovianus*, every one of them hoping they should induce him to embrace their own Creed.

After *Jovianus's* return out of *Persia*, the Ecclesiastick Commotions were again renew'd. For the Prelates of the Churches made it their business to prevent one another, each of them expecting, that the Emperor would give his assent to their Creed. But he had from the beginning adhered to the *Homoousian* Faith; and openly declared, that he prefer'd that Creed before all others. And by his Letters he encourages *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who immediately after *Julianus's* death, had recover'd the *Alexandrian* Church. But, being then made more confident and courageous by the Emperor's Letters, he was freed from fear on all hands. The Emperor likewise recalled those Bishops, who had been banished by *Constantius*, and had not procured their own revocation by *Julianus*. Moreover, all the Heathen Temples were then shut up. And [the *Dæmon Priests*] themselves absconded, some in one place, some in another. The \* Philosophers also laid aside their *Palliums*, and clothed themselves in the common and ordinary habit. Likewise, that (a) publick pollution caused by the blood [of sacrifices,] which they had celebrated in *Julianus's* Reign, even to loathsomeness, was then taken away. *Tauropolis* and *Criobolia*, after the undertaking whereof, the Pagans believed they were eternally regenerated; as the old inscriptions inform us. This whole Ceremony is incomparably well described at large by *Prudentius*, in the passion of *Romanus* the Martyr; pag. 255, &c. Edit. Basil. It was in short thus: The Priest to be Consecrated, being

habited in his sacerdotal Vestments, (adorned with a Crown of Gold, and wrapt about with a silken Gown,) was put into a deep Pit dug into the earth. Over this Pit an Altar made of Planks was erected, through which many holes were bored. Upon this Altar a great Bull was laid, adorned with Garlands; and his horns were gilded: his breast they divided with a consecrated Weapon. A stream of reeking blood gushing immediately out of the large wound, flowed upon the boarded Altar, and running through the holes made therein, rained down upon the Priest inclosed under the boards; who catcht the shower of gore by putting his head under the falling drops; wherewith he besmeared his garments, and his whole body. See *Prudentius*, ut supra.

*Jovianus.*

#### C H A P. XXV.

That the Macedonians and Acacians, meeting together at Antioch, confirm'd the Nicene Creed.

But the affairs of the Christians were in no wise in a sedate posture. For the principal Heads of every Party made their (a) addresses to the Emperor, supposing they should obtain from him power and authority against those by whom they were reputed to be their adversaries. And in the first place, those termed *Macedonians* present a Libel to him, requesting, that they who asserted the Son to be unlike the Father, might be ejected out of the Churches, and themselves put into their places. The persons who presented this Supplicatory Libel, were *Basilus* [Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis*, *Pasinius* of (b) *Zela*, *Leontius* of *Comani*, *Callicrates* of *Claudiopolis*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabali*. The Emperor having received their Libel, sent them away without an answer. He express'd himself only thus to them: I abominate (said he) Contentiousness: But I love and honour those that are \* desirous of Unity and Concord. When these expressions were divulged in the hearing of the other parties, they mollified the stiffness of those who were desirous of contention. And this fell out agreeable to the Emperor's intent and design. Moreover, the contentious disposition of the *Acacians* was then also clearly manifested, and they evidently demonstrated their continual usage of complying with their sentiments who were vested with the supream power. For, meeting together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they entered into discourse with *Melitus*; who having separated from them a little before, had embraced the *Homoousian* Opinion. And this they did, in regard they saw *Melitus* was highly esteem'd by the Emperor, who then resided at *Antioch*. Having therefore made a profession of the *Homoousian* Opinion, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, by a general consent they drew up a Libel, which they presented to the Emperor. The Contents whereof are these.

To the most Pious and most Dear to God, our Lord JOVIANUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, The SYNOD of Bishops present at ANTIOCH, assembled out of divers Provinces.

Even we our selves are fully satisfied, most Pious Emperor, that your Piety has in the first place studied to assert and constitute the Peace and Unity of the Church. Nor are we insensible, that You have rightly judged a Draught of the true and Orthodox Faith to be the Head and Fountain of this Unity. Wherefore, that we may not be reputed

D d of



*Jovianus*. of their number who adulterate the Doctrine of truth, we declare to Your Piety, that we do embrace and firmly adhere to the Creed of the Holy Synod heretofore convened at Nicæa. Especially, since that

(c) The term therein, which to some seems (c) new and unusual, (we mean the term *Homöousios*;) has with caution been explained by the Fathers; so, as to denote, that the Son was begotten of the Father's substance, and that he is like the Father as to his substance. Not, as if any Passion were to be understood in relation to that inexplicable Generation: Nor, is the term *Ousia* taken by the Fathers according to any usual signification of it amongst the Grecians; but, [ 'tis made use of ] in order to the subversion of what has been impiously and audaciously asserted by Arius concerning Christ, [ to wit, ] that he existed of things which are not. Which [ Tenet ] the Anomæans, who are newly sprung up, do with a far greater boldness and audaciousness impudently assert, to the utter ruin of Ecclesiastick Unity. Wherefore, we have antient MSS. annexed to this our Declaration a Copy of that Creed set forth by the Bishops convened at Nicæa, which is wanting. Nor did Epiphanius of the Creed.

Scholasticus meet with it in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Quando etiam Consubstantialitatis nomen, quod aliter se quibusdam habere videtur, dicimus cautam interpretationem a patribus excepisse.* Valef.

(d) We remarked before (*Socrat.* Book 1. Chap. 3. Note (a.) that the term *μᾶζωμα*, is by the Greeks used to signify the Creed, because 'twas commonly learnt by heart. But, the word *πλῆρης* is useless here. In my judgment, it would be placed better after these words [ *ἡ τῆς ἐξουσίας* ] thus *ἡ τῆς ἐξουσίας πλῆρης*. It is this in full. Valef.

\* Here I Meletius Bishop of Antioch have presented follow the [ this Libel, ] and do give my consent to what is names of above-written. [ And so do I ] Eusebius of Samosata, Evagrius of (e) Siculi, Uranius of Aphrodisias, Zoilus of Larissa, Acacius of Cæsarea, Antipater of Rhodus, Abramius of Urim, Aristonicus of Seleucia upon Belus, (f) Barlamenus of Pergamus, Uranius of Melitina, Magnus of Chalcedon, Eurychius of Eleutheropolis, (g) Isidore of Armenia the Great, Titus of Bosra, M. S. it is Petrus of (h) Sippi, Pelagius of Laodicea, (i) A-

(e) In the *Sfortian* facoces of Armenia the Great, Titus of Bosra, M. S. it is Petrus of (h) Sippi, Pelagius of Laodicea, (i) A- it is [ *σι- κελῶν Siculi* ], which reading is truer than [ *σιμελῶν, Sicelus* ]. It is the name of a City Situate in the East, concerning which I have yet met with nothing. Amongst the Bishops of the *Acacian* party who subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, Evagrius of Mitilene, of the Province of the Islands, is recounted. Valef.

(f) This is neither a Greek, nor a Latine name. In the *Tripartite-History* it is *Barbarentus*. Valef.

(g) Epiphanius Scholasticus terms him *Isacius*. He seems to be the same person with him that is called *Isaces* in Basilus's 69 Epistle, which is the Synodick Epistle of the *Antiochian* Council under Meletius. He is recounted between *Cosroës* and *Nurjes*. Valef.

(h) Upon my warrant, make it *Hippi*. This *Petrus* was Bishop of Hippi, a Province of Palestine. He subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, together with the others of the *Acacian* party here recounted, to wit, Zoilus of Larissa, Eurychianus of Eleutheropolis; as you may read in Epiphanius, in *Hæres. Semiarian*. Hippi was a Town in Palestine, thirty Stadium's distant from Tiberias; Josephus mentions it in his own Life. Valef.

(i) In Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version he is called *Arabianus Adrensis*, very right. For this is the *Arabianus*, or *Arabion*, Bishop of the *Adra*, who subscribed the *Seleucian* Synod, amongst the Bishops of the *Acacian* party, as Epiphanius relates in *Hæres. Semiarian*. Where he is placed after Exeretus Bishop of Gerasi, and next before Charistus Bishop of Azotus. *Adra* or *Adraon*, is a City of Arabia, under the Bishoprick of Bosra, as *Guillelmus Tyrius* informus us. 'Tis certain, Uranius Bishop of *Adra* is reckoned amongst the Bishops of the Province of Arabia in the first *Constantinopolitan-Synod*. But, in the fifth *Constantinopolitan-Synod*, one *Dorymenius* is counted Bishop of *Adra*. Valef.

rabianus of Antros, Piso of Adani, by (k) Lamy-*Jovianus*, drion the Presbyter, Sabinianus of Zeugma, Athanasius of Ancyra, by Orphitus and Aëtius Presbyter, (l) Irenius of Gaza, Piso of Augusta, Patri-*(k)* I should rather write it *Lamurio*, agreeable to Epiphanius Scholasticus. We found this Libel recorded in the

*Isidicus*; for 'tis a name formed *ἀπὸ τῆς λαμύρας*, which signifies Talkative. A little after this, instead of *Aëtius*, the said Epiphanius reads *Aëtius*; and so I found it written in the *Florentine M. S.* Valef.

(l) This Person is mentiod by Marcus the Deacon, in his *Life of Porphyrius* Bishop of Gaza, which you have in *Surius*. Valef.

work of Sabinus's, entitled *A Collection of Synodick Acts*. Moreover, the Emperor had taken this resolution with himself, that by kind words and perswasives he would extirpate the Contentiousness of the disagreeing Parties; and he declared that he would not create trouble to any person of what belief soever he were of: but that he would love and highly value such as should be the principal promoters of the Churches unity. That these things were after this manner done by him, *Themistius* the Philosopher does also attest. For in the Oration he composed upon his Consulate, he admires the Emperor, (m) for his allowing every person a free liberty of worshipping the Deity in such a manner as he desired; whereby he repress'd the humours of Flatterers. Upon whom he made very facetious reflections, saying, 'tis experimently known, that they worship the Purple, not God; and that such persons differ not from the *Euripus*, which sometimes throws its waves this way, at others the quite contrary.

(m) Instead of [ *ὅς τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν διατρέχει* ] it should be [ *ὅς τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν διατρέχει* ] and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

## C H A P. XXVI.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Jovianus.

AFTER this manner did the Emperor at that time repress their fury, who made it their business to cavil and contend. Departing immediately from *Antioch*, he went to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where he buried *Julianus's* Body. Having perform'd all the Solemnities of his Funeral, he is declared Consul. Designing to go directly from thence to *Constantinople*, he arriv'd at a place, the name whereof is *Dadaстана*; it is situate in the Frontiers of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*. There *Themistius* the Philosopher (with others of the *Senatorian* Order,) met him, and recited his Consular Oration before him, which he afterwards spoke in the presence of the people at *Constantinople*. Indeed, as well the Civil, as Ecclesiastick affairs of the *Roman* Empire, being blest with so good an Emperor, would have been managed fortunately and successfully; had not a sudden death ravish'd so eminent a Personage from the Publick. For, being seiz'd with a Distemper, [ term'd ] an Obstruction, in Winter time he ended his life at the fore-mention'd place, in his own and his Son *Varonianus's* Consulate, upon the seventeenth of February. Having reign'd seven months, and lived thirty three years. This Book contains the [ Transactions of affairs during the ] space of two years and five months.



# THE FOURTH BOOK

## OF THE Ecclesiastical History

### OF SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

#### CHAP. I.

*That, after Jovianus's death, Valentinianus is proclaimed Emperor; who made his Brother Valens his Colleague in the Empire. And, that Valentinianus was a Catholick, but Valens an Arian.*

valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

**T**HE Emperor *Jovianus* having ended his life (as we have declared) at *Da-  
dastana*, in his own and his Son *Var-  
ronianus's* Consulate, on the seventeenth of *Fe-  
bruary*; the Soldiers departing from *Galatia*,  
on the seventh day after came to *Nicaea* in *By-  
thina*, where by a general Suffrage they pro-  
claim *Valentinianus* Emperor, on the five and  
twentieth of *February*, (a) in

(a) I doubt not, but instead of  
[ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, in his Con-  
sulate.] Socrates wrote [ἐν τῇ  
αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, in the same Con-  
sulate;] that is, in the Con-  
sulate of *Jovianus Augustus* and  
*Varronianus* that noble young  
Prince his Son.

\* That is, in Marshalling of  
an Army.

† Or, to superior † to that degree of honour he had ar-  
riv'd at. When therefore they had created him  
Emperor, he went immediately to *Constantino-  
ple*, and thirty days after his being proclaim'd,  
he makes his Brother *Valens* his Colleague in  
the Empire. They were both Christians, but  
they disagreed about the Faith of the Christian  
Religion. For *Valentinianus* had a veneration  
for the Creed of the *Nicene Synod*: but *Valens*,  
by reason of a prepossession, adhered rather to  
the *Arian* Opinion. The reason of this his pre-  
possession was, because he had been baptized by  
*Eudoxius* [Bishop] of *Constantinople*, a Prelate of  
the *Arian* Religion. Both of them entertain'd  
a warmth and ardency for that Religion which  
each adhered to: and yet after they came to  
the Empire, they differ'd one from the other  
very much, in their dispositions. For formerly,  
in the Reign of *Julianus*, (when *Valentinianus*  
was Tribune of the Soldiers, and *Valens* had a

Military employ in the Emperor's Guards) each of them gave a demonstration of the zeal they had for their Religion. For being com-  
pelled to sacrifice, they chose to leave their  
Military employments, rather than relinquish  
Christianity. But, at that time the Emperor *Fu-  
lianus*, knowing them to be persons useful to the  
Publick, removed neither of them from their  
Military preferment; nor yet *Jovianus*, who was  
his Successor in the Empire. But, being after-  
wards promoted to the Empire, \* they were  
at first like to one another, as to their care a-  
bout the management of the publick affairs;  
but they differed (as I have said) about the *Chri-  
stian* Religion, and behaved themselves after a  
disagreeable manner towards the *Christians*. For  
*Valentinianus* did indeed favour such persons as  
embraced his own sentiments; but he was not  
in the least troublesome to the *Arians*. But  
*Valens*, desirous to promote the *Arians*, did most  
grievously disquiet and disturb those who dif-  
fer'd in Opinion from them; as the procedure  
of our History will evidence. At that very time  
*Liberius* presided over the *Roman Church*: at *A-  
lexandria* *Athanasius* [was Bishop] of the *Homoou-  
sians*; and *Lucius* of the *Arians*, whom the *A-  
rians* had constituted *Georgius's* Successor. *Euzoi-  
us* presided over the *Arians* at *Antioch*. Those  
of the *Homoousian* Opinion in that City, were  
divided into two parties; *Paulinus* headed the  
one party, and *Melitus* the other. *Cyrillus* was  
again put into possession of the Church at *Je-  
rusalem*. The Government of the Churches at  
*Constantinople* was in the hands of *Eudoxius*, an  
assertor of the *Arian* Opinion. The *Homoousians*  
kept their Assemblies in a little Oratory within  
that City. Those of the *Macedonian* Heresie, who  
had (b) dissented from the *Acacians* at *Seleucia*,  
at that time retain'd their Churches in every  
City. In this posture were the affairs of the  
Church at that time.

valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

\* That is,  
valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

(b) I am of  
the same  
mind with  
*Christo-  
phorus*,  
who in-

stead of [διῃσχυθέντες τὴν περὶ Ἀκακίου, had declared for the *Acaci-  
ans*,] read [διεφύχθεντες, πρὸς τὴν περὶ Ἀκακίου, had dissented from  
the *Acacians*.] Which reading I have followed in my Version. The  
reading may be [διανεχθέντες, separated from] which is perhaps  
truest. *Nicephorus* has altered this passage of Socrates thus, διῃσχυ-  
θέντες δὲ οὐ περὶ Ἀκακίου, asserting the same things with the *Acacians*,  
which is worst of all. Valef.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

## C H A P. II.

That Valentinianus went into the Western parts [of the Empire,] and Valens resided at Constantinople, who, upon the Macedonians address to him, that a Synod might be convened, granted their request: And that he persecuted the Homoöusians.

\* Or,  
drew him  
thither.

† Or,  
Faith.

BUT, the one of the Emperors, to wit, Valentinianus, went forthwith into the Western parts [of the Empire.] For the care of the publick affairs \* necessarily required his presence there. But Valens, after he had resided a little while at Constantinople, had an address made to him by most of the Bishops of the Macedonian Heresie, who requested another Synod might be convened, in order to the amendment of the † Creed. The Emperor, supposing they embraced the same sentiments with Acacius and Eudoxius, permitted it to be done. And so these persons made it their business to assemble a Synod in the City Lampsacus. But Valens went with all speed possible towards Antioch in Syria, fearing lest the Persians should break the League they had entered into for thirty years in the Reign of Jovianus, and invade the Roman Territories. But the Persians were quiet. Which calm Valens made an ill use of, and raised an irreconcilable War against those who embraced the Homoöusian opinion. He did indeed no harm to Paulinus the Bishop, by reason of that person's exemplary and eminent piety. But he punished Melitius with Exile. He drove all others, who refused to communicate with Euzoïus, from the Churches in Antioch, and subjected them to losses and various punishments. 'Tis said, that he drowned many persons in the River Orontes which runs by that City.

## C H A P. III.

That, whilst Valens persecuted those who embraced the Homoöusian Opinion in the East, there arose a Tyrant at Constantinople, [by name] Procopius. And that at the same time an Earthquake hapned, and an inundation of the Sea, which ruin'd many Cities.

WHILST Valens did these things in Syria, there arose a Tyrant at Constantinople, by name Procopius. He got together a great force in a short time, and made preparations for an Expedition against the Emperor. This being told to the Emperor, put him into a very great agony, which for a little while repress'd the fury of his Persecution against the Catholics. In the interim that the disquietude of a Civil War was with pangs expected, an Earthquake hapning ruined many Cities. The Sea also alter'd its own Boundaries; for in some places it overflowed it so much, that Vessels might sail, where there was a foot-passage before. And it departed from other places in such a manner, that they were found to be dry ground. And this hapned in the first Consulate of the two Emperors.

## C H A P. IV.

That, there being a Disturbance in the Secular as well as the Ecclesiastick State of affairs, the Ma-

cedonians, having convened a Synod at Lampsacus, did again confirm the Antiochian Creed, and Anathemized that [published] at Ariminum, and did again ratifie the Deposition of Acacius and Eudoxius.

THESE things hapning to be thus, neither the Civil, nor the Ecclesiastick State of affairs was in a sedate posture. Those therefore who had requested of the Emperor a power of convening a Synod, met at Lampsacus in the same Consulate [which I have even now mention'd.] This was the seventh year from the Synod which had been assembled at Seleucia. Having again confirmed the \* Antiochian Creed there, to which they had subscribed at Seleucia, they Anathematize that Creed published at Ariminum by those [Bishops] with whom they had heretofore agreed in opinion: and again condemned Acacius's and Eudoxius's party, as having been justly deposed. Eudoxius Bishop of Constantinople could in no wise contradict these determinations; for the Civil War, which was imminent, permitted him not to revenge himself of them. Wherefore Eleusius Bishop of Cyzicum and his Adherents, were at that time for some little while the stronger party, in regard they asserted that termed Macedonius's Opinion, (a) which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conspicuous and better known in the Synod at Lampsacus. I suppose this Synod to have been the reason, why those termed the Macedonians are so numerous in the Hellespont: For Lampsacus is situate in a narrow Bay of the Hellespont. This was the conclusion of the Synod of Lampsacus.

if it had been [μικρὸν πρέτερον.] I am of opinion that this place is faulty, and by a small change is thus to be restored: μικρὸν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Λαμψάκον συνόδῳ γενόμενον πανεπιστολίῳ, which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conspicuous, and better known in the Synod at Lampsacus. He speaks concerning Macedonius's Heresie, which hitherto (says he) had been obscure and unknown: but then, in the Synod of Lampsacus, it became most apparently known. I doubt not but Socrates wrote agreeable to my emendation. Concerning this Synod of Lampsacus, see Baronius, at the year of Christ 365. Valef.

## C H A P. V.

That, an Engagement hapning about a City of Phrygia between the Emperor [Valens] and the Tyrant Procopius, the Emperor took the Tyrant by the treachery of his Commanders, and put him and them to death, by inflicting new and unusual punishments upon them.

ON the year following, wherein Gratianus and \* Dagalaifus were Consuls, (a) the War was in good earnest begun. For when the Tyrant Procopius, having removed from Constantinople, was upon the march with his Army towards the Emperor: Valens, informed thereof, hastens from Antioch, and engages Procopius near a City of Phrygia, the name whereof is Nacolia. In the first encounter he was worsted. But, not long after, he took Procopius alive, Agilo and Gomoarius his Commanders having betray'd him: upon [all] whom Valens inflicted new and unusual punishments. For, disregarding the Oaths

rather than the words, translates it, Bellum geri ceptum est, the War was begun to be waged. But, in order to the expressing the significativeness and propriety of the Greek phrase, it must be rendred, Bellum incubuerunt, or, Belli vis grassata est; the War was with all diligence taken in hand, or, the force of the War rag'd. Valef.

he



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.  
(b) Am-  
mianus  
Marcelli-  
nus relates  
no such  
thing con-  
cerning  
Agilo and  
Gomoarius  
Procopius's Captains. He does indeed affirm, that they revolted to Valens's side, but says not, that they were cut in sunder with Saws. Marcellinus gives us this narrative only, (see Amm. Marcellinus, Book 26. pag. 328, 329. Edit. Paris. 1636.) that the Tribunes Florentius and Barchalba, after the fight at Nacolia, delivered Procopius bound to Valens. And, that Procopius was immediately beheaded; and Florentius and Barchalba soon after underwent the same punishment. Therefore, what Socrates relates here concerning Agilo and Gomoarius, and concerning Procopius's being torn in sunder, is false. Philostorgius also, in his ninth Book, relates that Procopius was beheaded, and that Florentius, who delivered him to Valens, was burnt. Valef.  
(c) This place is corrupted, as 'tis evident. In my judgment, 'tis thus to be restored: ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέδρα ἐπικαυθέντα ἀφῆκεν ὁρ-  
σῶσαι; and we have rendred it accordingly.

C H A P. VI.

That, after the death of the Tyrant, the Emperor, forced those who had been present at the Synod, and all the Christians, to embrace Arius's Opinion.

THE Emperor, having at that time been fortunate and successful in that action, began immediately to disquiet the Christians, being desirous to bring over all persons to Arianism. But he was in a more especial manner incensed against the Synod which had been convened at Lampsacus, not only because it had deposed the Arian Bishops, but in regard that Draught of the Creed publish'd at Arminum, had been Anathematized there. Being therefore come to Nicomedia in Bithynia, he sent for Eleusius Bishop of Cyzicum to him. This Prelate had more closely adhered to Macedonius's opinion, as I have said before. Wherefore the Emperor, having convened a Synod of Arian Bishops, compelled Eleusius to give his assent to their Faith. At first he denied to do it: but when he was threatened with Banishment and Proscription of his Goods, being terrified, he gave his assent to the Arian Opinion. He repented immediately that he had consented. And returning to Cyzicum, in the presence of all the people he complained of his being forc'd, saying, that he had given his assent by compulsion, not voluntarily: he also advised them to seek out for another Bishop, because he had been compelled to renounce his own Opinion. But the Inhabitants of Cyzicum, by reason of that great love and affection they had for him, refused to be subject to another Bishop, nor would they permit any other [to govern] their Church. They continued therefore under his Presidency, and would in no wise recede from their own Heresie.

C H A P. VII.

That Eunomius, having ejected Eleusius the Macedonian, was made Bishop of Cyzicum. And concerning Eunomius's Original, and that having been Amanuensis to Aëtius [surnamed] Atheus, he imitated him.

WHEN the Bishop of Constantinople heard this, he prefers Eunomius to the Bishoprick of Cyzicum, in regard he was a person able

by his eloquence to draw [the minds of] the multitude to his own Lure. Upon his arrival at Cyzicum, an Imperial Edict was published, by which order was given, that Eleusius should be ejected, and Eunomius installed. This being done, those of Eleusius's party, having erected an Oratory without the City, celebrated their Assemblies therein. Let thus much be said concerning Eleusius. We must now give an account of Eunomius. Eunomius had been Amanuensis to Aëtius, surnamed Atheus, of whom we have made mention \*before. Conversing with him, he imitated \* See So- his Sophistick way of discoursing: addicting him- crates, self [to the use of] certain insignificant and Book 2. impertinent terms, and was insensible of his chap. 35. framing fallacious arguments in order to the deceiving of himself. Upon this account he was puffed up with pride, and fell into (a) blasphemy, being indeed a follower of Arius's Opinion, but was various ways an adversary to the Doctrines of truth. He had but a very mean skill in the sacred Scriptures, and was unable to understand their meaning. But he was very full of words, always making a repetition of the same things over and over, but could not arrive at the design he had proposed to himself. His seven Books which with a great deal of labour he wrote upon the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans, are a demonstration hereof. For, altho' he has spent a great many words in the explanation thereof, yet he could in no wise (b) apprehend the scope and design of that Epistle. Of the same sort are those other Books of his that be extant. Of which he that should be desirous to make trial, would find a great scarcity of sense amidst a multitude of words. This Eunomius therefore was by Eudoxius (c) prefer'd to the Bishoprick of Cyzicum. (d) When he was come thither, by making use of his usual Dia- lectical Art, he amazed his Auditors by his unusual expressions; whereupon there arose a disturbance at Cyzicum. [At length] the inhabitants of Cyzicum, not able to endure his arrogant and haughty manner of expressing himself, drove him from their City. He went to Constantinople, where he made his abode with Eudoxius, and was [reputed a (e) Vacant Bishop. But, that

Eunomius was made Bishop of Cyzicum under the Emperor Constantius, in that Synod of Constantinople, which was held immediately after the Synod of Seleucia, as Philostorgius does in express words affirm, Book 5. chap. 3. and Theodoret, Book 2. Chap. 27. & 29. Eccles. Histor. which two Authors have recorded Eunomius's affairs with a far greater accuracy, than Socrates has related them. 'Tis certain, that in Valens's Reign, Eunomius was banished by Valens, because he was reported to be a favourer of the Tyrant Procopius, as Philostorgius affirms. So unlikely is it, that he should have had the Bishoprick of Cyzicum then bestowed upon him. Sozomen has followed Socrates's mistake, in Book 6. chap. 8. Eccles. Histor. Valef.

(d) Instead of [ὡς οὐκ ἐγγύθεν οὐκ ἔτι τῷ] it should undoubtedly be [ὡς ἐν ἐγγύθεν οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῷ, when he was come thither.] I wonder this was not perceived by Christopherson. For Epiphanius might have shewn him the true reading, who renders it thus, cum illuc venisset, when he was arrived there. Valef.

(e) In Civil and Military Offices, some Persons were actually employed in bearing of them; others were Vacantes, [that is, Persons that had the title of such an Office, but were not actually concerned in the management of it; we may term them titular Officers:] who in the Code are said to be praefecti honore otiosi cinguli. So some Tribunes are termed Vacantes in Amm. Marcellinus, as I have remarkt in my Notes on that Historian. After the same manner those Bishops are termed Vacantes by our Socrates, who had the bare name of a Bishop, without a Church, without a Clergy and People, over whom they might preside. Of the same nature almost are those, who now a-days are stiled Bishops in Infidel Countries; such a one therefore was Eunomius, when,



being driven from *Cyzicum*, he resided with *Eudoxius* at *Constantinople*. Which hapned in *Constantius's* Empire, not in *Valens's* Reign, as *Socrates* here relates. Further, after *Eunomius's* expulsion, *Eleusius* ('tis probable) recovered his See again. *Vales.*

Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

we may not seem to have said these things upon account of calumny and reproach, hear *Eunomius's* own words, after what manner he takes the boldness to express himself in his *Sophistick* and fallacious assertions concerning God. For he says word for word thus. *God knows no more than we do concerning his own Substance. Nor is that more known to him, and less to us. But whatever we know concerning the Divine Substance, that is wholly known to God. And on the contrary, whatever he [knows,] the same you will without any difference find in us.* These, and many other such-like fallacies, *Eunomius* framed, being insensible [of his own error.] But how he afterwards became a Separatist from the *Arians*, we will in due place relate.

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Oracle, which was found cut upon a Stone, when the Wall of *Chalcedon* was demolished by reason of the Emperor *Valens's* anger.

**B**UT, the Emperor gave order, that the Walls of *Chalcedon* (a City situate over-against *Byzantium*) should be demolish'd. For he had obliged himself by Oath to do this (after he should have vanquished the Tyrant *Procopius*) because the *Chalcedonians*, siding with the Tyrant, had shamefully (a) railed at and abused him, and had shut their gates upon him as he (b) passed by their City. The Wall therefore was by the Emperor's order pulled down: and the Stones were convey'd to the publick Baths of *Constantinople*, which are called (c) *Constantianæ*. There was a Prophecy found, cut on one of the Stones, which had for a long time lain concealed, but was then discover'd; signifying, that when the City should be furnished with plenty of water, then the Wall should serve for a Bath: and that numerous tribes of Barbarous Nations having over-run the Provinces of the Roman Empire, and done a great deal of mischief, at length should themselves also be destroyed. Nothing hinders, but we may here insert the Prophecy it self, in favour to such as are studious.

(a) *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, that *Valens* laid siege to *Chalcedon*, during his War with *Procopius*. At which siege the Inhabitants of that City reviled him from the Walls, and contemptuously fitted him

*Sabaiarius*, Small-beer-drinker. *Sabaia* (as *Marcellinus* describes it) was a small sort of Liquor made of Barly, very usually drank in *Pannonia*. In which Country *Valens* was born, (see *Socrates* Book 4. Chap. 1.) and therefore was, by way of reproach, called *Sabaiarius*, or *Sabaiarius*. That this was the *Pannonians* usual drink, *Dio* attests, *Lib. 49.* where he says, that the *Pannonians* fed upon a very mean diet; that they had very little Wine, or Oil; and that Barly and Millet was their food and drink. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 26. pag. 325. *Edit. Paris. 1636*; and *Valesius's* Notes thereon, pag. 324.

(b) Instead of [*περιβότος*,] it should in my mind be [*παιβότος*,] as I have express'd it in my Version. But the *Chalcedonians*, because of that Revolt of theirs, were not only punished with the demolition of their Walls; but had this infamous brand also set upon them, viz. that no *Chalcedonian* should ever be preferred to any Office. *Isidorus Pelusiota* (Book 1. Epist. 485.) does attest this, in these words: *Καταχρηστικὸς νόμος καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ δέξιον ἐξέχειν, τὴν Λαὸν prohibens the Carthaginians from bearing any Office.* On my peril make it *καταχρηστικὸς*, *Chalcedonians*. For the *Carthaginians* have no concern with this place, in regard they were not subjects of the Eastern Empire, concerning which *Isidorus* here speaks. *Vales.*

(c) *Sozomen* mentions these Baths, termed *Constantianæ*, in his *Ecclef. Histor.* Book 8. Chap. 21. They were in the Tenth Ward of the City *Constantinople*, as we are informed from the old description of that City. Also, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Book 3.) relates, that *Valens* built a Bath at *Constantinople*, of the stones of the walls of *Chalcedon*. But *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do affirm, that an *Aqueduct* or Conduit, not a Bath, was built of those Stones. Which relations do not contradict

one another. For an *Aqueduct* is necessary for a Bath. It was doubtless a very famous work; whereof mention is made by *Themistius*, (in *Oratione decennali ad Valentem*,) and by *Gregorius Nazianzenus* in his 25th Oration; who very elegantly terms this *Aqueduct* of *Valens's*, a *Subterraneous* and *Aërial River*. So also *Themistius*, in his Oration entitled *Amatorium*, or *de Regiâ pulchritudine ad Gratianum*; the passage wherein I will so much the more willingly annex here, because the Oration is not yet Printed: *Αἱ δὲ ὑποδαρμύσαι ἡλιβάντες, πρῶνας ἐγείνοι καὶ ἐνέκτοι, σφραγιστὰ τὰ νῦν ἀπεκαταρδῶν, πλέον ἢ σαρδὺς χιλιεὶς ἀνάντα καὶ κἀπαντα, ἔτε ἀντὶ κατάντιον διαδερμύσαι, καὶ ἔτε ὑποσχεθεῖσαι, ἔτε ἐργασθεῖσαι, σωμαφοίτησαν ὑπερβότοι, καὶ ἔτε ἡδὴ περὶ τῆς πυλῶν, &c.* Moreover, in *Socrates* here, I had rather read *Carosianæ*, than *Constantianæ*. For the Baths called *Constantianæ* were built by the Emperor *Constantius*, as their name does declare. But the *Carosianæ* Baths were finished by *Valens*, and dedicated after *Gratianus's* third and *Aequitius's* Consulate, *Vindalonius Magnus* being then *Præfect* of *Constantinople*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's* Fasti, and by the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. They were named *Carosianæ* from *Carosia* *Valens's* daughter, as *Sozomen* attests, Book 6. And they were in the Seventh Ward of the City, as the description of *Constantinople* declares. *Vales.*

When Nymphs their mystick daunce with watry-feet  
Shall tread through proud *Byzantium's* stately Street;  
When Rage the City-wall shall overthrow,  
Whose Stones to fence a Bathing-place shall go:  
Then Savage Lands shall send forth numerous swarms,  
(Shining with golden Locks and burnish'd Arms,)  
Which having Ister's silver Streams o're-past,  
Shall Scythian Fields, and *Moesia's* Meadows waste:  
But when, proud with success, they enter Thrace,  
They'll meet their Fate, and find a Burial-place.

This was the Prophecy. But it afterwards hapned, that the *Aqueduct* built by *Valens*, furnished the City with plenty of water: and then the Barbarous Nations made an Insurrection, as we shall hereafter declare. This Prediction, as it fell out, was by some persons taken in another sense. For, when that *Aqueduct* was brought into the City, (d) *Clearchus*, being *Præfect* of the City, built a stately (e) Bath, in that now called *Theodosius's* Forum: which Bath was named The plentiful water. Upon which account the City celebrated a Festival with great solemnity.

*Chomeres*, in the Empire of *Theodosius*. Concerning whom *Eunapius* makes mention, in the *Life of Maximus the Philosopher*: and says that he had first been *Vicarius* of *Asia* in the *Procopian* War; and was afterwards made *Proconsul* of all *Asia* by *Valens*, for the eminent service he had done in the War with *Procopius*. *Libanius* has very many Epistles written to this *Clearchus* in his fourth and fifth Book; wherein he commends him highly, and intimates that he had a Royal Command over *Asia*. He was *Præfect* of *Constantinople* in the Consulate of *Modellus* and *Arimbaeus*, as we are informed from the *Theodosian Code*. *Vales.*

(e) *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* call it a *Nymphæum*. But the *Nymphææ* are not the same with Baths, as 'tis apparent from the description of *Constantinople*. For the *Nymphææ* are the *Nymphs* Temples, watered with pleasant Fountains; as I have long since remark'd in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 46. *Vales.*

And this is that, say they, which is spoken of in the Prophecy, in these words:

— Their mystick daunce with watry feet  
Shall tread through proud *Byzantium's* stately street.

But, what belong'd to the completion of this Prophecy hapned sometime afterwards. At that time, when the Walls should have been pulled down, the *Constantinopolitans* entreated the Emperor to desist from demolishing of them. Also, [some of] the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia* and *Nicaea* came from *Bithynia* to *Constantinople*, and made the same request. The Emperor, being highly incensed, was with great difficulty induced to admit of the Suppliants Petition. But, that he might perform his Oath [wherein he had bound himself,] he gave order, both that the Walls should be pulled down, and also that the breaches made by that demolition should at the same time



Valentinianus and Valens. time be repaired with other small Stones. At this present therefore there is to be seen in some parts of the Wall, patches basely wrought up with very mean materials, laid upon vast and prodigious Stones, which [patches] were at that time made. Let thus much be said concerning the Wall of Chalcedon.

## C H A P. IX.

That the Emperor Valens persecuted the Novatians also, who (in like manner as did the Catholics) embraced the Homoöusian Faith.

BUT the Emperor desisted not from persecuting those that embraced the Homoöusian Opinion; but drove them from Constantinople; and together with them the Novatians also, in regard they owned the same sentiments with them: whose Churches he order'd to be shut up: and gave order that their Bishop also, by name Agelius, should be punished with Banishment. He was a person that had presided over their Churches from the times of Constantine, and had led an Apostolick life. For he always went bare-foot, and made use of but on Coat, observing the command of the Gospel. But the Emperor's rage against the Novatians was stopt by a pious and also an eloquent person, by name Marcianus. He had before born a Military employ in the Imperial Pallace, but was at that time a Presbyter of the Novatian Church, and taught Anastasia and Carosa, Valens's Daughters, the Grammar; (a) by whose names the publick Baths which Valens erected at Constantinople, yet standing, [were called.] Out of veneration therefore to this person, the Novatian Churches which for some small time had been shut up, were open'd again. But the Novatians were not perfectly free from disturbances caused by the Arians: For they were hated by the Arians, because the Novatians loved, and had an extraordinary kindness for the Homoöusians, with whom they agreed in opinion. This was the posture of affairs at that time. Further, you are to know, that the War against the Tyrant Procopius was finished in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, about the latter end of May.

(a) 'Tis false, what Socrates here says, that the Anastasian Baths at Constantinople had their name from Anastasia, Valens's daughter, and were erected by Valens. They were built by Constantine The Great, and from his Sisters name were called the Anastasian Baths, Amm. Marcellinus tells us thus much, (Book 26. pag. 320. Edit. Paris 1636.) Where he describes Procopius's Tyrannick design: his Words are these; *Idem Procopius diductus in cogitationes varias, Anastasianas Balneas Petit, a Sorore Constantini Cognominatus, the same Procopius, divided into various thoughts, went to the Anastasian Baths, which had their name from Constantine's Sister.* At which place in Amm. Marcellinus I have long since remark'd in my notes thereon, that Anastasia, Constantine's Sister, was married to Bassianus Caesar. After my publishing of those my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus, there was a noble and learned Person in England, who found fault with this Annotation of mine, and has stily deny'd, that Bassianus was ever created Caesar. Upon what account therefore I was induced to affirm this, I will in short here declare. When the Emperor Constantine (after his conquest of Maxentius) had given his Sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius; quickly after that he returned into the Gallia's, and sent his Brother Constantius to Licinius, entreating him that Bassianus might be created Caesar; to which Bassianus, Anastasia, Constantine's other Sister, was married. Sed Licinio talia frustra, &c. that is, But when Licinius disappointed him as to those things, Bassianus (by the instigation of Senicio his Brother, who was his bosom-friend) takes up Arms against Constantine. Who being apprehended in the very attempt, was by Constantine's order convicted and put to death. When Sinicius the Author of this treachery, was demanded in order to his being punished; Licinius denying that, the agreement betwixt them was broken. This passage occurs in the excerpts de Vita Constantini, which I heretofore published at the end of Amm. Marcellinus. From which Words I draw these Conclusions: (1) That Constantine treated with Licinius, in order to Bassianus's being created

Caesar. (2) That Bassianus being solicited by Licinius, did not only conspire against Constantine, but made War also against him. Bassianus therefore must of necessity [be allowed] to have played the Tyrant, and therefore to have by force assumed the Title of Caesar, which Constantine had thoughts of giving him, had Licinius consented. Being moved by these reasons, I have termed Bassianus, Caesar, whom notwithstanding I do acknowledge to have been a Tyrant, and do grant that he never was duly and lawfully made Caesar. Moreover, in regard the Anastasian Baths were at Constantinople before Procopius's insurrection, (as we have shown from Amm. Marcellinus,) it may be evidently concluded from thence, that they were not built by Valens, in regard at that time he was but newly made Emperor. Further, the reading here in Socrates should be thus [*ἡνροῖα λυτὰς, the publick Baths.*] Valef.

Valentinianus and Valens.

## C H A P. X.

That the Emperor Valentinianus begat a Son, who bore his Fathers name [to wit, Valentinianus;] he having begat [his Son] Gratianus before his being created Emperor.

NOT long after this War, (a) during the same Consulate, a Son was born to Valentinianus the Emperor in the Western parts, who had his Father's name given him. For he had begotten Gratianus long before his [undertaking the Government of the] Empire.

(1) Socrates is grievously mistaken here. For Valentinianus the younger, who was born in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, was not Valentinianus's, but Valens Augustus's Son. Idatius does expressly affirm this in his Fasti, in these words: *Gratiano Nob. & Dagalaifo Consulibus, &c. In the Consulate of the most noble Gratianus, and Dagalaifus, Valentinianus the Younger, Son to Valens Augustus, was born, on the fifteenth of the Calends of February.* I know indeed, that in Jacobus Sirmondus's Edition of these Fasti, the common reading is, *Filius Augusti Valentiniani, the Son of Valentinianus Augustus.* But, in that most ancient Manuscript belonging to the College of Clermont, from which Sirmondus published these Fasti, I found it in express words written thus, *Filius Augusti Valentis, the Son of Valens Augustus.* Besides the testimony of these Fasti, it may be made evident by many other arguments, that this Valentinianus the Younger, (who was born in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, in the year of Our Lord, 366,) was the Son of Valens Augustus. For, this is the very same Valentinianus, as 'tis on all hands agreed, who was afterwards Consul with Victor, in the year of Christ 369. and to whom Themistius spake his Consular Oration, which is at this day extant under this Title: *ἡγεμῶντος βαλεντινιανῶ νεῶ.* Now, in this Oration, Themistius frequently calls Valens the Father of this Valentinian, and styles Gratianus ἀνεψιόν, that is, his Cousin German by the Father's side. See pag. 253. in that Oration. Besides, Themistius does affirm (pag. 254.) that the slaughter and overthrow of the Tyrant Procopius was foresignified by God, by the birth of this Valentinian. 'Tis certain, Valentinianus Junior was born when Gratianus and Dagalaifus were Consuls, on the 15th of the Calends of February; as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti, and in the Alexandrian Chronicle. In which year the Tyrant Procopius was vanquished by Valens, on the sixth of the Calends of June, as 'tis affirmed in the same Fasti. But, if Valentinianus Junior had been Son to Valentinianus Senior, his birth had signified nothing to Valens. Further, if this Valentinianus had in reality been Son to Valentinianus Senior, why did he make his residence in the East? How could he have been sent so long a journey from his Father, being as yet but an Infant? For he accompanied Valens in the Gorbick Expedition, as Themistius attests not far from the beginning of this Oration. Lastly, 'tis evident from Themistius's quinquennial Oration [i. e. His Oration upon Valens's having arrived at the fifth year of his Empire,] near the close thereof, that Valens had an only Son then when he celebrated his Quinquennialia, that is, in the year of our Lord 368. In regard therefore, the most noble Valentinianus was made Consul in the East on the year following, he can be no other Person than Valens's Son. And Themistius, in the close of his Quinquennial Oration (after he had spoken concerning Valens's only Son,) adds these words: *ὃν ἐγὼ Ἀλέξανδρον ποισαίμην, καὶ ἔρμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον οὐχ ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφία, whom I would make an Alexander, and Philosophy shall again boast of such an Issue.* And in his Exhortatory Oration, which he spake the year after to Valentinianus Junior, he makes an address to the Child almost in the same Words: *δεῦρ' ἵθι παῖ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμῶν καδίσχονάτων, come [Royal] Babe, sit upon my knees!* And a little after: *συνπαίδευσθαι θέλω σε ἐμοὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, οἱ καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιδάσκαλον, Plato and Aristotle shall together with my self instruct Thee, by whom the Great Alexander was tutored.* From whence 'tis apparent, that it is one and the same person concerning whom Themistius speaks in both places; and therefore that Valentinianus Junior, whom Themistius speaks to in his Exhortatory Oration, was the same only Son of Valens. But, this Valentinianus Junior was, by another name, called Galates. For Socrates and Sozomen give him



him this name. *Sozomen* (Book 6. Chap. 16.) does expressly affirm, that *Valens* had one only Son by [*Dominica*] his Wife, whose name was *Galates*. Since therefore, 'tis manifest from what I have just now said, that the most noble *Valentinianus* was *Valens*'s Son, *Valentinianus* and *Galates* must necessarily be one and the same Person. I should think, that the Child might have the surname of *Galates* given him, because he was born in *Galatia*, at such time as *Valens* was at War with *Procopius*. Moreover, *Socrates*'s mistake (in which error he is followed by *Sozomen*, Book 6. Chap. 10.) did, in my judgment, proceed from hence; viz. because he confounded the two Junior *Valentinians*, (one whereof was Son to *Valens*, the other to *Valentinianus Senior*;) and made but one person of two. For he thought, that the most noble *Valentinianus* (who was Consul with *Victor*) was the same person with that *Valentinianus Junior*, who, after the death of his Father *Valentinianus Senior*, governed the Empire with *Gratianus*. But we have long since refuted this Error, in our Notes on Book 30. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 413. *Vales. Valesius*, at the now quoted pag. of his Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, does indeed evidently prove that there were two Junior *Valentinians*; but (contrary to what he affirms here,) he asserts they were both Sons to *Valentinianus Senior*, whom he there styles *Magnus*. See his note.

*Valentinianus*  
and  
*Valens*.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning a Hail of an unusual bigness which fell from Heaven, and concerning the Earthquakes in Bithynia, and the Hellespont.

\* Or, *Fovinus*'s.  
† *Xetep-lāthūs*, as big as would fill a Man's hand.

ON the following Consulate, which was *Lupicinus*'s and \* *Fovianus*'s, there fell a Hail at Constantinople † of a vast bigness, on the second of July, which was like Stones. Many persons said, that this Hail was sent by reason of God's anger, because the Emperor had banished several of the Sacerdotal Order, in regard they refused to communicate with *Eudoxius*. A little after this time, during the same Consulate, the Emperor *Valentinianus* proclaim'd his Son *Gratianus* || *Augustus*, on the twenty fourth of August. On the year after, wherein *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the second time Consuls, there hapned an Earthquake in Bithynia, which ruined the City *Nicaea*, on the eleventh of October. This was the twelfth year after the ruin of \* *Nicomedia*. Soon after this Earthquake most part of *Germa*, a City in the Hellespont, was destroyed by another Earthquake. Notwithstanding these accidents hapned, yet neither was *Eudoxius* Bishop of the *Arians*, nor the Emperor *Valens*, put into any fear: For they desisted not from persecuting those who dissented in opinion from them. [Moreover,] these Earthquakes seem'd to denote the disturbance of the Churches. Wherefore, many of the Sacerdotal Order (as I have said) were banish'd. Only *Basilus* and *Gregorius*, by a certain dispensation of Divine Providence, suffered not Banishment, by reason of their eminent piety. (a) The first of these persons was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; and the second [presided over] *Nazianzum*, a small City near *Cæsarea*. But we shall mention *Basilus* and *Gregorius* in the procedure [of our History.]

*Cappadocia*, in the year of Christ 369, as *Baronius* has rightly observed. But *Socrates* seems to make *Basilus*'s promotion to that Bishoprick somewhat ancients. For, in his account at this place of those affairs that were transacted in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s second Consulate, which was the year of Christ 368, he does acknowledge that *Basilus* was then Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*. But, as to *Gregorius*, *Socrates* is manifestly mistaken. For he was not at that time made Bishop of *Nazianzum* by *Basilus*, but of *Sasima*, which Bishoprick he notwithstanding never entered upon, as he himself attests in his Epistles. But in his Verses concerning his own Life, he evidently complains of *Basilus*, who (when as he had sixty Bishopricks under him,) had preferred him to the Church of a pitiful little Town, although he himself was nothing inferior to *Basilus*. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XII.

*Valentinianus*  
and  
*Valens*.

That those who imbraced *Macedonius*'s Opinion, being reduced into streights by reason of the Emperor's violence towards them, sent an Embassy to *Liberius* [Bishop] of Rome, and subscribed to the Homoöusian Creed.

WHEN those who embraced the Homoöusian opinion had at that time been forely disquieted and put to flight, the Persecutors renewed their rage against the *Macedonians*: Who, being reduced to great streights by fear rather than force, sent Embassies to one another throughout every City; signifying, that they must of necessity fly, both to the Emperor's Brother [*Valentinianus*], and also to *Liberius* Bishop of Rome; and that [twas more eligible for them] to embrace their Faith, than to communicate with *Eudoxius*'s party. (a) They sent therefore *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Sebastia*, (who had been many times deposed) *Silvanus* of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabai*, which is also a City of *Cilicia*: and gave them order, that they should not dissent from *Liberius* concerning the Faith, but should enter into communion with the Roman Church, and confirm the Homoöusian Creed. These persons, carrying along with them their Letters who had dissented [from *Acacius*] at *Seleucia*, arriv'd at Old Rome. They could not go to the Emperor [*Valentinian*] himself; for he was engaged in a War with the (b) *Sarmatæ* in the *Gallia*'s. But they deliver'd their Letters to *Liberius*. He [at first] wholly refused to admit them: for he said, that they were of the *Arian* Faction, and could in year of Christ 368, in which year *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the second time Consuls. *Baronius* thinks 'twas sent in the year of Christ 365, and grounds his opinion on these two arguments especially. First, *Eustathius*, with his companions, was sent Ambassador by the Synod of *Lampsacus*. Now, that Synod was convened in the year of Christ 365, seven years after the *Seleucian* Synod, as *Socrates* attests. 'Tis certain, the Embassadors (in their Libel of Faith which they presented to *Liberius*;) do expressly profess that they were Legates from the Synod of *Lampsacus*, and that they brought the Letters of that Synod to *Liberius*. Secondly, if this Embassy of the *Macedonians* were sent on the year of Christ 368, it would not have been sent to *Liberius*, but to *Damasus*. For *Liberius* died on the year of Christ 367, in the Consulate of *Lupicinus* and *Fovinus*; and on the same year *Damasus* entred upon that See. But, the *Macedonian* Embassadors presented a Libel of their Faith to *Liberius*, and from the same *Liberius* received Letters to the Prelates of their own party, as *Socrates* relates in this Chapter. This Embassy therefore was not sent in the year 368. These are *Baronius*'s arguments. But I would rather place this Embassy on the year of Christ 367, and will determine hereof against *Baronius*, upon this account. *Baronius* confesses, that *Elpidius* Presbyter of Rome was sent, together with *Eustathius* and his Companions, to the *Illyricum* Synod; the Synodick Letter whereof *Theodoret* has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 9. *Eccles. Histor.* But the *Illyricum* Synod, at which *Elpidius* and *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* were present, was convened in the year of Christ 367, or 368; as appears from the inscription of that Letter which the Emperor *Valentinianus* wrote to the Bishops of *Asia*, that he might confirm that Synod. For that Imperial Letter has this Title: *Valentinianus, Valens and Gratianus, Augusti, to the Bishops, &c.* as you may read in *Theodoret*, Book 4. Chap. 8. Now *Gratianus* was proclaimed *Augustus* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Lupicinus* and *Fovinus*, on the ninth of the Calends of September, as (besides *Socrates*) *Idatius* in his *Fasti*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, do declare. Therefore, if the *Illyricum* Synod hapned on the same year whereon the *Macedonians* Embassy was sent; the *Macedonians* Embassy must necessarily be placed on the year of Christ 367, in which year *Liberius* died in the beginning of September. *Eustathius* therefore might go to *Liberius* in June, and receive Letters from him in August. Now I am of opinion, that the *Illyricum* Synod was held on the same year, in the month of September, which Synod *Valentinianus* the Emperor confirm'd, after *Gratianus* was created *Augustus*. *Vales.*

(b) *Socrates* should have said *The Alamanni*, rather than the *Sarmatæ*. For at this time *Valentinian* was detained in the *Gallia*'s, by reason of his War against the *Alamanni*. Towards the end of his Reign, he went into *Illyricum*, in order to his engaging in a War against the *Sarmatæ*. *Vales.*



*Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.* no wife be received [into Communion] by the Church, in regard they had rejected the Nicene Creed. They made answer, that by a \* Retraction they had acknowledged the Truth, that they had long since renounced the Anomoeian Creed, and had professed that the Son was every way like to the Father; and that the term *Homoios* differed not in its import from *Homoousios*. Having said thus much, *Liberius* required of them a profession of their Opinion in writing. They presented him a Libel, wherein were inserted the Contents of the Nicene Creed. I have not here inserted the Letters written from *Smyrna* in *Asia*, and from *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, (in which places they had held Synods,) because of their length. But the Libel, which the Embassadors, sent with *Eustathius*, deliver'd to *Liberius*, runs thus:

TO OUR LORD, BROTHER,  
AND FELLOW-MINISTER,  
*LIBERIUS*; *EUSTATHIUS*,  
*THEOPHILUS*, AND *SIL-  
VANUS*, GREETING IN  
THE LORD.

By reason of the mad Opinion of Hereticks, who desist not from giving cause of offence to the Catholick Churches; upon this account [we say] we, [desirous] to deprive them of all opportunity [of giving offence] do approve of and assent to the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been convened at *Lampfacus*, *Smyrna*, and at several o-

ther places: (c) from which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the Italian and Western Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholick Faith, which having been establish'd in the Holy Nicene Synod in the Reign of *Constantine* of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken: in which [Creed] the term *Homoousios* is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to *Arius's* perverse Doctrine: in like manner we also, (d) together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that we have held the same Faith, and do hold, and will keep it to our last breath: and we do condemn *Arius*, and his impious Doctrine, together with his Disciples, and those that embrace his Sentiments; as also, all the Heresie of *Sabel-*

\* See *So-*  
*crates*, book  
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note (g.)

lius, the \* *Patri-*  
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*ta*, and the Doctrine of these  
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sies that are opposite to the fore-  
said Holy Creed, which was

thers at *Nicæa*. But in a more especial manner we *Valentini-*  
Anathematize that Draught of the Creed recited *anus and*  
at the *Ariminum* Synod, as being contrary to the *Valens.*  
foresaid Creed of the Holy Synod [convened] at *Ni-*  
*cæa*. (c) To which (it being brought from *Nice* (e) In my  
[a Town] of *Thracia*) [the Bishops] subscribed at judgment,  
*Constantinople*, being over perswaded by Fraud it should  
and Perjury. But, our Creed, and the foresaid be thus  
Persons [confession of Faith] also, from whom we worded  
are employed as Legates, is this. [is te  
ὁποῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ κωνσταντινουπόλει κομισθεῖσιν ἀπὸ νίκης, &c.] which we  
have expressed in our Rendition. For they Anathematize not only  
that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the in the *Ariminum*  
Council, but the Acts also at *Nice* in *Ibracia*, (See *Socrates*, Book 2.  
Chap. 37. near the close of that Chapter,) to which, being brought  
to *Constantinople*, the Bishops, induced thereto by fraud, had sub-  
scribed, as if they had been the Acts of the *Nicene* Synod. *vales.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the  
Framer of all things visible and invisible: and in  
one only begotten God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the  
Son of God; begotten of the Father, that is, of the  
Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of  
Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made,  
of the same substance with the Father, by whom all  
things were made which are in Heaven, and which  
are on the Earth: who, for us men and for our sal-  
vation, descended [from Heaven,] became incarnate,  
and was made Man; and suffered, and rose again  
the third day; and ascended into the Heavens; and  
shall come to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we  
believe] in the Holy Spirit. But, those that affirm  
there was a time when he was not, and that he was  
not before he was born, and that he was made of  
things which are not; or those that assert the Son of  
God existed of another Hypostasis or Substance, or  
that he is changeable or mutable; these persons the  
Catholick and Apostolick Church of God does Ana-  
thematize.

I *Eustathius* Bishop of the City *Sebastia*, I *The-*  
*ophilus*, and I *Silvanus*, Legates of the Synod of  
*Lampfacus* of *Smyrna*, and of other [Synods,]  
have voluntarily and willingly written this confes-  
sion [of Faith] with our own hands. And, if any  
person, after the publication of this Creed by Us, shall  
be desirous of bringing any accusation, either against  
Us, or those that have sent Us, let him come with  
Your Holiness's Letters before such Orthodox Bi-  
shops as Your Sanctity shall approve of, and go to  
Tryal with Us in their presence. And if any Cri-  
mination shall be made out, let the Author thereof be  
punish'd. *Liberius* having bound up and secured  
the Legates by this Libel, admitted them to  
Communion, and afterwards dismiss them with  
this Letter.

#### THE LETTER OF *LIBERIUS* BISHOP OF *ROME*, TO THE BISHOPS OF THE *MACE-* *DONIANI*.

To Our dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow-Mini-  
sters, *Evethius*, *Cyrillus*, *Hyperechius*, *Ura-*  
*nus*, *Heron*, *Elpidius*, *Maximus*, *Eusebius*,  
*Eucarpus*, *Heortasius*, *Neon*, *Eumathius*,  
*Faustinus*, *Proclius*, *Pasificus*, *Arsenius*, *Se-*  
*verus*, *Didymion*, *Britannus*, *Callicrates*,  
*Dalmatius*, *Ædesius*, *Eustochius*, *Ambrosius*,  
*Gelonius*, *Pardalius*, *Macedonius*, *Paulus*,  
*Marcellus*, *Heraclius*, *Alexander*, *Adolius*,  
*Marcianus*, *Sthenelus*, *Johannes*, *Macer*, *Cha-*  
*risius*, *Silvanus*, *Photinus*, *Antonius*, (f) *Anytho*, (f) In the  
and *Sforian* M. SS. this person's name is constantly written thus,  
Autho. So he is also called in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. In *Christophor-*  
*son's* Version 'tis *Anytho*, with three Syllables. I never met with this  
name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Antho*. *vales.*  
*Celsus*,

Piously and Catholickly set forth by the Holy Fa-

*Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.* no wife be received [into Communion] by the Church, in regard they had rejected the Nicene Creed. They made answer, that by a \* Retraction they had acknowledged the Truth, that they had long since renounced the Anomoeian Creed, and had professed that the Son was every way like to the Father; and that the term *Homoios* differed not in its import from *Homoousios*. Having said thus much, *Liberius* required of them a profession of their Opinion in writing. They presented him a Libel, wherein were inserted the Contents of the Nicene Creed. I have not here inserted the Letters written from *Smyrna* in *Asia*, and from *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, (in which places they had held Synods,) because of their length. But the Libel, which the Embassadors, sent with *Eustathius*, deliver'd to *Liberius*, runs thus:

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THE LORD.

By reason of the mad Opinion of Hereticks, who desist not from giving cause of offence to the Catholick Churches; upon this account [we say] we, [desirous] to deprive them of all opportunity [of giving offence] do approve of and assent to the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been convened at *Lampfacus*, *Smyrna*, and at several o-

ther places: (c) from which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the Italian and Western Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholick Faith, which having been establish'd in the Holy Nicene Synod in the Reign of *Constantine* of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken: in which [Creed] the term *Homoousios* is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to *Arius's* perverse Doctrine: in like manner we also, (d) together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that we have held the same Faith, and do hold, and will keep it to our last breath: and we do condemn *Arius*, and his impious Doctrine, together with his Disciples, and those that embrace his Sentiments; as also, all the Heresie of *Sabel-*

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them; in fine, all the Here-  
sies that are opposite to the fore-  
said Holy Creed, which was

thers at *Nicæa*. But in a more especial manner we *Valentini-*  
Anathematize that Draught of the Creed recited *anus and*  
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[a Town] of *Thracia*) [the Bishops] subscribed at judgment,  
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and Perjury. But, our Creed, and the foresaid be thus  
Persons [confession of Faith] also, from whom we worded  
are employed as Legates, is this. [is te  
ὁποῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ κωνσταντινουπόλει κομισθεῖσιν ἀπὸ νίκης, &c.] which we  
have expressed in our Rendition. For they Anathematize not only  
that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the in the *Ariminum*  
Council, but the Acts also at *Nice* in *Ibracia*, (See *Socrates*, Book 2.  
Chap. 37. near the close of that Chapter,) to which, being brought  
to *Constantinople*, the Bishops, induced thereto by fraud, had sub-  
scribed, as if they had been the Acts of the *Nicene* Synod. *vales.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the  
Framer of all things visible and invisible: and in  
one only begotten God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the  
Son of God; begotten of the Father, that is, of the  
Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of  
Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made,  
of the same substance with the Father, by whom all  
things were made which are in Heaven, and which  
are on the Earth: who, for us men and for our sal-  
vation, descended [from Heaven,] became incarnate,  
and was made Man; and suffered, and rose again  
the third day; and ascended into the Heavens; and  
shall come to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we  
believe] in the Holy Spirit. But, those that affirm  
there was a time when he was not, and that he was  
not before he was born, and that he was made of  
things which are not; or those that assert the Son of  
God existed of another Hypostasis or Substance, or  
that he is changeable or mutable; these persons the  
Catholick and Apostolick Church of God does Ana-  
thematize.

I *Eustathius* Bishop of the City *Sebastia*, I *The-*  
*ophilus*, and I *Silvanus*, Legates of the Synod of  
*Lampfacus* of *Smyrna*, and of other [Synods,]  
have voluntarily and willingly written this confes-  
sion [of Faith] with our own hands. And, if any  
person, after the publication of this Creed by Us, shall  
be desirous of bringing any accusation, either against  
Us, or those that have sent Us, let him come with  
Your Holiness's Letters before such Orthodox Bi-  
shops as Your Sanctity shall approve of, and go to  
Tryal with Us in their presence. And if any Cri-  
mination shall be made out, let the Author thereof be  
punish'd. *Liberius* having bound up and secured  
the Legates by this Libel, admitted them to  
Communion, and afterwards dismiss them with  
this Letter.

#### THE LETTER OF *LIBERIUS* BISHOP OF *ROME*, TO THE BISHOPS OF THE *MACE-* *DONIANI*.

To Our dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow-Mini-  
sters, *Evethius*, *Cyrillus*, *Hyperechius*, *Ura-*  
*nus*, *Heron*, *Elpidius*, *Maximus*, *Eusebius*,  
*Eucarpus*, *Heortasius*, *Neon*, *Eumathius*,  
*Faustinus*, *Proclius*, *Pasificus*, *Arsenius*, *Se-*  
*verus*, *Didymion*, *Britannus*, *Callicrates*,  
*Dalmatius*, *Ædesius*, *Eustochius*, *Ambrosius*,  
*Gelonius*, *Pardalius*, *Macedonius*, *Paulus*,  
*Marcellus*, *Heraclius*, *Alexander*, *Adolius*,  
*Marcianus*, *Sthenelus*, *Johannes*, *Macer*, *Cha-*  
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Autho. So he is also called in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. In *Christophor-*  
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name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Antho*. *vales.*  
*Celsus*,

Piously and Catholickly set forth by the Holy Fa-

*Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.* no wife be received [into Communion] by the Church, in regard they had rejected the Nicene Creed. They made answer, that by a \* Retraction they had acknowledged the Truth, that they had long since renounced the Anomoeian Creed, and had professed that the Son was every way like to the Father; and that the term *Homoios* differed not in its import from *Homoousios*. Having said thus much, *Liberius* required of them a profession of their Opinion in writing. They presented him a Libel, wherein were inserted the Contents of the Nicene Creed. I have not here inserted the Letters written from *Smyrna* in *Asia*, and from *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, (in which places they had held Synods,) because of their length. But the Libel, which the Embassadors, sent with *Eustathius*, deliver'd to *Liberius*, runs thus:

TO OUR LORD, BROTHER,  
AND FELLOW-MINISTER,  
*LIBERIUS*; *EUSTATHIUS*,  
*THEOPHILUS*, AND *SIL-  
VANUS*, GREETING IN  
THE LORD.

By reason of the mad Opinion of Hereticks, who desist not from giving cause of offence to the Catholick Churches; upon this account [we say] we, [desirous] to deprive them of all opportunity [of giving offence] do approve of and assent to the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been convened at *Lampfacus*, *Smyrna*, and at several o-

ther places: (c) from which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the Italian and Western Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholick Faith, which having been establish'd in the Holy Nicene Synod in the Reign of *Constantine* of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken: in which [Creed] the term *Homoousios* is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to *Arius's* perverse Doctrine: in like manner we also, (d) together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that we have held the same Faith, and do hold, and will keep it to our last breath: and we do condemn *Arius*, and his impious Doctrine, together with his Disciples, and those that embrace his Sentiments; as also, all the Heresie of *Sabel-*

\* See *So-*  
*crates*, book  
2. chap. 19.  
note (g.)

lius, the \* *Patri-*  
passians, *Marci-*  
onistæ, *Photini-*  
ans, *Marcelliani*,

and that of *Paul* of *Samosa-*  
*ta*, and the Doctrine of these  
Hereticks, and all those who  
maintain the same Tenets with  
them; in fine, all the Here-  
sies that are opposite to the fore-  
said Holy Creed, which was

thers at *Nicæa*. But in a more especial manner we *Valentini-*  
Anathematize that Draught of the Creed recited *anus and*  
at the *Ariminum* Synod, as being contrary to the *Valens.*  
foresaid Creed of the Holy Synod [convened] at *Ni-*  
*cæa*. (c) To which (it being brought from *Nice* (e) In my  
[a Town] of *Thracia*) [the Bishops] subscribed at judgment,  
*Constantinople*, being over perswaded by Fraud it should  
and Perjury. But, our Creed, and the foresaid be thus  
Persons [confession of Faith] also, from whom we worded  
are employed as Legates, is this. [is te  
ὁποῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ κωνσταντινουπόλει κομισθεῖσιν ἀπὸ νίκης, &c.] which we  
have expressed in our Rendition. For they Anathematize not only  
that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the in the *Ariminum*  
Council, but the Acts also at *Nice* in *Ibracia*, (See *Socrates*, Book 2.  
Chap. 37. near the close of that Chapter,) to which, being brought  
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We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the  
Framer of all things visible and invisible: and in  
one only begotten God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the  
Son of God; begotten of the Father, that is, of the  
Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of  
Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made,  
of the same substance with the Father, by whom all  
things were made which are in Heaven, and which  
are on the Earth: who, for us men and for our sal-  
vation, descended [from Heaven,] became incarnate,  
and was made Man; and suffered, and rose again  
the third day; and ascended into the Heavens; and  
shall come to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we  
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*Gelonius*, *Pardalius*, *Macedonius*, *Paulus*,  
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and *Sforian* M. SS. this person's name is constantly written thus,  
Autho. So he is also called in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. In *Christophor-*  
*son's* Version 'tis *Anytho*, with three Syllables. I never met with this  
name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Antho*. *vales.*  
*Celsus*,

Piously and Catholickly set forth by the Holy Fa-



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

Celsus, Euphranor, Milesius, Patricius, Severianus, Eusebius, Eumolpius, Athanasius, Dio-  
phantus, Menodorus, Diocles, Chrysampelus,  
Neon, Eugenius, Eustathius, Callicrates, Arse-  
nius, Eugenius, Martyrius, Hieracius, Leonti-  
us, Philagrius, Lucius, and to all the Ortho-  
dox Bishops in the East; Liberius Bishop (g) of Italy,  
and the Bishops in the West, [wish] health always in

(g) The words [of the Lord.

Italy] must

be expunged; Epiphanius Scholasticus acknowledges them not: or else it must be thus worded: Liberius Bishop and the Bishops of Italy, and those in the West, &c. For thus Liberius distinguishes the Bishops of Italy from the rest of the Western Prelates, in the beginning of this his Letter, in these words; both to our slenderness and also to all [the Bishops] in Italy and in the Western parts. Nor is it otherwise express in the Libel of Faith which the Legates presented to Liberius. Valef.

(h) It must  
undoubt-  
edly be  
[περλαμ-  
πρόμωρα,  
that it  
may be  
referred  
to the

foregoing word [περλαμπρόμωρα, Let-  
ters.] And thus Epiphanius Scho-  
lasticus, and Languis, Nicephorus's  
Translator, read it. It would  
doubtless have been foolish to  
term ancient Bishops τῶ τῆς πί-  
στεως φωτὶ περλαμπρόμωροι, persons  
illuminated with the light of Faith;  
as if they had been some Neo-  
phytes, or late Converts to the  
Faith. Valef.

(i) Instead of [μέλει τῆς κτ'  
νίκων συνόδου] it would be  
better thus [μέλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς  
κτ' νίκων συνόδου, from the Ni-  
cene Synod hitherto.] So in the  
Libel of Faith presented to Li-  
berius by the Legates: ἡ τῆς ἐκ τῆς  
ἀγίας, &c. Which having been es-  
tablished in the holy Nicene Sy-  
nod—bath hitherto always conti-  
nued intire and unshaken. So  
Musculus and Christopherson read  
this place. Valef.

(k) It should not be [ἀπολίσ]  
but [ἀπολίσ], that is, your Le-  
gates themselves. For Liberius  
means the Libel of Faith, which  
the Macedonian Legates had pre-  
sented to him. In which Libel  
the Legates profess, that as well  
those Persons by whom they had  
been sent, did constantly retain  
that Creed which had heretofore  
been set forth at Nicæa; as also  
that they themselves did and al-  
ways would observe and keep to  
the same Creed. Musculus and  
Christopherson supposed that by  
these words the Nicene Fathers  
were meant; than which nothing  
is more absurd. Languis led them  
into this mistake, who in his Ver-  
sion of Nicephorus has rendered this  
passage in relation to the Nicene  
Fathers. Epiphanius Scholasticus  
(more truly) supposed, that here-  
by the Macedonian Legates were  
meant; which is apparent from  
his Version. Valef.

which does contain the perfect Truth, and stops the  
Mouths, and vanquishes all the Shoals of Hereticks.  
For, not of their own accord, but by Divine appoint-  
ment so great a company of Bishops was convened a-

\* See Gen. 14. 14. number to those, by whose assistance blessed Abra-  
ham routed the four Kings  
Forces, were three hundred and eighteen, being all his own Servants.

braham through faith destroyed so many thousands Valentini-  
[of his Enemies.] Which Faith being comprehended anus and  
in the Hypostasis, and in the term Homoousios Valens.  
does (like a strong and impregnable Fortress) beat  
back and repell all the Assaults and mischievous Ma-  
chinations of Arius's perverse Opinion. Wherefore,  
when all the Western Bishops had met at Ariminum,  
whither the Improbability of the Arians had called them  
together, that either by some kind Persuasive, or  
(which is truest) [by Compulsion] of the Secular  
Power, they might destroy, or perversely deny what  
had with all imaginable caution been inserted into the  
Creed; their Subtilty advantaged them not in the  
least. For, almost all those persons then convened at  
Ariminum, who had at that time been either  
enticed into error, or imposed upon, are now re-  
turned to a right mind, have Anathematized that  
Draught [of the Creed] published by them convened  
at Ariminum, and have subscribed to that Ca-  
tholick and Apostolick Creed ratified and established  
at Nicæa. And having entred into a Commu-  
nion with us, they are with a greater warmth in-  
censed against Arius's Opinion, and against his  
Disciples. Of which business when the Legates of  
your Love perceived an evident proof, they annexed  
You your selves to their own Subscription; and do  
Anathematize Arius, and what was transacted  
at Ariminum against the Creed ratified at Nicæa:

(l) to which [Transactions]

You your selves, beguiled by  
Perjury, have subscribed.  
Wherefore, it seemed agree-  
able to us, to write to your  
Love, and to give assistance  
to those, whose requests are  
just and equitable. More e-  
specially, because we are as-  
certained by the Profession of  
your Legates, that the Ea-  
stern [Bishops] are come  
to themselves, and do em-  
brace the same Sentiments  
with the Orthodox Western  
Prelates.] We make known  
this to you also, (lest you  
should be ignorant of it,) that  
the Blasphemies of the Ari-  
minum Synod are now Ana-  
thematized, by those who

(l) The erroneous punctuation  
in Robert Stephens's Edition decei-  
ved Christopherson. For, he ren-  
ders it thus: Cum jurejurando  
abbibito subscripsistis, to which  
[Transactions] You your Selves  
by taking an Oath have subscribed.  
Languis, and (before him) Epi-  
phanus Scholasticus have rendered  
it true, thus, Quibus vos perju-  
rio capti subscripsistis to which you,  
beguiled by perjury, have subscri-  
bed. In the Macedonians Libel  
of Faith, 'tis said in express words,  
that the Bishops, being imposed  
upon by Fraud and Perjury, had  
subscribed the Creed set forth at  
Nice in Thracia. For the Arians,  
(see note (e.) in this chapter,) after  
they had drawn up a Form  
of the Creed in a Synod held at  
Nice in Thracia, swore that that  
was the Creed of the Synod of  
Nicæa. Valef.

seem to have been damnified at that time by fraud,  
and that all persons have unanimously conspired in  
an agreement to the Nicene Creed. And this  
ought to be made known to all men by you, that  
such as have been damnified [in their Faith] \* by  
force and fraud, may now at length return from  
Heretical darkness to the Divine light of Catholick  
liberty. Who (if after this Synod they will not  
vomit up the poison of perverse Doctrine, † renounce  
all Arius's Blasphemies, and Anathematize them,) may  
know that they themselves, together with Arius  
and his Disciples, and the rest of the Serpents, whe-  
ther Sabellians, or Patropassians, or whatever  
other Heresie they are [Followers] of, are ex-  
cluded from, and are no Members of the Church's  
Assemblies, which admits not illegitimate Sons.  
God preserve you in safety, Dearly beloved Bre-  
thren.

Eustathius and those that accompanied him,  
having received these Letters, went over into  
Sicilia: where after they had caused a Synod of  
Sicilian Bishops to be convened, they made a  
profession of the Homoousian Faith in their pre-  
sence, and confirmed the Nicene Creed; and ha-  
ving received from them Letters written to the  
same



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

same effect, they returned to the persons by whom they had been sent. Who, upon receipt of *Liberius's* Letter, sent Legates from City to City, to the principal Assertors of the *Homoſuſian* Fa<sup>a</sup>, exhorting them to meet together unanimo. <sup>at Tarsus</sup> [a City] of *Cilicia*, in order to ti<sup>a</sup> confirming of the *Nicene* Creed, and that they might put an end to all manner of contentious diſputes; which had ſince that been raiſed. And this had perhaps been effected, had not *Eudoxius* (a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion, one who at that time was in great favour with the Emperor) hindred it. Who being more exaſperated becauſe of the Synod ſummoned to meet [at *Tarsus*,] framed greater miſchiefs againſt them. Moreover, that the *Macedonians*, by ſending Legates to *Liberius*, entered into a Communion with him, and confirm'd the *Nicene* Creed; *Sabinus* himſelf has confeſſed in his *Collection of Synodick Actions*.

## C H A P. XIII.

How *Eunomius* ſeparated himſelf from *Eudoxius*, becauſe he adhered to [his Maſter] *Aëtius*. And that (a diſturbance being raiſed at *Alexandria* by *Eudoxius's* means,) *Athanaſius* fled again. And that (when the Populace were tumultuous hereupon,) the Emperor being afraid, by his Letters \* pacified the *Alexandrians*, and ordered that *Athanaſius* ſhould be put into quiet poſſeſſion of his Church again.

A Bout the ſame time *Eunomius*, being ſeparated from *Eudoxius*, held his Aſſemblies apart by himſelf, becauſe, after he had ſeveral times entreated him to embrace his Maſter *Aëtius's* [opinion,] *Eudoxius* reſuſed to do that. And yet *Eudoxius* did not this willingly: (For he rejected not *Aëtius's* Opinion; in regard it was the ſame with his own: ) but becauſe all thoſe who embraced the ſame Sentiments with *Eudoxius*, (a) declined [*Aëtius*] as being Heterodox. This was the reaſon why *Eunomius* made a ſeparation from *Eudoxius*. After this manner were theſe matters tranſacted at *Conſtantinople*. But an (b) Edict of the *Præſects* of the *Prætorium* ſent thither by *Eudoxius's* care, diſturb'd the Church at *Alexandria*. Wherefore *Athanaſius*, afraid of the irrational and mad violence of the multitude, and fearing leſt he ſhould \* be look'd upon as the Occaſioner of thoſe mad abſurdities which might be committed, hid himſelf four whole months in his Father's Monument. But, when the Populace, [vexed] becauſe of his abſence, were tumultuous by reaſon of their love and affection towards him; the Emperor, underſtanding that upon this account *Alexandria* was ſorrowful and ſad, ſignified by his Letters, that *Athanaſius* ſhould ſecurely and without fear continue poſſeſſor of the Churches. And this was the reaſon why the *Alexandrian* Church con-

quainted with this ſignification of the word, has rendred it thus: *Sed quoniam omnes unanimis, illius, eum ſectæ alterius fatebantur. But becauſe all thoſe of Eudoxius's Opinion confeſſed him to be of another ſect. Valeſ.* This term [*πείσασθαι*,] occurs 2 Tim. 2. 16. where in our *Engliſh* Verſion 'tis rendred [to ſhun.]

(b) He means an order of the *Præſects* of the *Prætorium*. For 'twas uſual, that the *Præſect* of the *Prætorium*, as often as he iſſued out any Edict, ſhould annex the names of the other *Præſects* of the *Prætorium*. An inſtance whereof occurs both in the *Gesta purgationis Ceciliani*, which are publiſhed after the *Garthaginian Collation*, and alſo in *Theodoſius* and *Valentinianus's* *Novells*. There is a famous evidence of this thing in the ancient *Writer De Quæſtionibus veteris ac Novi Teſtamenti*. Cap. 97. Valeſ.

tinued undiſturbed until the death of *Atha-Valentini- naſius*. But how, when he was dead, thoſe of *an* and the *Arian* Faction got poſſeſſion of the Churches *Valens*. again, we will relate a little after this.

## C H A P. XIV.

That after the death of *Eudoxius* at *Conſtantinople*, the *Arians* ordain'd *Demophilus*; but the *Orthodox*, by [the aſſiſtance of] *Euthathius* of *Antioch* [made] *Evagrius* [Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.]

FURTHER, the Emperor *Valens* departed from *Conſtantinople*, and (a) haſtned towards *Anti- (a) The* *och* again. And being arrived at *Nicomedia* a Ci- *Emperor* ty of *Biſthynia*, he made a ſtop there upon this *Valens* had account. *Eudoxius* the chief Prelate of the *Arian* gone to Faction ended his life ſoon after the Emperor's *wards An-* departure [from *Conſtantinople*,] in *Valentinianus's* *tioch* be- and *Valens's* third Conſulate, having been in hearing of poſſeſſion of the Chair of the *Conſtantinopolitane* *Procopius's* Church (b) nineteen years. Wherefore, the *Arians* conſtituted *Demophilus* [Biſhop] in his *defection* room. But the *Homoſuſians*, ſuppoſing that a *whiſt* fair opportunity was offer'd to them, elected *he was in* one *Evagrius*, a perſon that own'd the ſame *his jour-* Creed with them. And (c) *Euthathius* (who had *ney, he* ſometime before been Biſhop of *Antioch*, and had *was forc'd* formerly been recalled from Exile in *Jovianus's* *to come* *Reign*,) ordained him. This *Euthathius* was at *back; as* that time preſent at *Conſtantinople*, [to which *Am. Mar-* City he came] with a deſign of ſettling and *cellinus* ſtrengthening thoſe of the *Homoſuſian* Faith; *at teſts,* where he continued, abſconding himſelf. *Book 26.* *Baronius* *therefore* *finds fault* *with So-* *crates*

without cauſe. For *Socrates* ſays not, that *Valens* came to *Antioch* before, but that he went towards that City; which is certainly moſt true. But *Chriſtophorſon's* Verſion ſeems to have been the cauſe of *Baronius's* miſtake; for he renders it thus: *Imperator Valens denuo Antiochiam ire maturans, the Emperor Valens haſtning to go to Antioch again. Valeſ.*

(b) *Sozomen's* account is truer, who makes *Eudoxius* to have been Biſhop but eleven years. 'Tis certain, *Eudoxius* thruſt himſelf into the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople* when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, which was the year of Chriſt 359. He died in the third Conſulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, in the year of our Lord 370. Wherefore, at this place of *Socrates* (inſtead of [*δεκαεπτά, nineteen*]) it ought to be *δεκάενα, eleven*;] which is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*. Wherefore, *Baronius* does here alſo undeſervedly reprove *Socrates*; in regard, not *Socrates* himſelf, but the Copies of *Socrates's* Hiſtory are here falſe. Concerning *Eudoxius's* death, conſult *Philoſtorgius*, Book 9. Valeſ.

(c) *Sozomen* tells us the ſame ſtory, in his *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 6. Chap. 13. But *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 370, reſpoves both theſe *Hiſtorians*. For he maintains, that *Euthathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* was dead long before, in *Conſtantiuſ's* Reign. Indeed, *Jerome* (in his *Book de Scripor. Eccleſiaſt.*) does relate, that *Euthathius* died in exile, and was buried at *Trajanople* in *Thracia*, to which place he had been baniſhed. If this be true, *Euthathius* muſt neceſſarily have died in *Conſtantiuſ's* Reign. For *Julianus*, and after him *Jovianus*, recalled all the Biſhops from exile. It is indeed ſcarce credible, that *Euthathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* could live to theſe times. For, in regard he was at the *Nicene* Council, which was held in the year of Chriſt 325; we may ſuppoſe him to have been then in the forty fifth year of his age. From this year to the third Conſulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens* (wherein *Euthathius* is ſaid to have ordained *Evagrius* at *Conſtantinople*) there are five and forty years. So that *Euthathius* muſt neceſſarily have been ninety years old, if he ordained *Evagrius* Biſhop in this year. Further, I muſt not omit, what I have been informed of, from *Viſtor Tununenſis's* *Chronicon*; to wit, that *Euthathius* was not interred at *Trajanople*, as *Jerome* relates, but at *Philippi*. For theſe are his Words: *Post Conſulatum tertium Longini, &c. After Longinus's third Conſulate, Calendio Biſhop of Antioch got together the reliques of his predecessor Euthathius, Biſhop and Confessor, from Philippi in Macedonia, and with great honour conveyed them to Antioch. Theodorus Lector ſays the ſame, in his 2d Book Excerpt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Baronius does ill, to place this tranſlation of *Euthathius's* reliques on the year of Chriſt 482, in regard, as 'tis evident from *Viſtor Tununenſis's* *Chronicon*, 'twas performed in the year of our Lord 490, when *Longinus* II. and *Fauftus* were Coſs. But what *Theodorus Lector* adds at that place, to wit, that the *Euthathians*, who before had meetings by themſelves, were then at length united to the Catholics, an hundred years after *Euthathius's* death; is in my judgment falſe. For, this being ſuppoſed, *Euthathius* would have lived to the year of Chriſt 390. Valeſ.*



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

## CHAP. XV.

That when the Emperor had banished Evagrius and Eustathius, the Arians sorely oppressed and afflicted the Homoöusians.

UPON the doing hereof, the Arians renewed their persecution against the Homoöusians afresh. What had hapned, soon came to the Emperor's knowledge, who fearing lest a sedition, caused by a contention of the multitude, should ruin the City, sent some Forces from Nicomedia to Constantinople: and gave order, that both persons, as well he that was ordained, as he that had ordained him, should be apprehended and banished, the one to one place, the other to another. Eustathius therefore was exiled to (a) Bizua a City of Thracia; and Evagrius was conveyed away to another place. These things having been performed after this manner, the Arians growing more insolent and bold, sorely afflicted the Catholics: [sometimes] they beat them, [at others] they gave them contumelious language; [some] they shut up in prison, [others] they punished with Pecuniary Mults; in fine, they practised all sorts of afflictive and most unsufferable mischiefs against them. Which when they were unable to endure, they went to the Emperor, [with a design] to beseech him, that they might, in some measure at least, be freed from the violence [of the Arians.] But, [altho'] they had proposed this design to themselves, [yet] they were wholly frustrated of their hope, because they expected to obtain it from him, who had been the Author of their injurious usage.

(a) This account disagrees both from what we have related before (Chap. 14. note c.) out of Jerome, and also from the relation of Theodorus Lector, and Theophanes in his Chronicon. For Jerome says, that even in his age

Eustathius lay buried at Trajanople, whither he had been banished. But Theodorus Lector and Theophanes relate, that he was banished to Philippi, and there buried. That Eustathius therefore, who was banished by Valens to Bizua, must necessarily be a different Person from Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. Bizua is a City of Thracia, heretofore the pittance of the Thracian Astores, as Stephanus attests. Eutropius mentions it in his sixth Book, where he speaks of Lucius Lucullus, who subdued the Thracian Bessi. Valef.

## CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Holy Presbyters who were burnt in a Ship, and concerning the Famine, which by the wrath of God hapned in Phrygia upon that account.

FOR, when some choice pious persons, who were Ecclesiasticks, being eighty in number, (the principal men amongst whom were Urbanus, Theodorus, and Menodemus,) were arrived at Nicomedia, and had presented a Supplicatory Libel to the Emperor, informing him of the violence and calamitous sufferings which were inflicted on them [by the Arians:] the Emperor, highly incensed, concealed his anger, till such time as he had given a secret order to Modestus the Præfect, for the apprehending of these persons, and putting of them to death. The manner of their death was new and unusual; therefore it shall be recorded. The Præfect being afraid, lest if he should murder these men in publick, \* he might raise a tumult of the unthinking Crowd against himself, pretends to send them away into banishment. [This news] being received by these persons with a couragiousness of mind, the Præfect orders them to be put on board a Ship, as [if he design'd] they should be carried away and banished: but he commanded the Sea-men, that

\* Or, he might raise an irrational tumult of the multitude, &c.

when they came to the middle of the Sea, they should set the Vessel on fire: that so, being destroyed after this manner, they might be deprived of a Burial. Thus therefore it was performed. The Mariners sailed out of the Haven, and being arrived at the middle of the *Astacum-Bay*, do what they were ordered: and having set the Ship on fire, went aboard another small Vessel which followed them, and so came off. But, a very boisterous Easterly wind hapned to blow, whereby the burning Ship was fiercely driven: in so much that it sailed with a great deal of swiftness; and lasted till it came to a Sea-port, the name whereof is (a) *Dacidizus*, where it was wholly consumed together with the men in it. Many have reported, that this [horrid villany] continued not unpunished. For there hapned soon after a (b) Famine all over *Phrygia* immediately after, that many of the Inhabitants were forced to remove out of that Country for some time, and berake themselves, partly to *Constantinople*, and partly to other Provinces. For *Constantinople*, altho' it nourishes a vast multitude of people, yet always abounds with plenty, both because it has all manner of necessaries for provision imported into it from all places by Sea, and also in regard the *Euxine-Sea*, lying near it, furnishes it with plenty of Bread-corn, as often as it wants.

Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

(a) *Sogomen* (Book 6. Chap. 14.) tells the same story; where he calls this place *Dacidizus*, and says 'tis a Maritime City of Bithynia. Cedrenus also terms it *Dacidizus*. But Theophanes

gives it the name of *Dacidizus*. Valef. (b) Concerning this Famine there is this Record, in the *Old Fasti*, which *Sirmondus* has published under the name of *Idatius: Valentiniano III. and Valente III. &c. i. e. in the third Consulate of Valentinianus and Valens there was a great Famine in the parts of Phrygia.* Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

That the Emperor, arriving at Antioch, did again persecute those that embraced the Homoöusian Opinion.

BUT the Emperor Valens, little regarding the Calamities caused by the Famine, went to Antioch in Syria. During his residence there, he destroyed such as would not profess *Arianism*. For although he had perfectly ejected the Embracers of the Homoöusian Opinion out of the Churches of almost all the Eastern Cities; yet he was not satisfied therewith, but did besides inflict various punishments upon them. And he destroyed many more than formerly [had been murder'd by him,] by exposing them to different sorts of death; but more especially by drowning them in a River.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning what was done at Edessa, and the reproachful affront put upon the Præfect, and concerning the Faith, Couragiousness, and Constancy of those Citizens; and concerning a pious Woman.

BUT, we must relate what was done at Edessa [a City] of Mesopotamia. In that City there is a stately and splendid \* Church [which bears the name] of Thomas the Apostle, wherein Assemblies in order to the performance of the publick duties of Religion are without intermission convened, by reason of that places sanctity. The Emperor Valens, desirous to view this Church, and being informed that the whole Congregation met therein were [followers] of that Heresie which he detested, struck the Præfect with his own hand, (as 'tis said,) because he had not taken Church.

\* *Magister* *græc*; it sometimes signifies a place where the Reliquies of some Martyr are deposited: 'tis plain from what follows, that by it our Author here means a taken Church.



Valentinianus and Valens.

taken care to have them driven from that place. When the *Præfekt*, after this manner abused, made preparations (though unwillingly) to obey the Emperor's rage; (for he was not willing to be the instrument of the murder of so many persons;) he gave them notice secretly, to the intent that no person might be found within that Church. But no body heeded either his advice, or his menaces. For on the day following all persons flock'd to the Church: And when the *Præfekt* with a great company of Souldiers hastned to the Oratory; in order to his fulfilling the Emperor's rage; a poor Woman, leading her own little Son by the hand, went with great speed towards the

(1) *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* borrow'd this story) Book 2. chap. 5. *Ecclef. Hist.* words this passage thus: *Infantem quoque parvulum secum irabentem, cursumque rapido, irrupto etiam officii agmine, festinantem; Leading her little Child with her, and making such great haste, that she broke through the Præfekt's Guards.* This memorable fact of the woman of *Edeffa* hapned on the year of Christ 371 or 372; as we shall see by and by. *Baronius* has done ill to place it on the year of our Lord 370. *Vales.*

\* *Ἀπόστολος*. *Rufinus* (in the Book and Chapter just now quoted) says, *She made such haste, that she would not stay to shut her door, nor dress herself in the usual garb that women appeared in in public.*

(b) After these words, there were wanting in *Rob. Stephens's Edition* these two whole lines [*Καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τὸν μικρὸν ἐλάττωσεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ*]

Church, and broke through the (a) ranks of Souldiers which guarded the *Præfekt*. At which the *Præfekt* being highly displeased, orders the Woman to be brought to him; and speaks to her after this manner: *Miserable Woman! whither runnest thou in this \*undecent manner?* She replied, *To the same place that others run to.* Have you not heard, said he, *That the Præfekt is going to put to death all persons that shall be found there?* I have heard so, answer'd she, *and do therefore make haste, that I may be found there (b): And whither draggest thou that little Child,* said the *Præfekt*; the Woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom.* Upon hearing hereof, the *Præfekt* made a conjecture of the constancy and resolution of the persons assembled [in the Church.] And he went back immediately to the Emperor, and informed him, that all of them were ready to die for their own Faith. And declaring withal, that it would be absurd to destroy so many persons in so short a time, he thereby perswaded the Emperor to desist from being enraged. After this manner the *Edeffians* escaped their being destroy'd by their own Emperor.

*And whether draggest thou that little Child,* said the *Præfekt*, the woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom* which I have inserted from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges them; and so does *Rufinus*, from whom *Socrates* borrow'd this story. Moreover, from this place also 'tis evident, that *Christopherson* had perused no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XIX.

That the Emperor Valens slew many persons, the first Letter of whose Name was \*Thera, upon account of a certain Necromantick-Divination, whereby that was foretold.

(a) This whole scene of that unhappy Oracle, which

(a) AT the same time, a certain destructive *Dæmon* abused the Emperor's cruelty. For he perswaded some persons to make a strict and over-busie enquiry by a *Necromantick Divination*, who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire.

some Heathens had consulted that they might know who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire, is at large set forth by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his 29th Book. But, 'tis difficult to assign the year whereon it hapned. *Baronius*, in his *Annals* places it on the year of Christ 370. I am of opinion, that it was acted in the year of our Lord 371, or at the beginning of the year 372. For *Valens*, in the year of Christ 371, made his entry into *Antioch*, at the end of Summer. *Gratianus*

II. and *Probus* being *Consuls*, as I have demonstrated in my Notes on the foresaid Book of *Marcellinus*, partly from the Laws of the *Theodosian Code*, and partly from *Libanius's* Book concerning his own Life. Now, that Tragedy and Conspiracy of those wicked wretches against *Valens*, hapned after his entry into the City of *Antioch*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. Therefore, it must necessarily happen at the close of the year 371, or at least at the beginning of 372. 'Tis certain, *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* do place *Valens's* entry into *Antioch* on his eighth year. But, the same *Theophanes* does ascribe that Conspiracy of those impious Wretches, who had consulted the Oracle concerning the future Emperor, to *Valens's* ninth year. Which agrees exactly with our opinion, if we may compute *Valens's* first year from the Consulate of *Fovianus* and *Varronianus*. *Vales.*

To which persons, having made use of a certain magical incantment, the *Dæmon* gave responses, not plain and manifest, but (as he usually does) oblique and ambiguous; by shewing only four Letters, \* *Theta*, and *Epsilon*, and *Omicron*, and *Delta*; saying, that his name, who should reign after *Valens*, did begin with these Letters, and that his name was compounded. The report of what had been done came to the Emperor's Ears. But he permitted not God (who manages all things in due and orderly manner) to have the knowledge of things future, and to do what seemed good to him; but, slighting the Sanctions of Christianity, for which he supposed himself to have a zeal and ardency, he put many to death, of whom he had a suspicion that they would seize upon the Empire. Therefore, the *Theodorus's*, the *Theodotus's*, the *Theodosius's*, and the *Theodulus's*, and as many as had such-like names as these, were deprived of their lives. Amongst whom (b) one (b) In the *Theodosiolus*, a person of great valour and courage, a Descendant of a noble Family in Spain, was also put to death. And out of a fear of the imminent danger, many persons [at that time] changed their names, denying those names their Parents had given them when they were young, in regard they were liable to danger. But, let thus much be said concerning this.

*Scholasticus* also calls him *Theodosius*. Who this *Theodosius* [or, *Theodosiolus*] should be, 'tis uncertain. For I cannot think, it was that *Theodosius*, (father to *Theodosius* the Emperor,) of whom *Ammianus* makes frequent mention in his History. For he lived in the West, and was not slain by the fraud and treachery of malevolent persons, till after *Valentinianus's* death. And yet this Character added by *Socrates* [a personage of great Valour and Courage, a descendant of a Noble Family in Spain] does exactly fit him. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XX.

Concerning Athanasius's death, and the Promotion of Peter [to his See.]

FURTHER, you are to know, that as long as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* lived, the Emperor (upon account of some [over-ruling dispensation] of God's providence) forbore disquieting *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, knowing for certain, that there was a numerous multitude of persons there, who favoured *Athanasius*; and for this reason he was afraid, lest a Sedition being raised at *Alexandria*, the Populace, who are naturally hot and violent, should endanger the publick State of Affairs. [Moreover,] *Athanasius*, after those many conflicts [he had undergone] upon the Church's account, departed this life in the second Consulate of *Gratianus* which he bore with *Probus*; he governed that Bishoprick amidst many dangers forty and six years, and left *Peter*, a pious and eloquent person, to succeed him in his See.

E e

C H A P.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

## C H A P. XXI.

That after Athanasius's death, the Arians by the Emperor Valens's Order, deliver'd up the Churches in Alexandria to Lucius, who had been Ordained by them before, and committed Peter to Prison.

THE Arians therefore took courage immediately, being rendred insolent by the Emperor's Religion; and without delay they give an account hereof to the Emperor, who then resided at Antioch. At the same time also Euzoius (who presided over the Professors of Arianism at Antioch,) with greediness catches that opportunity so seasonably offer'd; and makes it his design to procure himself to be sent to Alexandria, to the intent that he might deliver possession of the Churches there to Lucius the Arian. Which was also approved of by the Emperor. And forthwith he went to Alexandria, [accompanied] with the Imperial

(a) This Magnus is term'd *μικρομαχιστὴς* *μαχιστὴς* *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, Comes of the Court-Largesses, in the Letter of Peter of Alexandria, (the Person spoken of in this Chapter) part of which Letter Theodoret has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 22. Eccles. Hist.

\* In the Original he is termed *Præfekt of Alexandria*; which Title was sometimes given to the *Præfeks of Egypt*; as it has been observed before.

## C H A P. XXII.

That Sabinus the Macedonian Heretick has made no mention of those many Mischiefs which hapned at Lucius's Instalment. But they are recorded in a Letter written by Peter; who made his escape, and fled to Damasus [Bishop] of Rome. But the Arians and Lucius were the Authors of many mischievous Practices and Cruelties, against those Holy Persons who led a Monastick life in the Solitudes.

MOREOVER, what mischiefs hapned at Lucius's Induction [into the See of Alexandria,] or what was done against those persons that were ejected, as well in, as without the Courts of Judicature; and how some were subjected to various Tortures, and others were banish'd, even after they had been tortured; [of any of these particulars] there is not the least mention made by Sabinus. For, in regard he was a Semi-Arian, he concealed the enormous Villanies of his Friends. But Peter has manifestly display'd them to the view of all men, in his own Letters, which he sent about to the Churches every-where, after his escape out of prison. This † person, as soon as he could make an escape out of his imprisonment, fled to Damasus Bishop of Rome. But the Arians, altho' few in number, notwithstanding were re-possess'd of the Alexandrian Churches. Not long after, an Imperial Edict [came forth, wherein] it was ordered, that [all] the Embracers of the Homousian Opinion should be e-

jected out of Alexandria, and [driven] from all parts of Egypt. And the Governor of Egypt was commanded, with a numerous Army of Soldiers every-where to put to flight and chase away those, whom Lucius should order [to be ejected.] At the same time they molested, disturbed, and in a most cruel and hostile manner assaulted, the Monasteries in the Desert. For armed Men rush'd in upon Persons unarm'd, who would not stretch forth so much as their Hand to strike a stroke; and destroyed them with such cruelty and barbarity, that what they perpetrated against them is inexpressible.

## C H A P. XXIII.

A Catalogue of the Holy Monks [who lived] in the Desert.

BUT, in regard we have made mention of the Monasteries in Egypt, nothing hinders but we may give an account in short concerning them. The Monasteries in Egypt had their Original ('tis probable) from very great antiquity; but they were enlarged and much increased by a pious Man, whose name was Ammon. This person, when young, had an aversion for Marriage. But when some of his nearest Relatives entreated him not to speak reproachfully of Matrimony, but that he would marry a Wife; he was prevailed upon, and entered into a matrimonial state of life: And immediately after he had taken the Virgin out of

the \* Bride-chamber, and with the usual solemnity led her into his Lodging-room; at length when his Friends and Acquaintance were gone away, he took the Apostolick Book, read St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and expounded to his Wife the Apostle's admonitions to married Persons. And making an addition of several particulars from elsewhere, he inform'd her, how many burdensome inconveniences do accompany marriage; how full of grief and disquietude the cohabitation of man and woman is, and what pangs attend a woman great with child; adding withal, the grief and troubles [which arise] from the breeding up of children. [On the other hand] he added the conveniency of chastity, how great a freedom attends a pure life, how unpolluted it is, and void of all uncleanness; and that Virginity places persons in the nearest alliance to God. Having discours'd of these and many other such-like particulars to his Virgin-wife, he perswades her, that before they should have any carnal knowledge of each other, she would together with him renounce a secular life. When they had made this agreement between themselves, they retired to the mountain called Nitria. There they lived in a Cottage, and for some short time made use of one Ascetick apartment in common, without the knowledge of any difference between the Masculine and Feminine Sex, but being (according to the Apostle) one in Christ. Not long after, the new and unpolluted Bride spake these words to Ammon: It is not decent for you (said she,) who with the greatest strictness imaginable do profess Chastity, to look upon

\* *ἡ νύμφη* *ἡ νύμφη* *ἡ νύμφη*, or (which has the same import) *νύμφη*, signifies a Wedding-chamber, Dining-room, or Entertaining-room. See Stephens's Thesaur. Græc. Ling. in the word *νύμφη*. The seventy two Translators do use this term (at Joel 2. 16. and at Psalm 19. 5.) to express the Hebrew word *חֶבֶד* *Chuppah*; which was a Tabernacle or Tent set up on purpose, for the performance of the Solemnities (usual amongst the Jews) of betrothing between the Man and Woman.

\* Or, out of his bonds.  
† Peter.



Valentini- upon a woman (a) in so narrow an habitation. Wherefore if you please, we will perform our Ascetic exercises apart. With this compact also both parties were well pleased. And being separated one from the other, they thus spent the remainder of their lives; abstaining from Wine and Oyl, and feeding upon dry bread only, which they eat sometimes after one days [fasting,] at others after two, at other times after more. Antonius, who was this Ammon's Cotemporary, saw his soul after his death taken up [into Heaven] by Angels, as Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria does declare in \* his Life of Antonius. Moreover, very many persons imitated this Ammon's life: And by degrees the Mountains of Nitria and Scetis were filled with multitudes of Monks. To write whose lives, would be the subject of a particular work. But in regard there were amongst them persons of great piety, who were eminent for their Ascetic discipline, lived Apostolick lives, and did, and said some things that were useful and worthy to be recorded, I thought it expedient [to select] some few passages out of many, and intermix them with my History, in order to the Reader's advantage. 'Tis reported therefore, that this Ammon never saw himself naked, saying, that it was misbecoming a Monk to behold his own naked Body. And being one time desirous to pass a River, he was † loath to uncloath himself; but pray'd to God, that he might have a passage over without impeding the resolution he had taken: and an Angel convey'd him to the other side of the River. Didymus, another Monk, altho' he lived ninety years, yet kept company with no Man during his whole life. Another, by name Arsenius, would not separate the younger Monks, who had committed an offence, from Communion, but those only that were elderly: for he said, that a young Monk being excommunicated, becomes || contumacious: but an elderly Monk does quickly become sensible of the grief of Excommunication. Pior eat his meat walking. When one asked him why he fed after that manner; I will not (said he) go to meat, as to a serious and set work, but as to an incident and by-business. To another, questioning him concerning the same thing, he answered; lest (says he) whilst I am eating, my mind should be affected with any bodily pleasure. Isidorus said, that it was forty years since he was sensible of Sin in his Mind; and that he never consented, either to Lust or Anger. Pambos, a Man illiterate, went to a person, that by him he might be taught a Psalm. And having heard the first verse of the thirty eighth Psalm, which runs thus, \* I said I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not with my tongue; he refused to hear the second verse, and went away, saying, that this one verse was enough for him, in case he could learn it perfectly, and in reality practise and perform it. And when he who had given him the verse to learn, reproved him, because he had not seen him in a whole six months space, he answered; I have not yet truly and indeed learnt the verse of the Psalm. Many years after this, to one of his Acquaintance, enquiring of him, whether he had learnt the verse, his answer was, during the space of these nineteen years I have scarce learned to \* fulfill it effectually. The same person (when one gave him Gold [to be bestowed

ed for the maintenance of the poor, and said to Valentini- him, tell the sum which I have given) reply'd, there is no need of telling the money, but of a right and sound disposition of Mind. The same Pambos, upon the entreaty of Athanasius the Bishop, came out of the Desert to Alexandria: And seeing a Woman-player there, he brake forth into tears. When the Persons in presence ask'd him, why he wept; Two things (said he) trouble me; the one is, this Woman's destruction: the other, because I do not use so much diligence and industry to please God, as she does to delight obscene Men. Another of them said, that a Monk, unless he will work, is to be involved in the same condemnation with the covetous and rapacious Person. Petirus was well furnished with a knowledge in Natural Speculations, and frequently expounded sometimes one thing, at other times another, to such as address'd themselves to him. At every one of his † Lectures he made a Prayer to God. But, amongst the Monks [who lived] at that time, there were two pious persons who bore the same name. For each of them had the appellation of Macarius. The one was born in the Upper Egypt; the other came from the City Alexandria. Both of them were famous upon several accounts, [to wit,] for their Ascetic Exercises, for their Morals, for their Converse, and for the Miracles wrought by their hands. The Egyptian Macarius wrought so many Cures, and drove so numerous a company of Devils out of persons possess'd, that [to relate] what he performed by the Grace of God, would require a particular and separate work. Towards those who came to him, he behaved himself with an austere gravity, temper'd with caution and circumspection. But the Alexandrian Macarius, altho' he was every way like the Egyptian Macarius, yet he differ'd from him in this, that he shew'd himself cheerful and pleasant towards those who came into his company, and by his courteous behaviour and complaisance induced young men to embrace an Ascetic course of life. Evagrius, Scholar to these Macarius's, having before been a Philosopher in words only, learned [from them] that Philosophy [which consists] in deeds and actions. \* He having been ordained Deacon by Gregorius Nazianzenus at Constantinople, went afterwards with him into Egypt, where he convers'd with those fore-mention'd persons, and imitated their course of life. Nor were the Miracles wrought by his hands, fewer in number than those performed by his Masters. The same Evagrius wrote Books of very great use: one whereof has this Title (b) The Monk, or concerning active Virtue. Another is entitled, The Gnostick, or to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge. This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. A third is termed Antirreticus, [or The Refutation, being a Collection] from the Sacred Scriptures, against the tempting Evil as 'tis apparent from his Version. Notwithstanding Nicephorus (Book 11. Chap. 42.) confirms the common reading. But, as to Evagrius's other Book here mentioned, he words the title of it thus: Γνωστικὸς ἢ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Ἐπιστολὴν γνῶσιν, The Gnostick, or concerning him who is reputed worthy of knowledge. It may also be written (as it is here in Socrates) thus, or to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge: which reading we have followed in our Version. Concerning this Evagrius's Books, see Jerome's sentiment, in his Epistle to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians: where he informs us, that Evagrius was an Origenist. Palladius (in Lausica) says Evagrius wrote three Books. The first of these he calls Ἰερός, The Saint: the second Μοναχικός, The Monk; the third Ἀντιρετικὸς, The Refutation; which is against the frauds of the Devil. Palladius terms that Book of Evagrius's, The Saint, which Socrates here calls The Gnostick. Valef.

\* See Socrates B. 1. chap. 21.

† Or, ashamed, or, he refused.

|| Or, a contemner.

\* See Psal. 39. v. 1.

\* Or, praise.

† Or, Theorems, or, Expositions.

(b) Instead of [Μοναχικός] The Monk; in his copy read Μοναχικός, The Monastick]



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

Spirits; it is divided into eight parts, according to the number of the eight thoughts. [He wrote] also six hundred Prognostick Problems: and moreover, two Books in Verse; the one to those Monks [who live] in Monasteries or Convents; the other to the Virgin. How admirable these Books of his are, they that read them will perceive. It is not unreasonable, as I suppose, to annex to what has been said before, some few passages recorded by him, concerning the Monks: For he says word for word, thus. It is also necessary to make an enquiry into the ways of those Monks, who have heretofore walked \* uprightly, and to conform [our selves] to the pattern thereof: For many things have been well said and done by them. Amongst which this was the saying of one of them, That a drier, slender, and not irregular sort of Diet, joyn'd with Love, will in a short time bring a Monk to a Port void of all inquietude. The same Monk freed one of his Brethren from his being disturbed with Apparitions in the Night, enjoying him to minister to the Sick, whilst he was fasting. And being asked [why he commanded him to do that,] such troubles as these (said he) are composed and extinguish'd with nothing so easily, as with mercy and compassion. A Philosopher of those times came to Antonius the Just, and said unto him, O Father, how can you hold out, being destitute of the comfort of Books? Antonius replied, My Book, O Philosopher, is the nature of things made, and 'tis ready at hand as often as I am desirous of reading the Words of God. That aged person the Egyptian Macarius, that chosen Vessel, asked me, Why by remembering the Injuries we receive from Men, we destroy that Strength and Faculty of Memory which is in our Minds: But by remembering the mischiefs done to us by the Devils, we continue unhurt? And when I was doubtful what answer I should make, and entreated him to explain the reason hereof to me; the first (said he) is an Affection of the Mind, which is contrary to nature: The second is agreeable to nature. I went one time to the Holy Father Macarius, at Noon-day, when it was very hot, and being most extremely thirsty, requested some Water to drink. His Answer to me was, Content your self with the Shade; for many persons who are at this time travelling by Land, or making a voyage by Sea, do want [the refreshment of] that. Then, I conferred with him about Abstinence, and he said unto me, Be courageous and confident, my Son: For these twenty years compleat, I have not taken my fill either of Bread, Water, or Sleep. For I have eaten my Bread by weight; I have drank my Water by measure:

(c) Instead of [μικρὸν τι τῆς ὕπνου μέρας,] the reading in the Florentine M. S. and in Nicephorus is [μικρὸν τι τῆς ὕπνου μέρας,] a little part of a sleep, or, a nap. For that sleep, which Macarius took by leaning his head against a Wall, was a part of a sleep, rather than a sleep. For he slept but a very little while. Wherefore, he is said to have stollen, rather than to have taken asleep. Valef.

and I have stolen (c) a little part of a Sleep, by leaning my self against a Wall. One of the Monks had the news of his Father's death brought to him. His return to him that told him this, was, Forbear speaking impiously; for my Father is immortal. One of the Brethren was possessor of nothing else but the Book of the Gospels: when he had sold

that Book, he gave [the money he had for it,] to feed the hungry, and utter'd this saying worthy to be recorded; I have sold that Book which sayeth, \* Sell that thou hast and give to the poor. There is an Island about Alexandria, situate at the Northern part of that City, beyond the

Lake called Mareotis. Near that Island dwells a Valentini- Monk (d) of Parembolē, and a most approved person amongst the Gnosticks, who has declared, that all things practised by the Monks, are done for five reasons, for the sake of God, of Nature, on the account of Custom, of Necessity, and of the Work of the Hands. It was the usual saying of the same person also, that by nature there was only one virtue, but that in respect of the Faculties of the Soul, it was divided into several Species. For the light of the Sun, said he, is without any figure; but it does usually receive its figure from the Windows through which it enters. Another of the Monks was wont to say, I do therefore every way eschew pleasures, that I may \* prevent the occasions of anger. For I know very well, that anger does always † militate for pleasures, and does disquiet my mind, and expel knowledge. One of the aged Monks said, that Charity knows not how to keep the || Depositum of Meat or Money. This was another saying of the same person; I do not remember that I was ever twice deceived as to the same thing by the Devil.

Langus, Nicephorus's Translator, has rendred this passage in Evagrius, thus: *Habitat in eā Monachus Gnosticonum Ordinis celeberrimus, in that Island dwells a most famous Monk of the Order of the Gnosticks.* But first, Evagrius does not say, that that Monk dwelt in that Island beyond the Lake Mareotis; but only, that he dwelt near that Island. For that's the import of the word *παρεμβολῆς*. Secondly, *παρεμβολῆς* [Parembolē] does not signifie a *Seēt*, or an *Order*: nor are the Gnosticks taken in this place for a *Seēt* of Hereticks; but 'tis a sort of Monks, concerning whom Evagrius wrote a Book. Parembolē therefore is a Village not far from Alexandria, near the Lake Mareotis. Athanasius makes mention of it in his second Apologetic against the Arians, where he produces the Catalogue of Clergy-men, whom Meletius had in the City, and within the Territory of Alexandria. After his mentioning of the Presbyters and Deacons of Meletius's party, which he had at Alexandria, he adds these Words; *καὶ Μακάριος Πρεσβύτερος τῆς παρεμβολῆς*, and Macarius Presbyter of Parembolē. Parembolē is also mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, wherein were the Quarters of the second Trajan Legion under the command of the Comes of the Military affairs throughout Egypt. Ptolemaeus also (in Ammoniac) places Alexander's Parembolē near the Lake Mareotis. Here therefore dwelt that Monk, who was so eminent amongst the Gnosticks. Valef.

These passages are word for word recorded in Evagrius's Book, entitled *The Practick*. In that Book of his, to which he gave this Title, *The Gnostick*, he says thus: *We have been informed from Gregorius the Just, that the Virtues and their Contemplations are four; Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice. And the business of Prudence, he said was, to contemplate those Intelligent and Holy Powers \* without any reasons.* For his Doctrine was, that these were manifested by Wisdom: [The property] of Fortitude [as he affirmed,] was, to persist in what was true, although a resistance were made, and † not to turn a- side towards those things which are not. He made

answer, that it was the property of Temperance, to receive the Seed from the First [and Great] Husbandman, and to repell him who would \* Sow \* over again. [Lastly, he assigned this Work] to Justice, to give an account [of things] agreeable to the worth and dignity of every person; [which Virtue] does set forth some things obscurely; it gives the knowledge of others by Riddles; and it plainly manifests other some, for the benefit and advantage of the more unskilful and simple Hearers. That Pillar of Truth Basilus, the Cappadocian, said, that that knowledge, which is accidentally procured from Men, is improved by a continual Meditation and Exercise: but, that infused by the Grace

\* Matth.  
19. 21.

† Μη ἐμβαλεῖν, not to intrude into, &c. See Collos. 2. 18. where this term occurs.

\* Or, with-  
out words.  
\* He al-  
ludes, I  
suppose,  
to the pa-  
rable of  
the tares;  
see Matt.  
13. 24.  
&c.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.  
\* Or, pla-  
cibility,  
or, flow-  
nejs to an-  
ger.

Grace of God [is increased] by Justice, \* Pati-  
ence, and Mercy: And that the former [sort of  
Knowledge,] 'tis possible, may be received by those  
who are liable to Disquietude and Troubles of Mind:  
But that they only are capable of the latter, who  
are free from all such Disquietude and Troubles;  
who also, during the interim of their being at  
prayer, do contemplate that proper and peculiar  
Light of their Mind, which does illuminate them.

† See  
Exod. 26.  
35.

Athanasius, that Holy Luminary of the Egypti-  
ans, says, that Moses is order'd † To place the  
Table on the North-side. The Gnosticks  
therefore may know, who it is that blows against  
them, and let them courageously endure every  
Temptation; and with a cheerful mind nourish  
those that come unto them. (e) Serapion the

(e) Con-  
cerning  
this Sera-  
pion, Fe-  
rome (in  
his Book  
de Script.  
Ecclef.  
speaks  
these  
Words:  
Serapio  
Thmuis  
Ægypti  
Urbis Epi-  
scopus, qui  
ob elegan-  
tiam inge-  
nii Schola-  
sticus dict.  
us est, &c.  
Serapion  
Bishop of  
Thmuis a  
City of  
Ægypt,  
who for  
the Elegance of his wit, was first stiled Scholasticus, &c. He died in Con-  
stantius's Reign, before the Seleucian Synod, that is, before the year  
of Christ 359. For in this Seleucian Synod, amongst the Bishops of Aca-  
sius's party, Ptolemaus is reckoned Bishop of Thmuis, a City of Augu-  
stonica, or Augustanica. For Baronius is not to be heeded, who (in  
his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology,) says, Thmuis was a City in  
the Province Scetbis. Scetbis was not the name of a Province, but  
was it self rather in the Province Augustanica. And yet Marcellinus  
(Book 22.) places Thmuis in (that properly called) Egypt. Valef.

Thus much we have taken out of Evagrius's  
Books and inserted here. There was also ano-  
ther admirable person amongst the Monks, by  
name Ammonius, who had so little of curiosity in  
him, that being at Rome with Athanasius, he was  
desirous of viewing none of those magnificent  
works in that City; but saw only the Cathedral  
of Peter and Paul. This Ammonius, when he  
was to have been forced to take a Bishoprick,  
fled away, and cut off his own Right Ear, that  
by a \* Mutilation of his Body he might avoid  
being ordained a Bishop. Some time afterwards,  
Evagrius (who was also to have been forced  
to [take] a Bishoprick by Theophilus Bishop of  
Alexandria, and had made his escape, with-  
out making any Mutilation upon his own Bo-  
dy;) accidentally met Ammonius, and in a fa-  
cetious manner said unto him, That he had done  
ill to cut off his own Ear, and that upon that account  
he was culpable before God. To whom Ammo-  
nius made this return: But do not you think, E-  
vagrius, that you shall be punished, because you have  
cut out your own Tongue, and out of a love to your  
self, would not make use of that Grace which was  
bestowed upon you? Moreover, at that time there  
were in the Solitudes many other admirable and  
pious persons, the mention of whom in this  
Work of ours would be too long and tedious.  
Besides, we must of necessity digress from the

the design we have proposed to our selves, should  
we give a particular account of the Lives of  
every one of these Persons; and of the Mira-  
cles they performed by their eminent Sanctity  
wherewith they were endued. If any one be  
desirous of an accurate account of these Men,  
and would know what actions they perform'd  
and did, what sayings they utter'd conducive  
to the profit and advantage of the hearers, and  
how the Wild Beasts were obedient to them:  
there is a particular Book, elaborated by Pala-  
dus the Monk, who was Evagrius's Scholar;  
wherein all things appertaining to these per-  
sons, are with great accuracy discoursed of at  
large. In which Book [Palladius] makes men-  
tion of Women also, who followed a course  
of life like to the foresaid men. Further, E-  
vagrius and Palladius flourished a little after the  
death of Valens [Augustus.] But we will now re-  
turn to that place, whence we have digressed.

## C II A P. XXIV.

Concerning those Holy Monks who were exiled;  
how God (by the Miracles they performed) at-  
tracted all persons to himself.

WHEN therefore the Emperor Valens had  
by his Edict given order, that as well  
the Orthodox in Alexandria, as those in the  
other parts of Egypt, should be forcibly driven  
from their Habitations; Depopulation and  
Ruin forthwith defaced and overthrew all  
things: whilst some persons were dragg'd be-  
fore the Seats of Judicature; others thrown in-  
to Prison; and others tortured by other methods.  
For they inflicted various sorts of punishment  
upon persons that were great lovers of peace  
and quietness. After these things were done  
at Alexandria, in such a manner as Lucius thought  
good, and when Euzoius was return'd to An-  
tioch, these [two] persons hastned immediately  
to the Solitudes of Egypt; [I mean] the Com-  
mander in chief of the Milice, with a nume-  
rous company of Soldiers, and Lucius the A-  
rian. For he himself was not at that time ab-  
sent, but (without shewing any compassion in  
the least towards the assembly of those Holy  
Men) perpetrated worse Barbarities than the  
Soldiers themselves did. When they arrived  
at the place, they apprehended the Men per-  
forming their usual exercises; [to wit,] pray-  
ing, curing diseases, and casting out Devils.  
But these [Wretches] little regarding God's Mi-  
racles, would not permit so much as the usual and  
solemn prayers to be performed in the Oratories,  
but drove the Holy Persons even out of those  
places. Nor did they acquiesce in the doing  
hereof only, but proceeded on further, and  
(a) made use of Weapons against them. These (a) Instead  
[Cruelties] Rufinus says he was (b) present at and of [Τῶν  
saw, and was a fellow-sufferer with these persons. ἐκείνων  
Wherefore, the words of the Apostle were re- made use  
newed against them. For, they were mock'd of the mul-  
titudes] I

read [τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπέχεντο, made use of weapons.] This reading  
is confirmed by Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 3. Which passage in Rufinus  
Socrates does here take notice of. Valef.

(b) Instead of [παρ' ἐν] we read [παρὼν, was present at.]  
See Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 4. where his Words are these, Quæ præ-  
sens vidi loquor, & eorum gesta refero, quorum in passionibus socius esse  
promerui. I speak what I was present at, and saw; and I relate  
their Actions, of whose Sufferings I had the favour to be a Companion.  
Valef.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

\* He al-  
ludes to  
that pas-  
sage, at  
Heb. 11.  
36, 37, 38.  
† Καὶ ταύ-  
τα μαρτυ-  
ροῦντες,  
especially  
when as  
they recei-  
ved a Te-  
stimony, or  
Commen-  
dation, &c.

and \* had trial of Scourgings, they were stript naked, were bound, were stoned, were slain with the Sword, [they were] persons that wandred about in the Solitudes, in Sheep-skins, and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandred in Deserts, and in Mountains, and in Dens, and Caves of the Earth: † Notwithstanding they received a testimony both from their Faith, and from the Works and Cures, which the Grace of God performed by their hands. But, (as 'tis probable) Divine Providence permitted these persons to suffer these things, having provided some better thing, that by those miseries which they underwent, others might obtain salvation in God. And this was demonstrated by the event. When therefore these admirable persons were superior to all that force and violence used towards them, Lucius, quite out of heart, advises the Commander of the Military Forces, to banish the Fathers of the Monks. These [Fathers of the Monks] were the Egyptian Macarius, and he of Alexandria who bore the same name. These persons therefore were exiled into an Island, wherein there was no Christian Inhabitant. In that Island there was an [Heathen] Temple, and a Priest in it, whom all the Inhabitants worshipped like a God. But when these pious persons arrived in that Island, all the Demons there were seized with a fear and trembling. At the same time also this accident hapned: The Priest's Daughter posselt on a sudden by a Devil, fell into a rage and overturn'd all things. She was extreamly unruly, and could by no means be quieted; but cried out with a loud voice, and spake to those pious persons, saying, Why are you come to cast us out from hence also? These Men therefore did in that place give another demonstration of that \* Power of theirs, which they had received from the Grace of God. For they drove the Devil out of the Virgin, and [having restored her] to her right mind, delivered her to her Father; whereby they induced both the Priest, and also all the Inhabitants of that Island to [embrace] the Faith of the Christian Religion. Wherefore, (c) they cast away their Images immediately; changed the Fabrick of their Temple into the form of a Church; receiv'd Baptism, and with cheerfulness learned all the [Doctrines] of Christianity. Thus these admirable persons, persecuted upon account of the Homousian Faith, rendred themselves more approved, brought salvation to others, and made the Faith more firm and strong.

(c) Here there was a whole line wanting, which we have made good from the Florentine and Sfortian M. SS. after this manner [ταὺς ἀγάλματας ἐξέβαλον τὸ δὲ ἔργον τὸ ναὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, they cast away their images [immediately changed] the Fabrick of their Temple into [the form] of a Church.] Epiphanius Scholasticus found this reading in his Copy; as 'tis apparent from his Version. Valef.

## C H A P. XXV.

### Concerning Didymus, a Blind Man.

**A**Bout the same times God produced another person, by whose Testimony he thought fit the Faith should be corroborated and confirm'd. For Didymus, a man admirable and eloquent, adorned with all sorts of Learning, flourish'd at that time. This person being very young, when he had but just learned to read, fell into a distemper of his Eyes; wherewith he was sorely troubled, and lost his Eye-sight. But God, instead of Corporal Eyes, gave him those of the Mind. For what he could not be

instructed in by seeing, he learnt by hearing. For being of an apt and ingenious disposition from his Childhood, and endued with an excellent wit, he far surpass'd even those [ (a) ripe-witted Children] who had the acutest sight. For he became Master of the Rules of Grammar with much ease, and arriv'd to the knowledge of those of Rhetorick with more celerity. Proceeding on from thence to Philosophy, with an admirable facility he learnt Logick, Arithmetick, and Musick; and treasured up within his own mind the other Precepts of the Philosophers, in such a manner, that he could readily dispute against those who had perfectly learnt those Arts by the benefit of their Eyes. Moreover, he was so exactly well-skill'd in the Divine Oracles of the Old and New Testament, that he publish'd many Discourses upon them: He, did state Three Books concerning the Trinity; and interpreted Origen's Books Concerning Principles, setting forth (b) Comments thereupon; wherein he asserts that those Books were incomparably well-written, and that their Cavils are frivolous, who accuse Origen, and make it their business to speak reproachfully of his Works: For they are not able, says he, to arrive at the knowledge of that Author's Perspicacity and Prudence. If any person therefore be desirous of knowing Didymus's great Learning, and the fervency of his mind, he may have an account thereof by a perusal of the Books elaborated by him. It's reported, that Antonius [the Monk] discoursed with this Didymus, (c) long before the times of Valens, at such time as he left the Desert, and came to Alexandria upon account of the Arians; and that perceiving the Learning and Knowledge of this person, he spake these words to him: O Didymus! let not the loss of your bodily Eyes trouble you: For you are deprived of such Eyes, (d) as the Flies and Gnats can see with: But rejoyce, that you have those Eyes, wherewith the Angels see, by which even God himself is discerned, and his Light comprehended. This was the saying of the pious Antonius to Didymus, long before these times [we are treating of.] But at that time, Didymus was look'd upon to be the greatest Patron and Defender of the genuine Faith, who disputed against the Arians, unravel'd their Sophistick Cavils, and confuted their Adulterate and Fraudulent Discourses.

Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.  
(a) The  
word [εὐ-  
ραϊα],  
which we  
have ren-  
dred [ripe-  
witted-  
children]  
must be  
expung'd;  
which  
seems to  
have crept  
in here,  
out of the  
foregoing  
line. Epi-  
phanus  
Scholasti-  
cus ac-  
know-  
ledges it  
not. For  
thus he  
renders it;  
Qui cum a  
puero fuisset ingeni-  
osus, vincebat etiam acuta  
conspicientes, who  
being from  
a Boy of an  
ingenious  
disposition,  
excell'd e-  
ven those  
who saw  
with the  
greatest  
cuteness.  
Valef.  
(b) Con-  
cerning  
these Com-  
ments of  
Didymus  
on Origen's  
Books see  
εἰς ἔργον,  
Jerome  
speaks, in  
his 11th and  
2d Book  
against  
Rufinus.  
Valef.

(c) Epiphanius Scholasticus, and the other translators have rendred this place ill; as if Antonius the Monk had come to Alexandria in the times of Valens Augustus. But, 'tis manifest, that Antonius died in the Reign of Constantius. Jerome informs us hereof, in his Chronicon, and in his Life of Hilarion. 'Tis uncertain, in what year of Constantius's Empire Antonius left the Solitudes, and came down to Alexandria; whether it was about the beginning of Constantius's Reign, before the Ordination of Gregorius the Arian; or rather, after the Synod of Sardica, and Athanasius's second restitution. Valef.

(d) Instead of [εἰς ἣν καὶ τὰ κότερα βλέπει ἰσχυροῦσιν, as the Flies and Gnats can see with,] in Cedrenus, at the sixth year of Constantius, the reading is [οἷς καὶ τὰ κότερα βλέπει ἰσχυροῦσιν, as the Flies and Gnats can do harm to. Nor did Epiphanius Scholasticus find it written otherwise in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from this his Version: Quibus & Muscæ & Culices nocere possunt, to which the Flies and Gnats can do harm. And yet Rufinus, (Eccles. Histor. Book 2. Chap. 7.) out of whom Socrates borrowed this story, defends the common reading, which we have followed in our Version. And Jerome also does confirm this our reading, in his Epistle to Castrutius. Valef.

## C H A P. XXVI.

### Concerning Basilus of Cæsarea, and Gregorius of Nazianzum.

**D**IVINE Providence set up Didymus indeed as an Opponent to the Arians at Alexandria: But [in order to their confutation] in other Cities, [it



Valentini- [it made use of], *Basilius Casariensis*, and *Gregorius Nazianzenus*. Concerning whom I judge it now opportune to give a short account. The memory and Fame of these two persons, which is still preserved amongst all men, and the learning contained in the Books written by them, might indeed be sufficient to set forth the praises and commendations of each of them. But, in regard they were persons in an eminent manner useful to the Church at that time, and were preserv'd [by God,] as being the Incentives of the [Orthodox] Faith; the Subject of our History does of necessity engage us in an especial manner to make mention of these two men. Should any one therefore be desirous of comparing *Basilius* and *Gregorius* with one another, and of giving an account of the Life, Morals and Virtues that were in them; he would be in a great doubt which of them he should prefer before the other; for they were both equal to one another, whether you respect their [pious and] exact course of Life, or their Learning; I mean as well their *Grecian* Literature, as their knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures. For, when very young, they went to *Athens*, and were the hearers of *Himerius* and *Probaresius*, the two most eminent *Sophists* of those times; afterwards they

frequented [the School of] *Libanius* at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and by their industry arrived at the highest accom-

plishments of \*Eloquence. And

when they were judged worthy to be professors of Eloquence, many persons perswaded them to enter upon the teaching and profession thereof. Others advised them to practise the Law, but they despised both these sorts of Life: and discontinuing their studies of Eloquence,

embraced a Monastick life. Having therefore had a taste of the Precepts of Philosophy from him who at that time taught Philosophy, at *Antioch*, not long after they procured *Origen's* Works, and from them got an insight into the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. For the great fame of *Origen* did at that time fill the whole World. When they had with great studiousness exercised themselves in the perusal of those Books, they powerfully opposed the Assertors of *Arianism*. And altho' the *Arians* \*cited *Origen's* Books, in confirmation (as they supposed) of their own opinion; yet these two persons confuted them, and evidently demonstrated, that they understood not the meaning of *Origen*. Indeed, the *Arians*, and their then Abettor *Eunomius*, altho' they were at that time accounted persons of great eloquence, yet, as often as they engaged in a discourse with *Gregorius* and *Basilius*, 'twas made evidently apparent that they were men altogether ignorant and unlearned. *Basilius* was first promoted to a † Diaconate by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*; after that he was preferred to the (b) Bishoprick of his own Country, I mean *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and undertook the Care of the Churches.

† Or, the Office of a Deacon.  
(b) *Baronius* says, *Basilius* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea*, in the year of Christ 369: and this he attempts to prove from *Gregorius Nyssenus's* testimony. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, in his *Chronicon*, do place the beginning of *Basilius's* Episcopate, on the ninth year of *Valens*, which was the

year of Christ 371. But the same Authors do affirm, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter, in the eighth year of *Valens*. See *Theophanes's* and *Cedrenus's* words at the said eighth year of *Valens*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does confirm the same in his *Oration de Laudibus Basilii*. Where he does attest in express words, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter only of the Church of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Valens*, guarded with a part of Heretical Prelates, undertook an expedition against the Churches of the East, which he hastened to deliver up to the *Arians*. Moreover, *Valens* undertook this expedition against the Orthodox on his own third Consulate, that is on the year of Christ 370, as our *Socrates* does affirm: (compare the 14th and 17th chapters of this 4th Book.) *Gregorius Nyssenus* confirms this, in his first Book against *Eunomius* (who had upbraided *Basilius* with fearfulness and pusillanimity,) where he describes *Valens's* preparations and expedition against the Churches, in these words: *Ἐξήλαυε ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὄντι τὴν ἐξουίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, &c.* The Emperor went from *Constantinople* into the East, put up in his mind with the late successful and fortunate Actions he had performed against the *Barbarians*. That is, after the War against the *Goths*, and the League made with them. Which hapned in the year of Christ 369, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Wherefore, that Expedition of *Valens's* to destroy God's Churches, hapned in the year of our Lord 370, as I have now said. Now, that *Basilius* was then no more than a Presbyter, his Brother *Gregorius* does in the same place inform us. For, he says, that the *Præfess* of the *Prætorium*, to wit, *Modestus*, at first made use of flatteries, and promised *Basilius* a *Præfature* and an *Ecclesiastick* presidency, provided he would obey the Emperor. *Nyssen's* Words are these: *περὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκ βασιλέως τιμῇ, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας περιέχων*. Therefore *Basilius* was not Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Modestus* endeavoured to pervert him. Moreover, *Modestus* first bore the *Præfature* of the *Prætorium*, when *Gratianus* II. and *Probus* were *Coss.* in the year of Christ 371, as I have remarked in my notes on the 29th Book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 380. It may also be proved by another argument, that *Basilius* was preferred to the Episcopate of *Cæsarea* after the year of Christ 370. For *Nazianzen* in the *Funeral Oration* which he wrote on him, says that *Basilius* was but a Presbyter, at such time as that *Famine* (by far the worst of all the Famines that are mentioned to have hapned at any time) hapned in *Cappadocia*. Now, this is the *Famine*, which our *Socrates* mentions in the sixteenth Chapter of this Book; it hapned in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*. Valef.

For being afraid; lest the novelty of the *Arian* opinion should prey upon, and devour the Provinces of *Pontus*, he went (c) with great haste into those parts: Where he constituted Monasteries, instructed the Inhabitants in his own Doctrines, and confirm'd the minds of those that wavered. (d) *Gregorius* [being constituted] Bishop of *Nazianzum* a small City in *Cappadocia*, over which Church his own Father had before presided, took the same course that *Basilius* did. For he also went up and down to the Cities; and corroborated those that were feeble and dispirited as to the Faith; but more especially, he made frequent journeys to *Constantinople*, and confirmed the Orthodox in that City by his Preaching and Discourses. Upon which account he was soon af-

lius, as yet but a Presbyter, went into those parts, with a design to oppose himself against the perfidiousness of the *Arians*. Valef.

(d) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*; who (in Book 2. Chap. 9. *Eccles. Histor.*) writes thus: *Gregorius vero apud Nazianzum, &c.* But *Gregorius*, being substituted Bishop in his father's stead, at the Town *Nazianzum*, faithfully bore the storm of the *Hereticks*. And yet 'tis manifest, that *Gregorius* was not made Bishop, but Coadjutor only to his own father *Gregorius*, in the Episcopate of *Nazianzum*: and upon this condition too, that he should not succeed his Father in that Bishoprick; as he himself attests in his *Eighth Oration*, and in his *Poem concerning his own Life*. He was first constituted Bishop of *Sasimi* by *Basilius the Great*, who had been the first Founder of this Bishoprick, that he might assure that place to his own Church; as *Gregorius* attests in the *Poem concerning his own Life*. From thence he was translated to the *Constantinopolitan* See, which he quickly left, betook himself to *Nazianzum*, and governed the Bishoprick of that place some while, till such time as, being wearied out with age and diseases, he made choice of his own Successor. *Ferome's* account therefore is true, whose words (in his Book *De Script. Ecclesiast.*) are these: *Gregorius primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus, &c.* *Gregorius*, Bishop first of *Sasimi*, and afterwards of *Nazianzum*, &c. And 'tis strange, that altho' he governed three Bishopricks, yet they were all doubtful and uncertain. 'Tis plain, that in his *Epistles* he himself does frequently deny, that he ever presided over the Episcopate of *Sasimi*, or ever performed any sacerdotal Office there. Neither *Ferome* his Scholar, nor *Rufinus*, do ascribe the *Constantinopolitan* Bishoprick to him. Lastly, he delivered the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* to another, rather than governed it himself. Valef.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

\* That is,  
Basilus  
and Gre-  
gorius.  
(e) This  
account  
disagrees  
from what  
the two  
Gregori-  
us's, (to  
wit, Na-  
zianzenus  
in his fu-  
neral Ora-  
tion, and  
Nysenusi,  
his first  
Book a-  
gainst Eu-  
nomius)  
do relate  
concern-  
ing Basili-  
us. For  
they do  
attest, that  
Basilus  
was not  
brought  
before  
Modestus  
the Prae-  
fect of the  
Praetorium  
at Antioch,  
but that  
this was  
done in  
the City  
Caesarea.  
Socrumen  
therefore  
(Eccles.  
Hist.  
Book 6.  
Chap. 16.  
has truly  
corrected  
Socrates's  
mistake  
here;

where he relates, that Valens came from Antioch to Caesarea, and ordered Basilus should be brought before the Tribunal of the Praefect of the Praetorium. Further, you must observe, that Valens Augustus came to Caesarea twice, and made an attempt to vanquish Basilus: His first journey thither was when Basilus was no more than a Presbyter; which (as we have shewn before) was in the year 370. This is evidently confirmed by Socrumen in his sixth Book. When he came the second time thither, 'tis not certain. But I conjecture it was on the year of Christ 371, or 372. Which I collect from Modestus's Praefecture, which falls on those years. Nazianzenus distinguishes these two journeys of Valens's in his twentieth Oration, pag. 346. of his Works, Edit. Paris. 1609. Valef.

(f) Socrates took this out of Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 9. Eccles. Hist. But Gregorius Nyssenus, in his first Book against Eunomius, says, that Basilus stood before the Tribunal of Modestus the Praefect twice; once when he was Presbyter, and a second time when he was Bishop. But Nazianzen makes no mention of Basilus's former Examination. Valef.

(g) In Rufinus (Eccles. Hist. Book 2. Chap. 9.) this passage is thus worded; Utinam te non mutares, I wish you would not have changed your self. In which Words Basilus reproves Modestus, because from being a Catholic he was become an Arian, that he might please the Emperor. We are indeed told by Gregorius (in his Funeral Oration) that Modestus was an Arian. Valef.

(h) Here Valentinianus Junior is called by another name, as we have observed before, Chap 10. of this Book, note (1.) He was surnamed Galates, because he was born in Galatia. Further, in regard Socrates does here term him νεῖς, a young Child; our Opinion (which we have given in before) is very much confirmed, to wit, that these things were done about the Year of our Lord 371, or 372. For Valentinianus Junior was born in the year of Christ 366; as we have remarked before: From which year to the year 372, are six years compleat. So Valentinianus Junior, called also Galates, died at six years old. For a Child of that age is rightly termed νεῖς. Valef.

ter constituted Bishop over the people at Con-  
stantinople, by the suffrage of many Bishops.

When therefore what \* both these persons did  
came to the Emperor Valens's ears, he forth-  
with order'd (e) Basilus to be brought from Caesa-  
rea to Antioch. Immediately therefore he was  
convey'd thither, and by the Emperor's order  
was set before the Tribunal of the Praefects:  
(f) when the Praefect put this question to him,  
Why he would not embrace the Emperor's Faith? Ba-  
silus with a great deal of confidence found  
fault with the Emperor's Religion, and com-  
mended the Homousian Faith. But when the  
Praefect threatned him with death, would to God  
(said Basilus) it might happen to me, to be delivered  
from the Bonds of the Body upon account of the Truth!

Then, upon the Praefect's admonishing him to  
inspect and consider the matter more seriously  
with himself, 'tis reported that Basilus said, I  
am the same this day that I shall be to morrow: (g) I  
wish that you would not have changed your self. Af-  
ter this Basilus continued that day in custody.  
Not long after, it hapned, that Valens's Son, a  
young child, whose name was (h) Galates, was  
seized with a fore distemper, in so much that  
his recovery was despaired of by the Physicians.  
The Empress Dominica, his Mother, did posi-  
tively affirm to the Emperor, that she had been  
forely disquieted with fearful and horrid Vi-  
sions in her Dreams; and that the Child was vi-  
sited with sickness, because of the Bishop's inju-  
rious usage. The Emperor, taking these things  
into consideration, sends for Basilus. And to  
make tryal of him, expresses himself to him after  
this manner: If your Opinion be true, pray  
that my Son may not die. If you will believe,  
O Emperor! (replied Basilus,) as I do; and if  
[you will assent that] the Church shall be uni-  
ted, the Child shall live. When the Empe-  
ror would not consent to that, the will of God  
therefore be done (said Basilus) concerning the  
Child. After Basilus had spoken these words,  
[the Emperor] order'd he should be dismiss'd.  
But the Child died not long after. Let thus much  
be compendiously said concerning these persons.

Moreover, each of them wrote and published  
many, and those incomparable Books. Some  
of which Rufinus says were by \* him translated  
into Latin. Basilus had two Brothers, Petrus  
and Gregorius. Petrus imitated Basilus's Mona-  
stic course of life: but Gregorius [followed]  
his eloquent way of teaching. He also finish'd  
that Book concerning the six days work, (which Ba-  
silus had taken pains about, and left imperfect)  
after his Brother's death: and recited a Funer-  
al Oration [in praise of] Meletius Bishop of  
Antioch, at Constantinople. There are also sever-  
al other Orations of his extant.

## C H A P. XXVII.

### Concerning Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

BUT, in regard some are apt to mistake, be-  
cause of the likeness of the name, and by  
reason of the Books which in their Title are  
ascribed to Gregorius, you are to know, that  
there was another Gregorius of Pontus; who had  
his original extract at Neocaesarea in Pontus, and  
was ancients than these [Gregorius's.] For  
he was \* Origen's Scholar. This Gregorius's  
fame is very great at Athens, at Berytus, over  
the whole (a) Pontick Diocesis, and (I had al-  
most said) over the whole World. For having  
left the Schools at Athens, he went to Berytus,  
and studied the Civil Law. Where being in-  
formed that Origen did interpret the sacred Scri-  
ptures at Caesarea, he went in great haste to that  
City: And having been an hearer of the Mag-  
nifick Exposition of the sacred Scriptures, he  
bad farewell to [his study of] the Roman Laws,  
and in future became wholly addicted [to Ori-  
gen.] By whom he was instructed in the true  
Philosophy, and after that, his Parents recal-  
ling him, he returned into his own Country:  
Where first of all, whilst he was a Laick, he did  
many miracles; sometimes healing the disea-  
sed; at others driving away Devils  
by \* Letters; [in fine,] he brought o-  
ver the Professors of Gentilism [to the  
Faith,] not only by his words, but much more by  
the works he did. He is mentioned also by Pam-  
philus the Martyr, in the Books he wrote (b) con-  
cerning Origen. Whereto is annexed (c) Grego-  
rius's Oration, wherein he returned thanks to Origen  
at his departure from him. There were there-  
fore, that I may speak briefly, [many] Gre-  
gorius's. The first is this ancient, Origen's  
Scholar; the second, Nazianzenus; the third,  
Basilus's Brother. There was also another  
Gregorius at Alexandria, whom the Arians con-  
stituted Bishop [of that City] during the time  
of Athanasius's Exile. Thus much concerning  
these persons.

for he means Pamphilus's Apologetic in defence of Origen: concerning  
which consult Euthymius, in his Bibliotheca. Valef.

(c) In the Greek, 'tis thus worded: συστατικὸς λόγος Γεγορίῳ ἐκ  
'Ὁριγένους' which Musculus renders thus; Liber Gregorii quo Origenem  
commendavit, Gregorius's Book, wherein he has commended Origen.  
Christophorus translates it thus: Oratio Gregorii in Origenis commen-  
dationem conscripta, Gregorius's Oration written in praise of Origen.  
But, I cannot approve of this Version: For that Oration was not  
written by Gregorius Thaumaturgus in commendation of Origen; but  
to return thanks to his master, when he left his School. Indeed,  
Commendatory Letters are termed συστατικαὶ. But there were never  
any Orationes συστατικαὶ, commendatory Orationes. Wherefore, I doubt  
not but it should be σωτηριατικὸς; although Nicephorus confirms the  
vulgar reading. Now, λόγος σωτηριατικὸς is a Valedictory Oration, as  
we have remarked in our notes on Euseb. Life of Constant. Book 3.  
Chap. 21. note (a) Valef.



Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Novatus, and those from him termed Novatians. And, that those Novatians who inhabited Phrygia, altered [the time of celebrating] the Festival of Easter, and kept it on the same day the Jews did.

About this very time, the Novatians, who inhabited Phrygia, altered the day of celebrating the Feast of Easter. How this was done, I will declare; having first of all told you, upon what account the accurate and exact Canon of their Church does at this present flourish in the

(1) The Greeks usually term him Novatus, whose right name was Novatianus. Concerning whose Heresie, you may consult Eusebius, (Eccles. Hist. Book 6. chap. 43.) Epiphanius, the Author of the questions on the Old and New Testament, and Theodoret. Valef.

Provinces of Phrygia and Paphlagonia. (a) Novatus, a Presbyter of the Roman Church, made a separation therefrom, in regard Cornelius the Bishop admitted those Believers to Communion, who had sacrificed in that Persecution, which the Emperor Decius raised against the Churches. Becoming a Separatist therefore upon this account, and being elected to the Bishoprick [of Rome] by such Prelates as embrac'd the same sentiments with him, he wrote to the Churches every where, that they should not admit such persons as had sacrificed, to the [sacred] Mysteries; but should exhort them to repentance, and leave the pardoning of their offences to God, who is able, and has power to remit sins. The Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these, gave their Judgments of the things therein signified, according to their own \* dispositions and humours. For whereas Novatus had given notice, that those were not to be vouchsafed the participation of the † Mysteries, who after Baptism had fallen into [any] deadly sin; the promulgation of this Canon seemed severe and cruel to some: but others admitted of this Rule, as just and equitable, and [of great use] for the establishing a pious and more regular course of

life. (b) In the interim that this great controversy was in debate, arrive the Letters of Cornelius Bishop [of Rome,] promising indulgence to those who had sinned after Baptism. Upon these two persons writing thus contrary to one another, and each of them confirming what he asserted by testimony of the sacred Scriptures, (c) every inhabitant of the Provinces betook himself to that party, whereto he had before entertained a greater propensity and inclination. For, such persons as delighted in sin, laid hold of the Indulgence then granted, and in future abused it to all manner of impiety. [Moreover,] the people of Phrygia seem to be more sober, and persons of better Morals than other Nations. For, 'tis very rare that the Phrygians do swear. Indeed the Scythians and Thracians are very ready to be overcome with anger and passion: and those who inhabit that Region [which lies] towards

is, *ἐκαστος καὶ ἐθνος*; which Musculus renders thus, *sicut fieri solet*, as it is usually done; and Christopherson thus; *ut moris est*, as the manner is. But I cannot approve of these Versions. For the Grecian Writers makes use of (not *καὶ ἐθνος*, but) *ὁ ἐθνος*, to signify, as it is usually done, or, as the manner is. Wherefore, I am rather of opinion, that it should be *ἐκαστος καὶ ἐθνος*, every inhabitant of the Provinces: so Epiphanius Scholasticus read it. For he renders it thus; *Singuli Provincialium*, &c. Every Subject of the Provinces. *καὶ ἐθνος* has the same import with *καὶ ἐπαρχίαν*; which phrase Socrates has made use of a little before, in this Chapter; where his Words are, *ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστάτας οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν δεχόμενοι*, the Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these. Valef.

the Rising Sun, are more addicted to the fervoring of their Lusts. But the Paphlagonians and Phrygians are not prone to either of these vices. For neither Cirque-Sports, nor Theatrical-Shews, are at this present \* esteemed amongst them. \* Or, studiously exercised, or, followed. On which account, as well these persons, as others who embrace the same Sentiments with them, in my judgment seem to have given their assent to what was then written from Novatus. For, amongst them Whoring is reputed a most enormous wickedness. 'Tis apparently known, that the Phrygians and Paphlagonians do live more modestly and temperately, than any other Sect of Men whatever. I am of opinion, that it was the very same reason likewise [which prevailed] with those that inhabit the Western parts, who also have follow'd Novatus's opinion. But Novatus (although he was a Separatist upon account of an accurate and more strict course of life, yet) made no alteration in [the celebration of] the Feast of Easter. For he always celebrated that Festival, after the same manner that those in the Western parts did. Now, the Inhabitants of those parts do always keep that Feast after the *Æquinox*, agreeable to an usage very anciently delivered to them, even from the time that they first embraced Christianity. [Further,] this \* person suffer'd (d) Martyrdom afterwards, [to wit] in the Reign of the Emperor Valerian, who raised a Persecution against the Christians. But those in Phrygia who from his name are called Novatians, (e) having an aversion even for that Communion, they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholics] in the celebrating of this [Festival,] about this time changed the Feast of Easter also.

Title whereof was, *The Martyrdom of Novatianus*. But this Book, which was stuff'd with Lyes and Fables, has long since been confuted by Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, in his sixth Book against the Novatians, the Excerptions whereof occur in Photius's Bibliotheca, p. 1621. Edit. David Hoeschel. 1610. Moreover, in those Acts of the Martyrdom of Novatianus, Novatianus was not said to have suffered Martyrdom, but only to have been a Confessor of the Faith of Christ. For, the Author of the Acts says, that of the eight Presbyters of the Roman Church who were under Macedonius Bishop of Rome, seven offered sacrifice to Idols together with Macedonius, and that only Novatus underwent an egregious Martyrdom of confession. And that together with Novatianus three Bishops (almost the only persons of the Western parts) termed it a Martyrdom; to wit, Marcellus and Alexander Bishops of Aquileia, and Agamemnon Bishop of Porta, or rather of Tibur. Who lived apart after that Confession, held Assemblies with Novatianus, and avoided their Communion who had sacrificed to Idols. A little afterwards they laid their hands on Novatianus, and Ordained him Bishop of Rome. Valef.

(e) This place is strangely corrupted. Nor is this fault new; but the Copies were faulty even in Epiphanius Scholasticus's time; for thus he renders it: *Hi vero qui ex eo nomen habuerunt, ejusque fuere participes*, &c. But these who had their name from him, and were partakers thereof, &c. How Nicephorus read this passage in Socrates, 'tis uncertain, in regard his Greek Text is at this place defective. But Langus, who had seen a Greek Copy of Nicephorus, renders it thus: *Qui vero ejus nomine in Phrygia Censentur*, &c. But those that are accounted of his name in Phrygia, when by indulging themselves, they had degenerated from his Institutions and Communion, at this time altered the Paschal Festival also. I say nothing concerning the other Translators, in whose Versions you will find nothing of soundness. I am of opinion, that the place, by a small alteration, is thus to be made good: *καὶ ὁ νοινω-νίας τὰς συνχαρισθῆσαν ἐκτρέφεται*. That is, having an aversion even for that Communion they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholics in the celebrating] of this [Festival.] There is nothing more plain than this sense. Before Valen's time, the Novatians in Phrygia kept Easter at the same time the rest of the Catholics did. After that, they began to shun the Communion and Society of the Catholics in this matter also. Further, although I do very much approve of Socrates's judgment, who gives an account why the Phrygians more especially embraced the Novatian Heresie; yet there may another reason be given hereof. For, Novatus, or rather Novatianus, was (as 'tis said) by Country a Phrygian: so Philostorgius asserts, Book 8. Wherefore, 'tis no wonder, that he had many followers of his own opinion in that Province. Valef.

For,



*Valentinianus* and *Valens*. For, some few (and those in no wise eminent) Bishops of the *Novatians* in *Phrygia*, having convened a Synod in the Village *Paxum*, (at which place are the \* Heads of the River *Sangarius*,) promulged a Canon, that it should be observ'd [yearly on what day] the *Jews* celebrated their Feast of Unleavened Bread, and that together with them the Feast of *Easter* should be kept. These things were told me by

(f) I conjecture, the son of a Presbyter, and was together with his Father present at the foresaid Synod. At which Synod, neither *Agellus* Bishop of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople*, was present, nor yet *Maximus* of *Nicaea*; neither were the Bishops of *Nicomedia*, or *Cotacum* at it: altho' these persons were the chief Regulators of the *Novatian* Religion. These things were after this manner transacted at that time. But, not long after the Church of the *Novatians* was divided into two Parties upon account of this Synod, as we will declare in due place. We must now pass from hence, to [a relation of] what happened at this very time in the Western parts.

we must not here omit *Nicephorus's* words concerning our *Socrates*: he says thus, Book 11. Chap. 14. *Hæc sibi renuntiata esse Socrates qui hoc loco non abhorre se à Novatianorum institutis palam præ se fert, à sene quodam scribit, &c. Socrates (who in this place plainly shews himself not to be a detester of the Novatian Principles) relates that these things were told him by a certain old Man, &c. Notwithstanding, I am not of Nicephorus's opinion. Valef.*

## C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Ursinus*.  
How, a Disturbance and Sedition hapning in *Rome* upon their account, there followed a great slaughter of Men.

WHilst the Emperor *Valentinianus* lived in peace and tranquility, and was vexatious towards no Sect; *Damasus* succeeded *Liberius* in the Government of the Bishoprick of *Rome*.

(a) Under whom the Church of *Rome* hapned to be disturb'd, upon this account. One *Ursinus*, a Deacon of the same Church had been a Competitor, when the Election of a Bishop was made. But, in regard *Damasus* was preferred [before him,] *Ursinus*, unable to bear the being frustrated of his expectation, made it his business to (b) hold assemblies that were schismatical and separate from the Church; and persuaded certain mean Bishops to ordain him [clandestinely] in a secret place. And he is ordained, not in a Church, but in an obscure place, in that called (c) *Sisinnius's* Pallace. Upon the doing hereof, a dissention was raised amongst the Populace. They disagreed amongst themselves, not upon account of the Faith, or [any] Herefie, but about this only, [to wit,] who ought to be put in possession of the Episcopal Chair. Hereupon there hapned [frequent] conflicts of the multitudes; in so much that many were killed, on account of that variance. For which reason, many persons as well Laicks, as

Altar contrary to another. Hence comes the term *παρανομία*, a sort of Schism, concerning which *Basilus* speaks, in his Canonical Epistle to *Amphylochius*, de Baptismo Hereticorum. Valef.

(c) *Amm. Marcellinus* (Book 27. pag. 337. Edit. Valef.) calls it *Sisinnius's* Palace; where, says he, there is a little private assembling place of [the Professors of] the Christian Religion; in which [during the conflicts between *Damasus's* and *Ursinus's* Parties] there was in one day an hundred and thirty seven dead Bodies found, &c. Read the Historians following Words; from the whole passage 'tis plain, how disorderly the Elections of a Bishop of *Rome* then were, and at what an height they lived.

Ecclesiasticks, were punish'd by (d) *Maximinus* the then *Præfekt* [of the City;] and so both *Ursinus* at that time ceased from [prosecuting] his attempt, and also those who had a mind to be his Followers, were quieted.

out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 10. *Eccles. Hist.* In that year, whereon *Ursinus* raised his Schism, *Juvenius*, not *Maximinus*, was *Præfekt* of the City, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests, Book 27. pag. 337. But, in regard this Schism lasted many years, 'tis possible that *Maximinus* (who was *Præfekt* of the *Annona*,) might take cognizance of this business, and torture some Ecclesiasticks, as *Rufinus* relates. This *Maximinus* was *Præfekt* of the *Annona*, in the seventh year of *Valentinian*; as *Ferome* does assert in his *Chronicon*. *Marcellinus* speaks much concerning this *Maximinus*, in his 28th Book. Valef.

## C H A P. XXX.

How (after the Death of *Auxentius* Bishop of *Millain*,) a Sedition hapning on account of the Election of a Prelate to succeed in that See; *Ambrosius*, President of the Province, going with a military Force to appease these Tumults, was by a general Suffrage (the Emperor *Valentinianus* having given his consent also) preferred before all persons, and elected Bishop of that Church.

ABOUT the same time there hapned another thing worthy to be recorded, which came to pass at *Millain*. For, (a) *Auxentius* Bishop of that Church being dead, who had been ordained by the *Arians*, the Inhabitants of *Millain* were again disturbed about the Election of a Bishop: and there was a great contention amongst them, some making it their business to elect one person, others another. When a Sedition was raised about this matter, the Governour of that Province (a person vested with a Consular Dignity, whose name was *Ambrosius*,) fearing lest some absurdity might happen in the City, [caused] by that tumult, ran into the Church, in order to his appeasing of the uproar. After that the people upon his coming thither were quieted, and that he had repress'd the irrational fury of the multitude by a long and very useful exhortatory Oration; there hapned on a sudden an unanimous agreement amongst all persons; who cried out, that *Ambrosius* deserved the Bishoprick; and all made it their request that he might be ordained. For, by that means only [twas said] the People would be united, and embrace a concordant opinion concerning the Faith. In regard therefore, this unanimous consent of the People seemed to the Bishops that were present, to proceed from some divine [order and appointment,] without delay they laid hold of *Ambrosius*: and having baptized him, (for he was then but a *Catechumen*,) they forthwith went about the promoting of him to the dignity of that Bishoprick. But, because *Ambrosius* (though he received Baptism with much willingness, yet) refused the Episcopal dignity with all imaginable earnestness; [the Bishops] acquaint the Emperor *Valentinianus* with what hapned. The Emperor, admiring the unanimous consent of the people,



Reign, had been Governour of the Province *Pi-Valentinianus and Valens.*  
centum,) had a Dream, wherein (to his own thin-  
king) he saw himself delivered of the Imperial  
Purple [which he brought forth] out of his  
right side. This Dream being divulged, at length  
came to *Constantius's* hearing also. He guessing  
at the meaning of the Dream, to wit, that an  
Emperor should \*descend from *Justus*, sent one \* Or,  
who dispatch'd him. His Daughter *Justina*, be- should be  
born of.  
reaved of her Father, for a considerable while  
continued a Virgin. Some time after, the be-

### Concerning Valentinianus's Death.

came known to *Severa*; Wife to the Emperor *Valentinianus*, and was continually conversant with the Empress. And a firm familiarity was contracted between them, she bathed herself also together with her. When therefore *Severa* had seen *Justina* washing her self, she was † won- † Or, in  
derfully taken with the Virgins beauteous com- love with.  
posure of body; and discoursed concerning her in the Emperor's presence; [saying] that that Virgin, *Justus's* Daughter, was endow'd with so admirable a compleatness of body, that she herself, altho' a Woman, was notwithstanding enamoured with her delicate shape. The Emperor treasured up his Wife's discourse in his mind, and consulted about his marriage of *Justina*; yet so as not to divorce *Severa*, of whom he had begotten *Gratianus*, and created him *Augustus* but a little before. He therefore dictated a (b) Law, and made it publick throughout (b) There is no men-  
every City, that any one that would, might tion of this Law of  
have two lawful Wives. This Law was pro- *Valentini-*  
mulged. And he married *Justina*, by whom *an's*, any  
he had *Valentinianus Junior*, and three Daugh- where:  
ters, *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. The two former Not in  
of which persisted in their resolution of conti- Ann.  
nuing Virgins: but *Galla* was afterwards mar- *Marcelli-*  
ried to the Emperor \* *Theodosius the nus*, who  
Great, of whom he begat a daughter, has with  
by name *Placida*. For he had *Arcadius* \* Or, *The-*  
and *Honorius* by (c) *Flaccilla* his for- *odosius Se-*  
mer Wife. But we shall speak in particular con- *nior*.  
cerning *Theodosius*, and his Sons, in due place.

deed such a Law as this (in my judgment) is in no wise agreeable to *Valentinian* a serious Prince, and a Christian. Therefore this whole story of *Justin's* marriage, is in my opinion, of a credit doubtful and uncertain. *Valeſ.*

(c) *Epiphanius Scholasticus* calls her (not *Placida*, but) *Flaccilla*; which is truest: For so the ancient Coins term her. But, 'tis strange that *Greek* writers should so frequently be mistaken in this name. For we have remark'd before, that *Placitus* is by *Socrates* often u. d. instead of *Flaccillus*, who was Bishop of *Antioch*. Further, this *Flaccilla* was the daughter of that *Antonius*, who was Consul with *Sigrinus*, as *Themistius* informs us, in his *Gratiarum Actione*, to *Theodosius*, for the Peace made with the *Goths*. Valef.

Concerning the Philosopher Themistius : And, that  
Valens, appeased by the Oration he spake to him,  
did in some measure mitigate his Persecution a-  
gainst the Christians.

V *Alens*, making his Residence at *Antioch*, continued in the interim undisturbed by foreign Wars. For the *Barbarians* did on every side contain themselves within their own Territories. But he \* persecuted those who embraced the *Homœusian* Opinion, in a most grievous manner, and every day invented greater and more acute punishments [to be inflicted] on 'em. Till such time as the Philosopher *Themistius* reduced his great cruelty to something of a moderation,

(2) We meet with a double mistake here, the one committed by *Socrates's* Transcribers, the other by *Socrates* himself. We have corrected the Transcriber's error (*sfo*, in stead of *Acinum*, had made it *Aconum*, from the authority of the *Sfortian* and *Florent.* MSS. It will be sufficient only to take notice of *Socrates's* mistake here; who calls *Acinum* a City of Italy, whereas it belong'd to *Pannonia*. Valeſ.

\* That is, to *Gratianus*.

† To wit, Valens's Brother's  
Son.

to proclaim. Notwithstanding, both of them gave their consent to his being made Emperor. After this manner was *Valentinianus Junior* seated on his own Father's Throne. Further, you must know, that this *Valentinianus* was begotten by *Valentinianus Senior*, of *Justina*, which Woman \*That is, \*he married whilst *Severa* his former Wife was living, on this occasion. *Justus*, Father to *Justina*, ( who heretofore, to wit, in *Constantius's*



*Valens.* ration, by that (a) Speech he spake to him; wherein the Philosopher advertises the Emperor, That he ought not to admire at the disagreement of Opinions amongst the Christians. For, that the discrepancy of Sentiments amongst them was small, if compared with the multitude and confusion of Opinions amongst the Grecians. For they entertained above three hundred Opinions. [Further,] that as touching Opinion there would of necessity arise a wonderful dissent [from the variety thereof.] And yet that God is delighted with this difference of Opinion [concerning himself,] to the end that all persons may more highly revere his Majesty, even upon this very account, because 'tis not obvious and easie to have a knowledge of him. The Philosopher having spoken these and such-like words as these, to the Emperor, he became more mild in future. Notwithstanding, his rage was not hereby perfectly and entirely appeased; but, instead of Death, he imposed Exile as a punishment, upon Ecclesiastick persons; till at length, this fury of his also was repress'd by this accident.

The word are these; *Artes quidem, quarum magnus in vitâ usus & celestissimus, &c.* Indeed, those Arts, of which there is great use in this life, and which are very delightful had never arrived at such an height and elegance, had there not been a discrepancy of judgments, and a certain strife amongst the Artists themselves. For, has not Philosophy itself (the Mother of all laudable Arts,) raised from mean and small beginnings, increased by the dissent of Learned Men in such a manner, that nothing may seem wanting to its absolute perfection? Further, what Socrates says was spoken by Themistius in that Oration, to wit, that God is desirous of this variety of opinions concerning himself, that Men may have a greater reverence for the Majesty of his Deity, because the knowledge of his Divinity is in no wise obvious and easily attainable; occurs in Duditius's Version, at pag. 508. where 'tis thus worded: *Quocirca quod à cognitione nostrâ se longissimè removet, &c.* Wherefore, in regard he has removed himself at the greatest distance from our Knowledge, nor does humble himself to the capacity of our wits; 'tis a sufficient argument, that he does not require one and the same Law and Rule of Religion from all persons, but leaves every Man a Licence and faculty of thinking concerning himself, according to his own, not another Man's liberty and choice. Whence it also happens, that a greater admiration of the Deity, and a more Religious veneration of his Eternal Majesty, is ingendred in the minds of Men. For, it usually comes to pass, that we loath and disregard those things which are readily apparent, and prostrated to every understanding, &c. *Valens.*

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*How the Goths, under the Reign of Valens, embraced Christianity.*

**T**Hose Barbarians who dwell beyond the Danube, having kindled a Civil War amongst themselves, were divided into two Parties; the one of which was headed by *Fritigernes*, the other by *Athanasius*. When 'twas apparent that *Athanasius*'s Party was the stronger, *Fritigernes* flies to the Romans, and implored their assistance against his Adversary. This is made known to the Emperor *Valens*; and he orders those Soldiers, who were engarrison'd all over *Thracia* for the defence of that Country, to assist the Barbarians being at War against the Barbarians. And they obtain a Victory over *Athanasius* beyond the Danube, having routed his Forces. This was the reason, that many of the Barbarians became Christians. For, *Fritigernes*, that he might express his thankfulness to the Emperor for the kindness he had done him, embraced the Emperor's Religion, and persuaded those under his command to the same. Wherefore, many of the Goths are even till this present addicted to *Arianism*, having at that time become Adherents to that Heresie upon the Em-

peror's account. At the same time also, *Ulfila* *valens*, Bishop of the Goths, invented *Gothick* Letters, and having translated the sacred Scriptures into the *Gothick* Language, undertook the instruction of the Barbarians in the Divine Oracles. But, in regard *Ulfila* instructed not only those Barbarians under *Fritigernes*, but them also who paid obedience to *Athanasius*, in the Christian Religion; *Athanasius*, \* as if violence were offer'd to the Religion of his Ancestors, inflicted punishments on many of those who profess Christianity; in so much that at that time [several *Arianizing* Barbarians were Martyrs. Indeed, *Arius*, unable to refute the Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Lybian*, fell from the true Faith, and asserted (a) the Son of God to be a new God. But the Barbarians, embracing Christianity with a simplicity of mind, despised this present Life in respect of the Faith of Christ. Thus far concerning those [Goths] who came over to the Christian Religion.

the *Sfortian* and *Florent.* M. SS, the reading is [the Son of God to be a new God;] accordingly we have rendred it. *Valens.*

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*That the Goths vanquished by other Barbarians, fled into the Territories of the Romans, and were received by the Emperor. Which [Reception of theirs] was the occasion, both of the Destruction of the Roman Empire, and also of the Emperor's own Overthrow.*

**B**UT, not long after, the Barbarians having entered into a league of friendship with one another, were again vanquish'd by other Barbarians their Neighbours, called the *Hunni*; and being driven out of their own Country, they fly into the Roman Territories, promising they would serve the Roman Emperor, and do whatever he should command them. This came to *Valens*'s knowledge; who foreseeing nothing, gave order that the Suppliants should have a kind and merciful reception, shewing himself in this one instance only, mild and compassionate. He assigns therefore to them [for their habitation] the parts of *Thracia*; judging himself to be in a most especial manner fortunate upon this account. For, it was his sentiment, that he should in future be in possession of a ready and well-furnish'd Army against his Enemies; and he hoped, that the Barbarians would be a more terrible Guard [to the limits of his Empire] than the Romans. Upon this account, he in future neglected the increasing and filling up of the Roman Milice. He despised those old Souldiers, who in former Wars had fought against his Enemies with much courage and gallantry; and he (a) put a money-value upon that *Militia*, which the Inhabitants of Pro-

\* Or, having routed the Enemy.

reading is [*ἐγγυεῖσθαι*, be reduced into money,] which, it I mistake not, is the truer. Notwithstanding, the common reading (to wit, *ἐγγυεῖσθαι*, be put a money value upon,) is found, and needs no alteration. For *Chrysostom* uses this term in this sense, in his 67 Homily on *Mark*. 21. The old Glosses expound *ἐγγυεῖσθαι* by *Adari*, he values by money. Further, what Socrates remarks here, (to wit, that *Valens*, instead of supplies of Soldiers, did afterwards exact Gold of his Provinces,) is also related by *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 31. pag. 441. which place, because 'tis corrupt even in our Edition, I will here let down, as it ought to be amended: *Eruditis adulatoribus majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis terris tot circumcinia [not Thracienſes nec opinantur offerrent, But] irabens, ei ne opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis & alienigenis viribus, invictus haberet exercitum; & pro militari supplemento quod provinciarum annuendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus.* *Valens.*

vinces



*Edessens*, not at the latter end of *Valens's* Reign. And I had rather follow *Rufinus's* opinion, than that of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. The motive I have to be of this opinion, is grounded on *Socrates's* words at the close of this chapter, where he says, that *Mavia* the Queen, having made a Peace with the *Romans*, betrothed her daughter to *Victor* the *Roman* Lieutenant General. Now, *Victor*, about the latter end of *Valens's* Reign, was too old to have any thoughts of marrying a Wife. *Valef.*

*That the Emperor, by reason of his Care and Soli-  
tude about a War with the Goths, remitted some-  
thing of his Persecution against the Christians.*

FOR, the *Barbarians* having been put into possession of *Thracia*, and quietly enjoying that *Roman Province*, could not [with moderation] bear their fortunate success: but enter upon a War against those who had been their Benefactors, and subverted all places throughout *Thracia* and the adjoining Countries. These things falling out after this manner, came to *Valens's* hearing, and made him desist from banishing those that embraced the *Homoöusian* Opinion. For, being troubled at this news, he left *Antioch* forthwith, and came to *Constantinople*. Upon the same account also, the War [he had waged] against the *Christians* in that City, was finish'd. Moreover, at the same time *Euzoius*, Bishop of the *Arian* Faction at *Antioch*, departed this life, in the fifth Consulate of *Valens*, and in *Valentinianus Junior's* first. And *Dorotheus* is constituted [Bishop] in his place.

*That the Saracens also at that time embraced the Faith of Christ, (a Woman, by name Mavia, being their Queen,) and took one Moses, a pious and faithful Person that led a Monastick life, to be their Bishop.*

After the Emperor's departure from *Antioch*, the *Saracens*, who before had been their Allies, revolted from the *Romans* at that time; they were led by one *Marvia* a Woman, [the King] her Husband being then dead. All places therefore (a) towards the East, were at that time destroy'd by the *Saracens*. But an Act of Divine Providence repress'd their fury by this means. A person whose name was *Moses*, by extract a *Saracen*, leading a Monastick life in the Solitudes, became exceedingly eminent for his Piety, Faith, and Miracles. *Marvia*, Queen of the *Saracens*, requesting she might have this person to be Bishop over her Nation, [promising] upon this condition to put an end to the War. The *Roman* Commanders hearing this, supposed it would be grateful, if a Peace were made upon these terms; and forthwith gave order for the performance hereof with all possible celerity. *Moses* therefore was seized, and brought from the Solitudes to *Alexandria* (b) in order to his being initiated into the Sacerdotal Functions, *hæc* being initiated] we read [*ἐξεξόμενος*, in order to his being initiated, &c.] Further, this story concerning *Moses's* being made Bishop of the *Saracens*, and concerning the Peace made with them, *Socrates* has taken out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. chap. 6. *Eccles. Hist.* but has not observed *Rufinus's* order. For *Rufinus* has placed it about the beginning of *Lucius's* Episcopate, after the persecution of the

tion. But in regard he was brought before *Valens*, *Lucius*, who at that time was in possession of the Churches there, he refused Ordination, and exprest himself after this manner to *Lucius*! Indeed, I account my self unworthy of the Sacerdotal Function; but if this thing be advantageous to the Affairs of the Publick, *Lucius* shall not \* Ordain \* Or, Lay me, for his Right Hand has been filled with Blood. *his hand on me.* When *Lucius* told him, that he ought not to give reproachful language, but should rather learn the Points of Religion from him; *Moses* replied; An account of the Points [of Religion] is not now required. For the villanous Actions you have committed against the Brethren, do sufficiently demonstrate, how Christian-like Sentiments you have. For a Christian strikes not, reviles not, does not fight; for a Servant of the Lord ought not to fight. But your Facts do loudly cry out, by those who have been exiled, who have been cast to the Wild Beasts, and who have been committed to the Flames. [Moreover,] things seen by the Eyes contain a greater and more convincing demonstration, than what is receiv'd by hearing. When *Moses* had said these and such-like words as these, his Friends carried him to the Mountain, that he might receive Ordination from those [Bishops] who lived in Exile there. *Moses* therefore having been after this manner consecrated at that time, the Saracen-War had an end put to it; and for the future *Marvia* continued so strict an \* Alliance \* Or, with the Romans, that she betrothed her Daughter to *Victor* the Roman Lieutenant-General. Thus much concerning the Saracens.

*That after Valens's departure from Antioch the Orthodox in the East ( more especially those at Alexandria ) took courage ; and having ejected Lucius, restored the Churches again to Peter, [who was returned] fortified with the Letters of Damasus Bishop of Rome.*

At the same time that the Emperor *Valens* left *Antioch*, those persons in all places who had been persecuted, were mightily encouraged, especially the *Alexandrians*; (a) *Peter* at that time returning from *Rome* with the Letters of *Damasus* the *Roman* Bishop, whereby the *Homoousian* Faith and *Peter's* Ordination were confirm'd. The Populace therefore resuming courage, turn out *Lucius*, and substitute *Peter* in his place. *Lucius* went immediately on board a Ship, and sail'd to *Constantinople*. But *Peter*, having lived but a little while after this, died, and left *Timotheus* his Brother to succeed him in his See.

(a) Instead of [*Πέτρος* τε ἐπαναλθόντος, and *Peter* being returned,] the reading should be [*Πέτρος* τότε ἐπαναλθόντος, *Peter* at

returning:] and the full-point, which is (in some copies) placed before these words, must be expunged. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have followed this reading. *Valeſt.*



Valens.

## C H A P. XVIII.

That the Emperor arriving at the City Constantinople, and being reproach'd by the People upon account of the Goths, marches out of the City against the Barbarians: And coming to an Engagement with them near Adrianople, a City of Macedonia, is slain by them; after he had lived fifty years, and reigned sixteen.

[Moreover,] the Emperor *Valens* coming into Constantinople about the thirtieth of May, in his own sixth, and in *Valentinianus Junior's* second Consulate, finds the People in a very sad and dejected condition. For the *Barbarians*, who had already over-run and ruined *Thracia*, did now plunder and destroy the very Suburbs of Constantinople; there being then no Forces ready that were fit to make a resistance against them. But when the *Barbarians* attempted to make nearer approaches, even to the very City-Walls, the Citizens were grievously troubled thereat; and murmur'd against the Emperor, as if he himself had brought the Enemy thither, because he did not forthwith march out against them, but deferred the War against the *Barbarians*. Moreover, when the *Cirque-Sports* were exhibited, all with one consent exclaim'd against the Emperor, because he was negligent of the publick affairs. They cried out therefore with a great deal of earnestness, *Give us Arms, and we our selves will fight*. The Emperor was highly incensed at the hearing of these Exclamations against himself; and about the eleventh of June (a) marches out of the Ci-

(a) The reading must

be [ὁπερβαίνει, marches out;] not [ὁπερβαίνει, passes by.] Moreover, the same days [which *Socrates* here assigns for *Valens's* entry into, and

march out of Constantinople,] are recorded in *Idarius's Fasti*, in these words: *Valente VI. & Valentiniano II. &c.* In *Valens's* sixth and *Valentinianus's* second Consulate, *Valens Augustus* entered Constantinople, from the East, on the third of the Calends of June [that is, the thirtieth of May.] And on the same year *Valens Augustus* went out of the City to the Fort, on the third of the Ides [that is, the eleventh] of June. *Valent.*

ty, threatening that if he return'd he would punish the Constantinopolitans, both for the reproaches they then cast upon him, and also because they had heretofore been Abettors of *Procopius's* Tyranny. Having therefore said, that he would totally demolish the City, and \* Plough it up, \* The he march'd out against the *Barbarians*: Whom he drove a great way from the City; and pursued them as far as *Adrianople*, a City of *Thracia*, situate in the Frontiers of *Macedonia*. Engaging the *Barbarians* at that place, he ended his life on the ninth of August, in the now mention'd Consulate. This was the fourth year of the (b) two hundred eightyninth Olympiad. 'Tis reported by some, that he was destroy'd by fire, after he had taken refuge in a certain Village, which the *Barbarians* assaulted and burnt. But others affirm, that having changed his Imperial habit, he ran into the midst of the main body of Foot; and when the Horse attempted a defection, and refused fighting, the Roman Foot were surrounded [by the *Barbarians*,] and wholly cut off in the Engagement: Amongst whom 'tis said) the Emperor lay, but was not known, his Imperial habit (whereby it might have been manifested which was he,) being not upon him. He died after the fiftieth year of his age, having govern'd the Empire thirteen years with his Brother, and reign'd three years after him. This Book contains [an account of Affairs during] the space of sixteen years.

*διακος δε*, and *τετακος δε*, instead of *διακοσιος δε*, and *τετακοσιος δε*. *Val.*



# THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## The PREFACE.

**B**Efore we begin the History of our Fifth Book, we make a request to those who shall read this Work *Gratianus*, of ours, that they would not blame us; because designing to write an Ecclesiastick History, we intermix therewith the Wars also which have at several times hapned, so far as we could procure a true Relation thereof. For we do this upon several accounts. First, to bring [the Readers] to a knowledge of what has been transacted. Secondly, that our Readers may not be cloy'd, (a) by being continually detained with [a perusal of] the contentious Disagreements of Bishops, and with the Designs they framed against one another. But most especially, that it might be made apparent, that when the Affairs of the State were disturbed, those of the Church also (by a certain Sympathy as it were,) became distempered and disordered. For, let any Man make an Observation, and he will find, that the Mischiefs of the State, and Troubles of the Church, have gather'd Strength and spread together. For, he will perceive, that they have either had their rise at one and the same time, or else have immediately followed one another. And sometimes [the Calamities] of the Church led the way; then follow the [Com-motions of the] State: at others, on the contrary. So that I cannot persuade myself, that the interchang-able Course [of these things] does proceed from any fortuitous Accident, but that they take their be-ginnings from our Iniquities: And that Calamities are sent for the chastisement thereof. For, ac-cording to the Apostle † Some Mens Sins are open before-hand, going before to Judgment: † 1 Tim. and some [Men] they follow after. Upon this account therefore, we have interwoven some 5. 24. Affairs transacted in the State, with our Ecclesiastick History. What was done in the Wars during the Reign of Constantine, because 'tis so long ago, we could not find an Account of. But we make a cursory mention of the Actions done since, according to the Relation thereof, which we have received from Persons yet living. We do without intermitting any one of them, include the Emperors in this our History, because from such time as they began to embrace the Christian Religion, the Affairs of the Church have depended upon them; and the greatest Synods have been, and at this present are \* convened by their determination and appointment. Moreover, we have made mention of the Arian Herefie, because it has disquieted the Churches. Let this be sufficient to have been said by way of Preface. We will now begin our History.

(a) Instead of [ἐν τῷ μὴ σχο-  
λᾷ] I read [ἐν τῷ ἀει σχο-  
λᾷ], by being continually detain-  
ed.] For a repetition of the Ne-  
gative Particle is inelegant and  
nauseous; in regard these words  
[may not be cloy'd] do precede.  
For, after them, an Affirmation  
ought to follow. Valef.

\* The Rea-  
der may  
observe  
from this

Passage, in whose power it was in those days to summon General Synods.

### C H A P. I.

How (after the Death of Valens) when the Goths laid siege to Constantinople, the Citizens sallied out of the City against them, having those Sa-racens who were under Mavia's Command, to be their Auxiliaries.

**A**FTER the Emperor Valens had ended his life by an unknown sort of death, the Barba-rians made their approaches again to the very Walls of Constantinople, and ruined the Suburbs on every side of it. The Citizens, sorely vexed

thereat, on their own accord sallied out a-gainst the Barbarians, every one taking what came next to hand for Arms. \* *Dominica*, the Emperor's Wife, gave every one that went out upon this piece of service, such pay out of the Imperial Treasury, as was usually allow'd to Soldiers. Some few Saracens, their Confede-rates, assisted them; being sent from *Mavia*, whom we have mentioned before. When the Citizens had after this manner made a resistance against them at that time, the Barbarians re-treated farther off from the City.



## CHAPTER II.

*That the Emperor Gratianus, having recalled the Orthodox Bishops from their Exile, drove the Hereticks out of the Churches, and took Theodosius to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

**G** *Ratianus* being together with *Valentinianus Junior* in possession of the Empire, and detesting his Unkle *Valens's* cruelty towards the *Christians*, recalled those who had been Exiled by him. Moreover, he made a (a) Law, that persons of all Sects might, without any distinction, securely meet together in their Oratories; only the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Manichæans*, were extruded out of the Churches. Being also sensible of the languishing condition of the *Roman Empire*, and of the growth of the *Barbarians*; and [perceiving also] that the State was in want of a valiant and couragious Man, he chooses *Theodosius* (a person descended of a noble Family in *Spain*, who had perform'd many a brave piece of service in the Wars, and upon that account had by all men been long since judg'd worthy of the Empire, even before *Gratianus's* Election of him) to be his Colleague in the Empire. Having therefore proclaimed him Emperor in *Sirmium*, a City of *Illyricum*, in the Consulate of *Ausonius* and *Olybrius*, on the sixteenth of *January* he divides with him the care of managing the War against the *Barbarians*.

happened in the year of Christ 378. This Law of *Gratianus's* is not now extant. And yet it seems to be mentioned in the *fifth Law* in the *Theodosian Code*, *de fide Catholicâ*. Valeſ.

### CHAP. III.

*What Bishops were in possession of the Precedency over the greater Churches at that time.*

AT this time *Damasus* presided over the Church at *Rome*, who had succeeded *Liberius*. *Cyrillus* was as yet in possession of the Church at *Jerusalem*. The *Antiochian* Church (as I have said,) was divided into three parts. For *Dorotheus* the *Arian*, Successor to *Euzoius*, was possesst of the Churches. Of the rest one part paid obedience to *Paulinus*, the other to *Melitus*, who was recalled from Banishment. *Lucius*, altho' \* living in Exile, presided over the *Arians* at *Alexandria*: The Professors of the *Homoüsian* opinion in that City were headed by *Timotheus*, Successor to *Peter*. *Demophilus* was in possession of the Churches at *Constantinople*, who succeeded *Eudoxius* in the presidency over the *Arian* Faction. Those that abominated Communion with him, celebrated their Assemblies apart by themselves.

\* *Ἐν φυγῇ*  
*διὰ γων;*  
*living in*  
*Exile. Lucius*  
*was*  
*not bani-*  
*shed; the*  
*people of*  
*Alexan-*  
*dria forc'd*  
*him to*  
*leave that*  
*City: See*  
*Socrates,*  
*Book 4.*  
*Chap. 37.*

## CHAPTER IV.

*How the Macedoniani, who had sent an Embassy to Damasus [ Bishop ] of Rome in defence of the Homoeousian Creed, returned again to their old Herefie.*

**T**He *Macedoniani*, after their Embassy sent to *Liberius*, for some time held a perfect and entire communion with the Churches throughout every City; intermixing themselves with

those, who from the beginning had embraced *Gratianus*,  
that Draught of the Creed [publish'd] at *Nicaea*. *Valen. Jun. Theodosius*  
But when the Emperor *Gratianus's* Law. [was  
promulg'd, which] allow'd a Liberty to [se-  
veral] Sects, they made it their business \* to \* Or, to  
hold separate assemblies again. Being met to- dissent a-  
gether at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they determined a gain.  
gain, that the term *Homoöusios* was to be abomi-  
nated, and that a communion was not in any  
wise to be held with those who embraced the *Ni-  
cene* Creed. But † they proceeded not in their at-  
tempt. For many of their own party, finding † Or, they  
fault with their [inconstancy,] because some- reapt no be-  
times they decreed one thing, at others another, nest, or de-  
left them, and in future became firm Adherents, light, from  
to those that embraced the *Homoöusian* Creed. their at-  
tempt.

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning what hapned at that time, at Antioch,  
upon Paulinus's, and Melitius's account.*

Moreover, at the same time arose a great difference at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon *Melitus's* account. We have told you \* already, <sup>\* Book 4. Chap. 2.</sup> that *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, by reason of his eminent Piety, was not banish'd : and that *Melitus*, after he had been restored by † *Julianus*, <sup>† Book 3. Chap. 9.</sup> was again banish'd by \* *Valens*, and at length <sup>\* Book 4. Chap. 2.</sup> recall'd in || *Gratianus's* Reign. At his return <sup>|| See Book 5. Chap. 2.</sup> to *Antioch*, he found *Paulinus* very much decay'd by reason of his great age. Immediately therefore all those who were *Melitus's* Favourers, used their utmost endeavours to make *Melitus* *Paulinus's* \* Coadjutor. But, upon *Paulinus's* <sup>\* Or, Colleague in the Bishoprick.</sup> saying, that it was contrary to the Canons, to admit of a Coadjutor who had been Ordained by the *Arians* ; the People make use of force, and cause him to be Consecrated in one of the Churches without the City. Hereupon a great difference arose ; but afterwards the People came to an agreement upon these terms. Having assembled † those persons that were reputed fit to be intrusted with the Bishoprick, they <sup>† Tit. 1. 5. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765</sup>

\* Book 4.  
Chap. 2.  
† Book 3.  
Chap. 9.  
\* Book 4.  
Chap. 2.  
|| See Book  
5. Chap. 2.

\* Or, Col-  
league in  
the Bishop-  
rick.

† Τὸ ὡς  
 ἴσως εἰς  
 Ἐνιστά-  
 σιν.

\* That is  
*Melitus*,  
and *Pauli-  
nus*.

† See Book 3, Chap. 9

## CHAPTER VI.

*That Gregorius of Nazianzum was, by a general Suffrage of the Orthodox, constituted Bishop of the Constantinopolitan Church; at which time the Emperor Theodosius (after his Victory over the Barbarians,) fell sick at Thessalonica, and was baptized by Ascholius the Bishop.*

AT which time, *Gregorius* was translated from the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* to that of *Constantinople*, by the common suffrage of many Prelates.



*Gratianus* Prelates. And this was done in such a manner [as I have declared.] About the sametime the Emperors, *Gratianus* and *Theodosius*, got each of them a Victory over the Barbarians. *Gratianus* \* returned immediately into the *Gallia's*, because the *Alamanni* over-ran those Provinces. But *Theodosius*, after [he had erected] his Trophies, hastned to *Constantinople*, and arrives at *Theffalonica*. There he fell sick, and earnestly desired that he might be vouchsafed Christian Baptism: For by his Progenitors he had been been bred up in the Christian Religion, and was a Professor of the *Homoousian* Faith. Being desirous with all possible speed to be baptized, because his Distemper increased, and having [for that reason] sent for the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, he first enquired of him, what Faith he profest. And when the Bishop had made answer, that the Opinion of the *Arius* had not invaded the Provinces of *Illyricum*, and that the Novelty which *Arius* had given birth to, was not so prevalent as to prey upon the Churches in those Countries; but that they continued to preserve that Faith immoveable and unshaken, which from the beginning was delivered by the Apostles, and had been confirmed in the *Nicene* Synod: [upon this answer] the Emperor was most willingly baptized by *Ascholius* the Bishop. Not many days after [*Theodosius*] recovered of his Distemper, and came to *Constantinople* about the twenty fourth of November, in *Gratianus's* fifth and his own first Consulate.

## CHAP. VII.

That when *Gregorius* was come to *Constantinople*, and some Bishops murmur'd at his Translation; he refused the Presidency of the Church. And, the Emperor orders *Demophilus* the Arian Bishop, either to give his assent to the *Homoousian* Faith, or else to go out of the City; which latter he chose rather to do.

**A**T that time *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*, being (a) translated [to *Constantinople*,] celebrated his Assemblies within the City, in a small Oratory. Whereto the Emperors afterwards joyn'd a stately Church, and named it (b) *Anastasia*. But *Gregorius* (a Person for eloquence and piety far more eminent than all Men of his own time,) perceiving that some murmured [at his Translation,] because he was a stranger; after he had exprest his joy for the Emperor's arrival, refused to make any longer stay at *Constantinople*. The Emperor finding the Church in this posture, was very sollicitous, how he might make Peace, procure an Union, and enlarge the Churches. Immediately therefore he opens his mind to *Demophilus*, who presided over the *Arian* Sect, [and makes a proposal to him] whether he would give his assent to the [Creed published at the] *Nicene* Synod, unite

(a) Indeed *Socrates* thought that *Gregorius* had been translated from the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Constantinople*: which was the opinion of many others also. But *Gregorius* had never been Bishop of *Nazianzum*; he was only his father *Gregorius's* Assistant in that Bishoprick, being sent for thither by his father (then very aged,) out of the Solitudes; whither he had retired after he had accepted of and also refused the Bishoprick of *Sasimus*, in the year of Christ 371; as *Baronius* has remarked. *Valef.*

(b) I am not of *Socrates's* opinion, who says here, that that Church (wherein *Gregorius Nazianzenus* used to Preach the Word of God at *Constantinople*,) was by the succeeding Emperors named *Anastasia*. For, in *Gregorius's* own life-time this Church was called *Anastasia*; which is apparent, both from *Gregorius's* own Oration, wherein he bids farewell in exprest words to *Anastasia*, and *The Apostles*; and also from his Elegiack concerning the Dream of *Anastasia*. Consult *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 378. *Valef.*

the people, and embrace peace. Upon *Demophilus's* refusing to comply with his proposition; If then (said the Emperor) you eschew Peace and Concord, We order you to quit the Churches. When *Demophilus* had heard these words, and consider'd with himself how difficult it was to make a resistance against those in authority and power; he called the multitude together in the Church; and standing up in the midst of them, spake these words on his own account to his Followers. Brethren, 'tis written (said he) in the \*Gospel; if they shall persecute you in this City, flee ye into another. In regard therefore the Emperor (c) excludes us from the Churches, take notice, that to morrow we will have our meetings without the City. Having said these words, he went out; not so, as if he apprehended the true meaning contained in this Evangelic Oracle, [the import whereof is,] that such as flee out of the converse of this World, should seek the *Jerusalem* which is above. But he [following another sense of these words, went] out of the City-gates, where for the future he had his Meetings. Together with him went out *Lucius* of *Alexandria*, who having been ejected, as I said \* before, made his escape to *Constantinople*, in which City he lived. After this manner therefore the *Arians* (who for the space of forty years had been in possession of the Churches,) declining the agreement they were invited to by the Emperor *Theodosius*, departed out of the City, in *Gratianus's* fifth and *Theodosius Augustus's* first Consulate, on the twenty sixth of November. And the Professors of the *Homoousian* Faith succeeding in their places, recover'd possession of the Churches.

far different reading in our *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. For, in both those Copies 'tis thus exprest; ἐκκλησιῶν χρῆζει, stands in need of the Churches; this reading *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has followed, as appears from his Version. For he renders it thus: Quia igitur Imperator Ecclesis opus habet, In regard therefore the Emperor has an occasion for the Churches. *Nicephorus* maintains the common reading; for instead of [excludes us from] his words are [drives us out of.] The Manuscript reading is in my judgment the better. *Valef.*

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the hundred and fifty Bishops convened at *Constantinople*, and concerning the Determinations made by them, after they had Ordained *Nestarius* in that City.

**A**fter this] the Emperor without any delay summons a Synod of Bishops [who embraced] his own Faith; that by them the *Nicene* Faith might be confirmed, and a Bishop of *Constantinople* Ordained. And because he had some hopes of being able to unite the *Macedoniani* to [a profession of] his own Faith; he summon'd the Prelates of that Heresie also. There met therefore of [the Embracers of] the *Homoousian* Faith, *Timotheus* from *Alexandria*; from *Jerusalem* *Cyrellus*, who having made a Retraction, at that time assented to the *Homoousian* Creed: *Melitus* was come thither from *Antioch* before, having been sent for to that City on the account of *Gregorius's* Ordination: also (a) *Ascholius* from *Theffalonica*, and many others. (a) In the

*Sfortian* M. S. both here, and also before, in Chap. 6. of this Book; this person is called *Acholius*. The *Latins* do commonly give him that name. For so he is called by *Ambrosius*, by *Prosper* in his *Chronicon*, and by *Jordanes* in his *Book de successione Regnorum*. But the *Greeks* do usually term him *Ascholius*. This is the *Ascholius*, concerning whose Death, Virtues, and Miracles, *Saint Ambrosius* writes, in his 59th Epistle to the Clergy of *Theffalonica*. Where he says, that *Anysius* his Scholar succeeded him. *Valef.*



*Gratianus* They were in all an hundred and fifty. The principal Persons of the *Macedonian* Party, were *Eusebius* of *Cyzicum*, and *Marcianus* [Bishop] of *Lampfacus*. [Of this Sect] there were thirty six [Bishops], most of whom came from the Cities about the *Hellepont*. They met therefore in the Consulate of *Eucharis* and *Evagrius*, in the month of *May*. The Emperor and the Bishops that embraced his Creed, did their utmost to bring *Eusebius* and his Followers over to their own side; putting them in remembrance of the

\*See Book 4. chap. 12. (b) See what *Socrates* has remarked concerning this Matter in Chap. 4. of this Book. *Vales.* Embassy, which they had sent by *Eustathius* to *Liberius* heretofore Bishop of *Rome*; and (b) that not long since they themselves had entred into a promiscuous Communion [with the Orthodox,] on their own accord: And that they, having once acknowledg'd and profest an agreement in the [points of] Faith, did not do what was right and honest, now to attempt a subversion of what had been well and wisely determin'd by themselves. But the *Macedonian*, little regarding either admonitions, or reproofs, chose rather to profest the *Arian* opinion, than to give their assent to the *Homoousian* Creed. Having made this answer, they departed from *Constantinople*, and wrote to their followers in every City, ordering them in no wise to give their consent to the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod.

+ That is, the Orthodox. But the [Prelates] of the † other party staid [at *Constantinople*] and entred into a consult about the Ordination of a Bishop. For *Gregorius*, as we have told you a little before, refused the Bishoprick, and prepared for his departure to *Naxianzum*. There was a person, by name *Nectarius*, [a descendant] of a *Senatorian* Family, a sweet-temper'd Man, admirable for his whole

(c) Instead of [the] *Prætor's* Office. This person the people seized upon, elected him Bishop, and he was Ordained by the hundred and fifty Prelates then present. Moreover, at the same time [the said Prelates] promulg'd a Sanction, that the Bp. of *Constantinople* should have the (d) priviledges of honour after the Bishop of *Rome*, because that City was

who also at that time bore the *Prætor's* Office. *Nicephorus* confirms our emendation; for he words it thus: *ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, θάνατον ὄντων, &c.* and admirable, as I may say, for all things; who then bore the *Prætor's* Office. *Vales.*

(d) *Τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς.* They are the very words of the third Canon of the *Constantinopolitan* Synod. Whereby the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers do confer upon the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Precedency, or Primacy of honour only; but give him nothing of a Metropolitcal or Patriarchal power, or jurisdiction. This is evident, not only from the cautious Expression which the Fathers of this Synod make use of; (for they give him, not *τὸ πρεσβεία τῆς ἰσχύος*, the priviledges of power or jurisdiction, nor priviledges in general; but they bestow on him only *τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*, the priviledges of honour:) but also from these very Words themselves, compar'd with the second Canon of this *Constantinopolitan* Synod. For, in that Canon the Fathers had made a positive sanction, that a *Diæcesis* should be govern'd by its Bishops, (or, by a Synod of all the Bishops in the same *Diæcesis*;) and that the said Bishops should exercise their Ecclesiastical Power in that *Diæcesis* only: *ὅτι τὰς τῆς ἑκάστης τῆς ἑκάστης μόνον διοικουμένης, and that the Bishops of the Thracian Diæcesis should only govern the [Ecclesiastick] Affairs of the said Thracian Diæcesis:* These are the very Words of the Canon. Now, every body knows, that *Constantinople* is situate in the *Thracian* *Diæcesis*. In regard therefore, that the present Fathers had committed the whole government of the *Thracian* *Diæcesis* to a Synod of all the Bishops in the said *Diæcesis*; there could nothing remain, which they might assign to any other single Bishop in the said *Diæcesis*, before the rest of them, save only the bare priviledge of honour; which alone they do here confer upon the *Constantinopolitan* See situate in the same *Diæcesis*. And thus, by the order of this Canon, *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* is placed next after *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome's* Legates, in the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*. See *Council General*. Edit. Bin. Paris 1636. Tom. 3. pag. 452, 453. There occurs an eminent instance of this honour due to the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop by vertue of this Canon, in *Synod. Chalced.* A. A. 1. vid. *Council General*. Edit. Bin. ut prius, Tom. 3. pag. 61, 62. See the Learned Dr. *Beveridge's* Annotat. on the third Canon *Council. Constantinop.* pag. 95.

*New-Rome*. They did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed; and constituted (e) Patriarchs, having made a (f) division of the Provinces; that so

(e) The first mention (if I mistake not) of *Christian* Patriarchs (so I term them, because the Jews had grand Officers amongst them thus termed, long before this time;) in any Author worthy of credit, is at this place in our *Socrates*. However, there is no small stir amongst Learned Men, about defining the time wherein these Patriarchs were first constituted in the *Christian* Church. *Valesius*, in his Notes on this Chap. and in his third Book of *Ecclesiastical* Observations upon *Socrates* and *Sozomen* does in a great many words assert, that the Patriarchal Authority was confirmed by the sixth Canon of the *Nicene* Synod. This assertion of his is sufficiently confuted by Dr. *Beveridge*, in his Annotat. upon that sixth Canon, pag. 52, &c. At which place, and in his notes on the second Canon of the *Constantinopolitan* Council, pag. 93, 94. the said Learned Doctor is of opinion (agreeable to our *Socrates* here,) that Patriarchs were first constituted by this second Oecumenical Council held at *Constantinople*. Nevertheless, he grants, that most of those priviledges, which Patriarchs afterwards challenged were given them by other Councils. Lastly, Dr. *Barrow's* sentiment is, that this *Diæcesan* (or Patriarchal) Form did soon after the *Nicene* Council creep into the Church, without any solemn appointment, by a spontaneous assumption and submission. See his excellent Treatise of the Pope's supremacy, pag. 240, &c.

(f) The Roman Emperors who preceded *Constantine the Great*, committed the chief management of affairs in the Civil State of the Empire to one, or at most to two *Præfets* of the *Prætorium*. But *Constantine the Great* introduced a new partition of the Empire, (as *Zosimus* tells us, Book 2. of his Hist. pag. 439, 440 Edit. Lugd. 1611;) and divided the management thereof amongst four *Præfets* of the *Prætorium*; one whereof was *Præfets* of the *Prætorium* in the East, a second of *Ilyricum*, a third of *Italy*, and a fourth of the *Gallia's*. Each of these *Præfets* had several *Diæcesis's* under them: every single *Diæcesis* was a Combination of divers Provinces together into one Territory. What *Diæceses* every one of these *Præfets* had under their District, and what and how many Provinces were included in each *Diæcesis*; the learned Reader may see in *Guidus Pancirolus's* Notitia utraque, dignitarum, cum Orientis, tum Occidentis, Edit. Lugd. 1608. From which Author we will transcribe the five *Diæcesis's* (for so many he had under him,) of the *Præfets* of the *Prætorium* of the East, as they occur at fol. 3 and 4, of his Comment: because they are necessary, in order to the clear understanding of what we have to say further here. Sub dispositione virorum Illustrum *Præfectorum* *Prætorio per Orientem*, &c. Under the dispose of the Illustrous the *Præfets* of the *Prætorium* throughout the East, are these *Diæcesis's* underwritten: The East, Egypt, the Asian, Pontick, and Thracian *Diæcesis's*.

The Provinces of the East [or Eastern *Diæcesis*] are XV. *Palestina, Phænice, Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Arabia: And the Dux (Commander) and Comes (Earl) of the Milice, Isauria, Palestina-Salutaris, Palestina secunda, Phænice Libani, Euphratensis, Syria Salutaris, Osrhoëna, Mesopotamia, Cilicia secunda.*

The Provinces of Egypt [or Egyptian *Diæcesis*] are VI. *Libya superior, Libya inferior, Thebais, Egyptus, Arcadia, Augustanica.*

The Provinces of the Asian *Diæcesis* X. *Pamphylia, Hellepontus, Lydia, Pisidia, Lycæonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, Insula.*

The Provinces of the Pontick *Diæcesis* XI. *Galatia, Bithynia, Honorias, Cappadocia prima, Cappadocia secunda, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemzniacus, Hellenopontus, Armenia prima, Armenia secunda, Galatia Salutaris.*

The Provinces of the Thracian *Diæcesis* VI. *Europa, Thracia, Hemimontis, Rhodope, Mæsia secunda, Scythia.*

In conformity to this Model of Government in the Civil State, the Regiment in the Church (which before had been Metropolitcal, when the Provinces were independent on each other in Ecclesiastical Administrations,) was adapted. This *Diæcesan* Form of Governance might, 'tis probable, privately creep into the Church, in that interval of time between the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan* Councils; which is the opinion of Dr. *Barrow* (See Note (e.) in this Chapter.) But, 'tis certain, it was confirm'd by the Fathers convened in this second Oecumenical Synod; which Sanction they made upon this occasion. A little before the summoning of this Synod, *Melinius* Bishop of *Antioch* in the East, took a journey to *Constantinople*, where he, together with some other Bishops, promoted *Gregorius* of *Naxianzum* to the *Constantinopolitan* See. So *Sozomen* tells us, Book 7. Chap. 3 and 7. Soon after *Melinius* had done this, *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* sent some Bishops from Egypt to *Constantinople*, who ordained *Maximus* the Cynick Bishop of that City. See *Sozomen* Book 7. Chap. 9. Now, in the Political Partition of the Roman Empire, (as you may see by that Draught we have here given you of the



Oriental Prætorian-Præfecture,) these three places were in three several Dioceses. For, Antioch in Syria (whence Melitius came) was in the Oriental Diocese. Alexandria (from whence the Bishops were sent by Peter) was in the Egyptian Diocese; and Constantinople (where these Bishops had celebrated their Episcopal Ordinations) was situated in the Thracian Diocese. In regard these Proceedings had produced a great deal of disorder and confusion in the Church; to remedy this in future, the Fathers convened in this Synod, make a Sanction, (See Conc. Constantinopol. II. Can. 2. pag. 87. Edit. Bevereg.) that the Ecclesiastick Dioceses should have the same Limits with those of the State; and that it should be as unlawful for Ecclesiastick Persons to perform any Office, or do any business belonging to them, without that Diocese wherein they were placed; as it was for the Civil Minister to intermeddle with any affair without the Limits of his Diocese. That this had not been duly observed in the Church before this Synod, but that Prelates made frequent Excursions out of one Diocese into another, to ordain, &c. is evident, not only from the instances we have mention'd just now; (where we find Melitius who belong'd to the Oriental Diocese, and other Bishops of the Egyptian Diocese; ordaining a Bishop of Constantinople, a City in the Thracian Diocese;) but also from the Testimony of our Socrates, a Person who lived soon after the convention of this Constantinopolitan Synod; who speaking here concerning its Sanctions, οὐ παρεῖχεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν (says he) διαπερᾶν τοὺς ἐπαρχίας, &c. And they constituted Patriarchs, having made a division of the Provinces; that so those Bishops [who make their abode] without the bounds of their own Diocese, should not invade the Churches without their Limits. For this had been promiscuously done before by reason of the Persecutions. But, notwithstanding that this Diocesan form (in imitation of the Civil State of the Empire) was brought into the Church, and thereupon Patriarchal Sees were erected; yet after this, several Provincial Churches had their ancient privileges confirm'd to them, (which confirmation is grounded on the sixth Canon of the Nicene Council, as Dr. Beverege has fully prov'd in his Notes on that Canon, pag. 58;) and remained independent from the Patriarchal Sees. For instance, the Cyprian Church was adjudg'd to be such an one, in the eighth Canon of the third General Council held at Ephesus, in the year of Christ 431. In which Canon, after the Ephesine Fathers had determined the Cyprian Church to be independent from the Bishop of Antioch; they add this clause: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν διακρίσται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπαραχρῆσται παρὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, &c. The same shall be observed in other Dioceses, and in the Provinces every where; that so, none of the most Religious Bishops may invade another Province, which has not been for many years before, and from the beginning under his, or his predecessors hand. In like manner, Armenia the Great was exempted from dependence on any Patriarchate; as 'tis apparent from That Order of the Presidency of the most holy Patriarchs, which Dr. Beverege has published (at his notes on the 36th Canon Concil. Trullan. pag. 135, &c.) from a very ancient Greek Manuscript in the Bodleian Library. In which Manuscript, neither England, Scotland, nor Ireland, are reckoned dependents on the Roman Patriarchate; as the Learned Reader, on perusal, will find. Though, 'tis as certain, that there was a compleat and absolute Church settled in this Island, long before this Manuscript Order was (or can be supposed to have been) drawn up; as that there was one at Antioch, or Rome itself. For (not to mention those unquestionable authorities which might be here produced to prove, that the plantation of the Gospel in this our Province was as early as the close of Tiberius's Reign;) we have many Witnesses of an undoubted authority to attest, that before the times of the Nicene Council, there was a compleat Church settled in this Island. For first, in the subscriptions to the first Council of Arles (convened in France before the Nicene Council, that is, before the year of Christ 325, as the Acts of the said Council, published by Jacobus Sirmondus do attest;) we meet with the names of these Persons who went thither from this our Island: (See Concilia Antiqua Gallie, Tom. 1. pag. 9. Edit. Sirmondi Paris. 1629.) Eborius, Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi, &c. Eborius Bishop of the City of York in the Province of Britannia. Restitutius, Bishop of the City of London, in the fore-written Province. Adelfius, Bishop of the City Colonia of the Londoners. From the same Province, Sacerdos a Presbyter, Arminius a Deacon. Secondly, Athanasius (in his second Apology against the Arians, p. 720. Edit. Paris. does attest, that the Bishops of the Britannia's were present at the Sardican Council; which Synod was convened in the Conulate of Rufinus and Eusebius (see our Socrates, Book 2. Chap. 20, note c.) on the year of our Lord 347. Lastly, to mention no more, Hilarius Bishop of Poitiers in France, in the beginning of his Book de Synodis (pag. 318. Edit. Paris. 1631. which Book was written about the year of our Lord 350.) sends Greeting Britanniarum Episcopis, to the Bishops of the Britannia's. This is sufficient to prove we had a Church here in those times. And, that this Church was governed by its own Bishops, till about the year of Christ 600, and subject neither to the Roman, nor to any other foreign Prelate, is a thing evidently apparent from what Venerable Bede has recorded in his Ecclesiastick History. For when Gregory Bishop of Rome, (supposing the Inhabitants of this Island to be still intangled in the Errors of Paganism,) had sent hither Augustine the Monk to convert them to Christianity; he unexpectedly found, not only the Christian Religion disseminated amongst them long before his arrival, but Bishops also rightly and duly constituted; which Prelates could not (in my simple judgment) be supposed the Subjects of the Roman Bishop, because he was so far from

having any knowledge of them, that he did not believe there was one single Christian in this Island. But, though Augustine at his arrival found not the British Bishops dependants on the Roman See; yet, he resolves to use his utmost endeavour to make them such. In order to which, by the assistance of Ethelbert King of Kent (as Bede tells us, Book 2. Chap. 2. Eccles. Hist.) he summons together the Prelates of the adjacent Provinces of the Britons, advises them to alter their ancient usages, and to accept of him for their Arch-bishop. But they, having an Arch-bishop of their own already, to wit, the Bishop of Kaerleon, and looking upon it to be a strange and unheard-of thing, that they should become Subjects to a Foreigner; wholly refused him and his monstrous proposal; telling him, that they would not own him for their Arch-bishop; and, as to their ancient customs and usages, that they could not relinquish them without the consent and licence of their own Nation. Whereupon they desired a second Synod might be convened. At which there met seven British Bishops (whose Names you may see in Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, Tom. 1. pag. 106;) and many other Learned Men; who by Dionotus (or, as Bede calls him, Dinotus) Abbot of Bangor gave Augustine the Monk this answer: (See Sir Henry Spelman, as before, pag. 108, 109.) Be it known to you and without doubt, that we are, and every one of us obedient and subject to the Church of God and Pope of Rome, and to every true and pious Christian, to love every one in his degree with perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the sons of God. As for any other obedience, I do not know that I owe it to him, whom ye call the Pope, or that he hath right to challenge or require to be the Father of Fathers. This obedience we are ready to give and pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are placed under the Government of the Bishop of Kaerleon upon Uske, who is to supervise under God over us, to make us keep the spiritual way. What treatment the British Prelates found from Augustine's hand, after they had given him this answer; the Reader may see in Bede, at the Book and Chap. now quoted. Where we find this Augustine, their pretended Converter, threatening them with a War. Which by his Instigation (See Mr. Wheelocks notes on Bed. Eccles. Hist. Book 2. Chap. 2.) Ethelfridus King of the Northumbrians waged against them: wherein no less than 1200 British Ecclesiasticks were slain at one time. After this, the Romish Bishop, for upwards of nine Centuries exercised a supreme Ecclesiastick Power in this Nation; though several of our Kings promulg'd severe Laws against it. But now at length, his Tyrannick yoke is broken off; and our Church enjoys its ancient privileges: which may that God continue to it, by the most precious Blood of whose eternal Son it was purchased! Amen.

(g) those Bishops [who make their abode] without the bounds of their own Diocese, should not invade the Churches without their limits. For this had been promiscuously done before, by reason of the persecutions. And to Nestarius was allotted the \* Great City and Thracia. \* That is, Heladius successor to Basilus in the Bishoprick of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

second Canon of the Constantinopolitan Synod; which Dionysius Exiguus renders thus: Qui sunt super Diocesim Episcopi, &c. the Bishops who are over a Diocese. There may be a twofold sense of these Words. For, first, They may be termed ὑπὲρ διοίκασιν ἐπίσκοποι, who are over a Diocese, or preside over a whole Diocese; of which sort is the Bishop of Alexandria, or the Bishop of Antioch, who is constituted not over a Province, but over a Diocese. Or secondly, They may be termed ὑπὲρ διοίκασιν, who are without their own Diocese: So Zonaras explains these Words in his Comment on this Canon. Lucius Holstenius has embraced the former sense of these Words. For, at the Margin of his copy he had made a remark, that this passage in Socrates is to be explain'd thus: Ne Episcopi, &c. Lest the Bishops set over their own Dioceses, should invade the Churches situate without their limits. But, the latter sense is the truer; which the Canon it self declares in the following Words: for the Fathers add, ἀκλήτες δὲ ἐπισκότους ὑπὲρ διοίκασιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν, that the uncalled Bishops come not beyond their Dioceses. Wherefore, ὑπὲρ διοίκασιν ἐπίσκοποι are the same with ὑπερῶρες, Prelates without their bounds; which title Socrates has given Gregory Nazianzen at chap. 7. of this Book; because of his removal from the Bishoprick of Sasimi (which was in the Pontick Diocese) to Constantinople. Further, it is to be noted, that Diocese in this Canon does not signify a Diocece (as that word is commonly used,) or a Province, as the Greek Interpreters Zonaras and Balsamon supposed; but it imports many Provinces joyn'd together which are subject to one Governour. Whence the title of this Canon is, καὶ διοικήσεων, concerning Dioceses. For, its express words are, ἐν ταῖς διοικήσεσιν καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίαις, &c. the fore-written Canon concerning Dioceses being observed, 'tis manifest that a Provincial Synod will govern affairs throughout every Province. You see what the title of this Canon is, and how it distinguishes a Province from a Diocese. For, 'tis not forbidden by this Canon, that Bishops should go out of one Province into another, to celebrate Ordinations; that being not to be done otherwise. To instance in the Asian Diocese (see note f.) the Fathers prohibit not a removal out of Lycia into Pamphilia, nor out of Caria into Lydia, on account of Ecclesiastick business; but they only forbid them to pass out of one Diocese into another. Valef.



*Gratianus* [Bishop] of Nyssa, a City also in Capadocia, (who was *Basilius's* Brother; and *Otreius* [Bishop] of Meletina in Armenia, had the (b) Patriarchate of the Pontick Diocesis for their allotment. To *Amphilochius* of Iconium, and *Optimus* [Bishop] of Antioch in Pisidia, was assign'd the Asian [Diocesis]. To *Timotheus* [Bishop] of Alexandria was given [the Superintendency over the Churches] throughout Egypt. The administration of the Churches throughout the East was committed to the Bishops of that Region, [to wit] to *Pelagius* of Laodicea, and *Diodorus* of Tarsus; but to the Antiochian Church were reserv'd the Priviledges [of Honour,] which were given to *Meletius* then present. They likewise decreed, that if need required, a Provincial Synod should determine the Ecclesiastick affairs of every Province. These Sanctions were confirm'd by the Emperor's own consent. Such was the conclusion of this Synod.

Properly so called; because (as *Valesius* well remarks) there are more than one named here to be superintendents over one Diocesis; for instance, *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreius*, are assign'd for the Pontick Diocesis. Now, what that power was, which is here given to these Prelates by the Synod (or rather by the Emperor *Theodosius* himself,) will appear from an inspection into the occasion of their being intrusted with this power. The Emperor *Theodosius*, perceiving the Churches to be notoriously pestred with Arianism, took a resolution to extirpate it. In order whereto, he published an Edict (which is mentioned by *Sozomen*, Book 7. Chap. 9. and is still extant, being the third Law in the Theodosian Code, Tit. de fide Catholica :) to this effect; That in all places, the possession of the Churches should be delivered to such persons only, as would acknowledge and profess one and the same Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in a subsistency of three persons equal in honour and power. In order to a more clear manifestation of those Persons that owned this acknowledgement and profession; such of them as were in Constantinople and Thracia, were by this Imperial Law obliged to hold communion with *Nectarius* Prelate of the Constantinopolitan See; those in the Pontick Diocesis, with *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreius*, &c. For these Prelates (says *Sozomen*) the Emperor himself approved of, after he had seen and spoken with them; and also, they had an eminent repute for their pious Government of their Churches. And the Emperor orders further in his Edict, that whosoever dissented from a communion of Faith with these Prelates, in their several districts, he should be expelled out of the Church as a manifest Heretick. You see then, that the power given to these Prelates here was not properly Patriarchial; but only this, that their Faith was to be the standard as it were, to measure that of others by, and a communion with them the Test for admitting persons to, or expelling them from, Ecclesiastick preferments. But, though we affirm, that the Prelates here mentioned by *Socrates*, were not constituted Patriarchs properly so called: yet we see no reason of making an inference from hence, (as *Valesius* in his note here does,) that Patriarchs were not constituted by the Constantinopolitan Fathers. For this is plainly repugnant to our *Socrates's* fore-mentioned words in this chap. viz. *πρωτεύοντες καὶ σεοὺν διακονοῦντες τὰς ἐπαρχίας*, they constituted Patriarchs, having made a distribution, or division, of the Provinces. On which distribution of the Provinces, the entire constitution of Patriarchs has its sole dependence. For, from it arose Dioceses, over which Patriarchs were set. See the Learned Dr. *Beveridge's* notes on the 6th Canon of the Nicene Council, pag. 52, &c. and on the second Canon of the Constant. Synod. pag. 94.

## C H A P. IX.

That the Emperor *Theodosius* [ordered] the Body of *Paulus* Bishop of Constantinople to be honourably translated from [the place of his] Exile. At which time also *Meletius* [Bishop] of Antioch departed this life.

AT that time the Emperor translated the Body of *Paulus* the Bishop from the City Ancyra; whom *Philippus* Prefect of the Praetorium had banish'd upon *Macedonius's* account, and had order'd him to be strangled in *Cucusus* a Town of Armenia, as I have \* already mentioned. [Theodosius] therefore, having receiv'd [his Body] with much honour and reverence, deposited it in the Church which now bears

his own name; which Church the embracers of *Macedonius's* opinion were heretofore in possession of, at such time as they were Separatists from the Arians; but were then expelled by the Emperor, because they refused embracing of his Faith. Moreover, at the same time *Meletius* Bishop of Antioch fell into a Distemper, and died: in praise of whom *Gregorius*, *Basilius's* Brother, spoke a (a) Funeral Oration. *Meletius's* Body was by his Friends convey'd to Antioch. Such as were favourers of *Meletius*, did again refuse to be subject to *Paulinus*; but caused *Flavianus* to be substituted in the place of *Meletius*. By reason whereof a new division did again arise amongst the People. Thus the Antiochian Church was afresh divided into two Parties, on account of their Bishops, not of their Faith.

## C H A P. X.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of all the Sects to be convened, at which time *Arcadius* his Son was proclaimed Augustus; and that the Novatians (who as to their Faith embraced the same Sentiments with the Homoiousians) were the only persons that had permission to hold their Assemblies within the City. But the other Hereticks were forced from thence.

BUT, there were disturbances in other Cities also [which hapned] at such time as the Arians were ejected out of the Churches. On account whereof I cannot choose but admire the Emperor's Judiciousness and Prudence. For he suffered not (so far as it was in his power [to prevent them,]) the Cities to be filled with tumultuous disturbances: But within a short space of time, order'd a Synod of all the Heresies to be again convened, supposing that by a mutual conference of the Bishops, one concordant opinion would prevail amongst all men. I am of opinion, that this design of the Emperor's was the cause of that fortunate success he [then] had. For, about the same time, by a particular dispensation of Divine Providence, the barbarous Nations were reduced to a subjection to him. And amongst others, *Athanasius* King of the Goths made a surrendry of himself with all his own people unto him, (a) who soon after died at Constantinople. Moreover, at that time the Emperor proclaim'd his son *Arcadius*, Augustus, in the second Consulate of \* *Merobaudes* which he bore with † *Saturninus*, on the sixteenth of January. Not long after these things, the Bishops of every Sect arriv'd from all places, in the same Consulate, in the month June. The Emperor therefore having sent for *Nectarius* the Bishop, consulted with him, what project should be made use of that the Christian Religion might be freed from dissensions, and the Church reduc'd to an union. And he said, that that controversie which caused a separation in the Churches, ought to be discuss'd, that so by a removal of the discord, an agreement might be effected in the Churches. At the hearing of this, *Nectarius* was full of anxiety and sollicitude. And having sent for *Agellus* then

(a) *Athanasius* King of the Goths, entred Constantinople in the Consulate of *Eucherius* and *Eutagrius*, on the eleventh of January, and died on the twenty fifth of the same Month; as 'tis recorded in *Idazius's* Fasti. and in *Marcellinus's* Chronicon. On the year following, which was the year of Christ 382, when *Antonius* and *Syagrius* were Consuls, the whole Gothic Nation surrendred itself to *Theodosius*, on the 3d of October. as says the same *Idazius*. Valef.

\* In the Greek he is called *Merogaudus* here, and hereafter.

† His name in the Greek is *Saturnilus*.

\* See *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 26. & Book 2. Chap. 16. note (4.)







hath given all things into his hand. Obedient to the framing and creating of the things which are. Obedient to every Administration. Not receiving his being the Son, or God, from his obedience: but in that he is the Son, and is the only begotten, he is made God. Obedient in Works. Obedient in Words. The Mediator in Sentences [or Decrees]. The Mediator in Laws. Him we acknowledge to be the Son of God, and the only begotten God. Him alone [we acknowledge to be] like to him that begat him upon account of an eminent similitude and a peculiar conception [or signification.] Not as the Father [is] to the Father. For there are not two Fathers. Nor as the Son [is] to the Son, there being not two Sons. Nor as the Unbegotten to the Unbegotten. For there is one only Unbegotten, [to wit] the Omnipotent; and one only begotten Son. But [he is like] as the Son to the Father: In regard he is the Image and Seal of every Operation and Power of the Almighty: the Seal of all the Works, Words, and Councils of the Father. Him we acknowledge to be one of those who covered the earth with [a deluge of] waters. Who burnt the Sodomites with fire. Who inflicted punishment on the Egyptians. Who made Laws according to the Commandment of the Eternal God. Who in the times of the Prophets conversed with the Ancients. Who called those that refused to obey. Who has received all power of Judging. For the Father judgeth no Man; but hath given all judgment to the Son. Who in the last days was made flesh: made of a woman. Made Man in order to the deliverance and Salvation of us Men. Who assumed Man [or Humanity] consisting of a Soul and Body. Who by his tongue and mouth Preached peace to those that were near and such as were remote. Who was made obedient unto the Cross and unto death. And who saw not corruption, but rose again the third day. And after his Resurrection he compendiously expounded the mystery to his [Disciples.] He sits on the right hand of the Father; and shall come to judge the quick and dead. After this [Person,] We Believe in the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth. The Teacher of Piety. Made by the Only begotten, to whom he was once subject. Who is not to be reckoned after the Father, nor together with the Father. For there is one only Father, who is God over all. Nor is he to be equalled with the Son. For he is the Only begotten, and has no Brother begotten at the same time with him. Nor yet is he to be compared with any other thing. For he has transcended all other things that have been made by the Son, in Generation, Nature, Glory, and Knowledge. In regard he is the first and best, the greatest and most beautiful work of the Only begotten. Who also himself being one, and the first, and the Only, and the most eminent of all the Sons composures, by reason of his substance and natural Dignity; does perfect every Operation and Doctrine according to the sons' allotment by whom he is sent, and of whom he receives. And he makes a relation to those that are instructed; teaching the Truth; sanctifying the Saints; leading them who come to the sacrament: directing to the Spirit all his free gifts, who gives grace. And he co-operates with the faithful, in order to their understanding and contemplation of the things commanded. Who groans with them that pray: is the Guide to what is profitable: gives strength in order to Piety: enlightens souls with the light of knowledge: purges the thoughts: chases away devils: cures the sick: heals the diseased: brings back the wanderers [into the way:] comforts the afflicted: crosses those that stumble and fall: refreshes those that labour: encourages with shouts those that strive: emboldens those that are fearful: is the Guardian and Co-seer of all men: takes all imaginable care, and makes provision for the promotion [or access] of the well-minded, and for the preservation of the more faithful. Further, We Believe in that Resurrection which shall be [effected] by our Saviour; [to wit] of these very Bodies which have been dissolved, together with their proper members, and particles: when nothing shall be wanting or changed, of those things which composed every mans body in this present life. Moreover, [We Believe] the Judgment which shall be after this, of those things which have been ill thought or acted; and likewise of all the works, words, actions, practices, conceptions of the mind, and thoughts which have passed in this present life: so that nothing at all, whether of the greatest matters, or of the least shall be concealed: nothing of these things, which have been legally done, or unjustly perpetrated, shall be neglected or overlooked; but a proportionate and just sentence shall be given [or measured out.] And those that have continued impious and sinners to the end [of their lives,] shall be sent away to an endless punishment. But such as have led Holy and Righteous lives, shall be taken up to an eternal life. These are our Sentiments, which we have learned from the Saints, and thus we think and believe. We have omitted nothing of what we have learned, on account of shame, or out of fear. Nor have we by reason of turpitude or contentiousness made any additions thereto, or perverted any thing therein. Neither are we conscious to our selves of any such falsity or detestable impiety as is framed against us by those Sycophants, or slanderers; Whose damnation is just.

That this is the Confession of Faith, which was delivered by *Eunomius* to *Theodosius*, in the month *June*, on the second Consulate of *Merobaudes* which he bore with *Saturninus*; is evident from these words which occur at the beginning of this confession; το wit, τῶν βασιλικῶν περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπισημειῶν καὶ δημοσιῶν, and whereas the Imperial Commands do require this Confession. Valef.

The Emperor gave them a very kind reception at their meeting: and having received a Draught of the Creed in writing from every one of them, retired into a private apartment alone, where he pray'd with much fervency, that God would give him his assistance, in order to an Election of the Truth. And having read over every one of

the written Draughts of the Creed, he tore all the rest, (disapproving of them, in regard they introduced a separation of the Trinity) except the *Homoousian* Creed only, which he commended and embraced. This was the reason of the *Novatians* flourishing again, [and of their being permitted] to celebrate their sacred Assemblies within the Cities. For the Emperor admiring their consent as to the Faith, (f) with those of his own opinion, gave command by [the promulgation of] a Law, that they should securely enjoy their own Oratories; and that their Churches should have the same privileges with (g) those [Churches] of his own Faith. But, the Prelates of the other Sects, by reason of their disagreement amongst themselves, were condemn'd and despis'd even by their own Disciples. And being reduced to a desperation, and overwhelmed with grief, they made their departure: and wrote Consolatory Letters to those of their own party, persuading them not to be troubled, because many relinquished them, and became Adherents to the *Homoousian* Creed. For many [they said] were called, but few chosen. Which expression they in no wise made use of, at such time as the greatest part of the people \* through force and fear became their favourers. But neither were the Professors of the *Homoousian* Creed perfectly free from trouble and disquietude. For the great affairs of the *Antiochian* Church caused a division amongst those that were present at the Synod. For, the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Cypriots* † gathering together again, said that *Flavianus* ought to be expelled out of *Antioch*. But [the Bishops] of *Palæstine*, *Phœnice*, and *Syria* stood up in defence of *Flavianus*. What conclusion this affair had, I will declare in its due place.

(f) Instead of [*οὐ τὰς δικαιοσύνας*, about those of his own opinion,] it must be thus mended [*πρὸς τὰς δικαιοσύνας*, with, or to those of his own opinion.] The same error occurs before in this Chapter; where he says, ἀλλοι γὰρ ἀλλω ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τῶν παλαιῶν; which we have corrected by rendering it thus: For some were one way affected towards the Books of the Ancients, others another. Valeſ.

(g) I read [*Ἐπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις* τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεος ἔχουσιν, with *those [Churches] of his own Faith*, For the word ἐκκλησίαι, *Churches*, is understood. The privileges of Churches are, a privilege of Sanctuary, a privilege of receiving Embassies, and the like. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Maximus the Tyrant, how he slew Gratianus by treachery: At which time also Justina, the Mother of Valentinianus Junior, desisted, though unwillingly, from her Design against Ambrosius Bishop of Millain, for fear of Maximus.*

A Bout the same times wherein these Synods were held at *Constantinople*, these transactions hapned in the Western parts. (a) *Maximus* (a) *Miscululus* and *Christophorus* [coming] out of the Island *Britannia*, invaded the *Roman* Empire, and makes a treacherous attempt upon *Gratianus* then engaged in a War against the *Alamanni*. In *Italy*, during *Valentinianus*'s minority, *Frobus*, a person that had been *Consul*, had the chief management of affairs, who at that time bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium*. sions ap-

that this Man was born in *Brittain*; which (though perhaps true, yet) cannot be made out from this passage in our *Socrates*. *Zosimus* (Histor. Book 4.) says this *Maximus* was a *Spaniard*. Our Country-man *Gul-das* calls him *German Plantationis Britannicæ*, a branch of the *Britannic Plantation*. *Camden* mentions him in his *Britannia* (pag. 240, 241, Edit Lond. 1607.) where he quotes some *Verses* out of *Ausonius*; in which he terms him *Rhutupinus Latro*, the *Richborow-Thief*.

Fustina



*Gratianus* *Justina* (Mother to *Valentinianus Augustus*), a Woman that was a *Arian*, during her Husband's life, had no power to be mischievous towards the Embracers of the *Homoousian* Creed. But after [her Husband's death,] when her Son was very young, she went to *Millain*, and raised great disturbances against *Ambrosius* the Bishop, issuing out an Order that he should be banish'd. And whilst the People made a resistance [against this Order,] out of their excessive love to *Ambrosius*, and opposed those that endeavour'd to hale him away into Exile; in that interim news came, that *Gratianus* was treacherously slain by the Tyrant *Maximus*. For *Andragathius Maximus's* Lieutenant (being hid in a Carriage put into the form of a woman's Horse-litter, and carried by Mules; and having given the Guards a Command, that they should before-hand spread abroad a report, that the Emperor *Gratianus's* Wife was in that Litter;) meets the Emperor before *Lyons*, a City in *France*, passing the River. The Emperor supposing it to be his Wife, was not aware of the Treachery: but, as a blind man does into a Ditch, fell into the hands of his Enemy. For *Andragathius* leapt out of the Litter on a sudden, and slew *Gratianus*. *Gratianus* therefore ended his life in the Consulate of \* *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and lived twenty four. This accident cool'd the Emperor's Mothers heat against *Ambrosius*. Moreover, *Valentinianus*, though against his will, complied with the necessity of that juncture, and admitted *Maximus* to be his Colleague in the Empire. At which time *Probus*, afraid of *Maximus's* power, resolves upon a retreat into those parts of the Empire nearer to the East. Immediately therefore he departs out of *Italy*; and arriving in *Illyricum*, he fix'd his residence (b) in *Thessalonica* [a City] of *Macedonia*.

(b) I will here propose my doubt to the Reader. I am of opinion therefore, that *Thessalonica*, which was the chief City of *Macedonia*, was under *Theodosius's* Empire. My reasons are; (1.) because *Theodosius*, after he had been Proclaimed *Augustus* by *Gratianus* at *Sirmium*, went to *Thessalonica*, resided there a long while, and receiv'd the Embassies of the Cities of the East; and when he fell sick, he was baptized by *Acholius* Bishop of that City, as *Zosimus*, *Prosper*, *Socrates*, and others do relate. (2.) During his Residence in that City, he published many Laws, which are extant in the *Theodosian Code*, in the *Titiles de fide Catholica*, and *de Hereticis*; which Laws are dated at *Thessalonica*. (3.) Lastly, in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, at which 'tis manifest the Eastern Bishops only were present, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica* is reckoned, as may be seen in the eighth Chapter of this Book. After *Theodosius's* times, there is no doubt but *Thessalonica* was under the Eastern Emperors. For 'twas the chief City of the Oriental *Illyricum*, which contained *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, as we are informed from *The Notitia* of the *Roman Empire*. But, whether or no it was under the Eastern Emperors, about the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign; may deservedly be doubted. For *Aurelius Victor*, and *Zonaras* do expressly affirm, that *Gratianus* gave *Theodosius* only the East and the *Iberia's*. And *Zosimus* relates, that *Valentinianus Junior* (upon his division of the Empire with his Brother,) had *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*. Neither had *Constantius*, or *Valens* (who governed the Eastern Empire before *Theodosius*) *Illyricum* under their Dominion. In the times of *Valens*, 'tis certain, *Mamertinus* *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium*, governed *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum* at the same time; as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Notwithstanding, *Valens* (after his Brother *Valentinianus's* death) seems to have annexed *Macedonia* and *Dacia* to his own Empire, by the consent of his Brother's Sons. Which Collection I make from the close of *Amm. Marcellinus's* thirty first Book; where he says, that *Valens's* Soldiers and *Palatines*, who had been besieged by the *Goths* at *Adrianople*, went out after that Siege was broken up, and hastened some into *Dacia*, others into *Macedonia*, supposing that *Valens* had retired thither. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 468. Edit. Par. 1636. Valef.

C H A P. XII.

That the Emperor *Theodosius* having provided a numerous Army against *Maximus*, (at which time *Flaccilla* bare him his Son *Honorius*;) left *Arcadius* at *Constantinople*; but went himself to *Millain*, where he came to an Engagement with the Tyrant.

BUT the Emperor *Theodosius* was extremely full of care and sollicitude, and formed a very powerful Army against the Tyrant; being afraid lest he should treacherously murder *Valentinianus Junior* also. At the same time arrived Embassadors from the *Persians*, requesting Peace of the Emperor. Moreover, then also a Son was born to the Emperor, named *Honorius*, of whom his Wife *Flaccilla* was deliver'd, in the Consulate of \* *Richomerus* and *Clearchus*, on the \* Or, *Ri-* ninth of September. In the same Consulate died *Agelius* Bishop of the *Novatians*, a little before [ *Honorius's* birth. ] On the year following, whereon *Arcadius Augustus* bore his first Consulate with *Bauton*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* ended his life, who was succeeded in that See by *Theophilus*. A year after this, *Demophilus* Bishop of the *Arian* Heresie, concluded his life. The *Arians* sent for one *Marinus*, a Bishop of their own Heresie, out of *Thracia*, whom they intrusted with the Bishoprick. But *Marinus* sat [Bishop] not long. For under him the *Arian* Sect was divided into two Parties, as we shall declare hereafter. Wherefore they sent for *Dorotheus* out of *Antioch* in *Syria*, and constituted him their Bishop. In the interim, the Emperor proceeded to a War against *Maximus*, and left his Son *Arcadius Augustus* at *Constantinople*. Arriving at *Thessalonica*, he finds (a) *Valentinianus* and those about him in great sadness and anxiety, because out of necessity they had admitted the Tyrant to be Emperor, as it were. But *Theodosius*, in outward appearance, gave no indication of his mind [in favour of either side.] For he neither (b) rejected, nor admitted *Maximus's* Embassy. But he could not endure the sight of a Tyrannical Government over the *Romans*, cover'd with the specious pretence of an Imperial name. Having therefore muster'd his Military Forces, he marcht to (c) *Millain*. For thither *Maximus* was already come.

who was on this year (when *Valentinian* himself was the third time Consul, with *Eutropius*;) conquer'd by *Maximus*, (as *Sulpitius* informs us, in his first Book concerning the Life of *Martinus*) and together with his Mother *Justina*, his *Præfekt*s and *Comites*, fled to *Thessalonica*. Valef.

(b) But *Zosimus* says, that *Maximus's* Embassy was received by *Theodosius*, and that he acknowledged him to be Emperor and admitted of his Statues; and ordered *Cynegius* *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium* in the East, that *Maximus's* Statues should be propos'd to publick view at *Alexandria*, and that he should declare to the people that *Maximus* was Colleague of his Empire. Which thing *Sigonius* (in his Book de *Occidentali Imperio*) has done ill to place on the year of Christ 384, when *Richomerus* and *Clearchus* were Consuls; in regard it was done in *Valentinianus's* third Consulate, which he bore with *Eutropius*, on the year of Christ 387. For, on this year *Cynegius* was *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium*. Valef.

(c) He should rather have said *Aquileia*: For thither *Maximus* went, as *Zosimus* and the other *Chronologers* do inform us. Valef.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Disturbance raised at *Constantinople* by the *Arians*.

ABOUT the same time that the Emperor was busied in the War, the *Arians* in *Constantinople* raised a disturbance, by this Artifice. 'Tis usual

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

Or, Richomerus.

(a) The Phrase is, τὸς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, which Christopherson renders ill, thus, Valentinian's Soldiers. For Socrates means Valentinian himself.



Valen. Jun. usual with \* Men to frame stories of things they are ignorant of. And if at any time they have gotten an occasion, they spread greater Rumours concerning the things they have a mind well befit to, being always extremely desirous of Changes too many and Alterations. This was the case of *Constantinople* at that time. For some framed and divulged one thing concerning the War which was waged at that great distance, others another; always presuming upon the worst event of affairs. And when nothing of action had happened in the War, as if themselves had been Spectators upon the very Spot, they discoursed concerning things which they knew not: [to wit,] that the Tyrant had gotten a Victory over the Emperor's Army, That thus many were slain on this side, and so many on that; and that the Emperor was just upon falling into the Tyrant's hands. Then the *Arians*, at that time highly incensed, (for they were sorely vex'd because those that had been persecuted by them heretofore, were now in possession of the Churches within the City: ) began to enlarge the Reports. But afterwards, some of the stories that were told, induced even the Coyners themselves of these false rumours to believe, that the reports they had framed and divulged, were not feign'd but undoubtedly true. For, such persons as had taken them up upon hear-say, affirmed to the Authors of these Lies, that the account of Affairs was exactly agreeable to what they had heard from themselves. Whereupon, the *Arians* became embolden'd, brake out into an irrational violence; threw fire into the Palace of *Nectarius* the Bishop, and burnt it. This was done in *Theodosius's* second Consulate, [which he bore] with *Cynegius*.

## C H A P. XIV.

Concerning the Emperor *Theodosius's* Victory, and the Tyrant's Overthrow.

But whilst the Emperor was upon his march towards the Tyrant, the Forces under *Maximus's* Command, inform'd of the great military preparations, could not so much as resist an assault of the same thereof; but, being put into a consternation, bound the Tyrant, and deliver'd him to the Emperor. He was slain in the same Consulate, on the (a) twenty seventh of August. But *Andragathius* (he that slew *Gratianus* with his own hand,) after he understood that *Maximus* was routed, cast himself into the adjacent River, and was drowned. Then, both the Victorious Emperors made their Entry into Rome. *Honorius*, *Theodosius's* Son, a Child very young, was with them. For after *Maximus* was vanquished, his Father sent for him

(a) *Socrates* is mistaken. For *Maximus* was slain, not on the 27th of August, but on the 28th of July, as *Idatius* says in his *Chronicon*. The same is recorded in those *Fasti*; which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has published under *Idatius's* name. For, these are the words there: *Theodosio Aug. II. & Cynegio Coss. Sc. In the second Consulate of Theodosius Augustus [which he bore] with Cynegius, on that year, Maximus the Tyrant, that publick Enemy, is slain by Theodosius Augustus, three Miles from Aquileia, on the fifth of the Calends of August [that is, on the 28th of July] Also, his Son Victor is slain a few days after, in the Gallia's, by Theodosius's Comes. Further, this Victor had been created first Caesar, and then Augustus, by his Father; as we are informed from this Old Inscription recorded by Sigonius, in his 9th Book, de Occidentali Imperio: DD. NN. MAG. CL. MAXIMO, ET FL. VICTORI PIIS FELICIBUS SEMPER AUGUSTIS BONO R. P. NATIS. Where you see Maximus has two Prænomena, to wit, Magnus Clemens. Sulpitius Severus (Book 2. Histor. Sac.) calls him Clemens Maximus. But, by Orosius he is termed Magnus Maximus. Valef.*

from *Constantinople*. They continued therefore at Rome, celebrating their triumphal Festivals. At which time *Theodosius* the Emperor shewed a signal instance of his Goodness and Clemency, towards (b) *Symmachus*, a person that had been Consul. For, this *Symmachus* was the eminentest person of the Senate at Rome, and was admired for his great skill in the Roman Literature. There are now extant many Orationes of his written in the Latin tongue. But, in regard he had composed an Oration in praise of *Maximus* whilst he was alive; and had spoken it to him in publick, he was afterwards charg'd with the crime of High-treason. Upon this account he was afraid of a capital punishment, and took sanctuary in the Church. But the Emperor had so great a reverence for the Christian Religion, that he not only highly honour'd the Prelates of his own Faith; but gave gracious reception to the *Novatians* also, who embraced the *Homoïusian* Creed. Therefore, that he might gratifie *Leontius* Bishop of the *Novatian* Church at Rome, he pardon'd *Symmachus's* crime. *Symmachus* having his pardon granted him, wrote an *Apologetick* to the Emperor *Theodosius*. Thus this War, which at the beginning seemed to threaten [the Empire] with great calamity, was terminated by this sudden conclusion.

## C H A P. XV.

Concerning Flavianus of Antioch.

At the same time these affairs were transacted (a) at *Antioch* in Syria. After the death of *Paulinus*, the people who had been his Followers, had an aversion for *Flavianus*. Upon which account they caus'd *Euvagrius* to be ordained Bishop of their own party. He having not long survived his Ordination, no other person was afterwards constituted in his place; which was effected by the diligence and endeavours of *Flavianus*. Notwithstanding, those that had an aversion for *Flavianus*, in regard he had violated his \* Oath, kept their assemblies apart by themselves. But *Flavianus* left no stone unturned, (as the saying is,) that he might bring these persons also to own a subjection to him. Which he effected soon after, [to wit,] when he had appeased the anger of *Theophilus* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, by whose intercession *Flavianus* procured a reconciliation also with *Damasus* Bishop of Rome. For both these Prelates had been incensed against *Flavianus*, not only on account of his perjury, but also in regard he had given an occasion of a separation, amongst that people who had been brought to an agreement. *Theophilus* therefore being pacified, sent *Isidorus* a Presbyter, and reconciled *Damasus*, as yet offended; telling him, 'twas very conducive for the effecting an union amongst the people, to pass by the fault which *Flavianus* had committed. Communion being after this manner restored to *Flavianus*; the people of *Antioch* were within a small space of time reduced to a reconciliation. Such was the conclusion of this affair at *Antioch*. For the *Arians* in that City were ejected out of the Churches, and had their meetings in the Suburbs thereof. Moreover, in this interim died *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was succeeded by *Johannes*.



Valef. J. m.  
Theodosius.

## CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the demolishment of the Idol-Temples at Alexandria; and concerning the Fight betwixt the Pagans and Christians, which hapned on that account.

AT the very same time, this disturbance also hapned at Alexandria. By the solicitation of Theophilus the Bishop, the Emperor issued forth an Order, for the demolishment of the Heathen-Temples at Alexandria; and gave command, that this Order should be put in execution by Theophilus's care. Theophilus being thus empowered, us'd his utmost endeavours in order to the exposing the Heathen Mysteries to ignominy and contempt. He cleansed Mithra's Temple, and destroy'd that belonging to Serapis. He also exposed to publick view the bloody Mysteries

\* That is, Mithra's Temple: what these Mysteries were, Socrates has told us, Book 3. chap. 2.

† Pieces of Wood made in fashion of a Man's privities.

of the \* Mithreum. And shew'd how full of ridiculousness the Mysteries of Serapis and of the other Gods were; ordering that the † Priapus's should be carry'd thro' the midst of the Forum. The Heathens at Alexandria, more especially those that profest Philosophy, upon sight of the doing hereof, were unable to repress their discontent; but made an addition to the \* former tragic actions which they had perpetrated. For, upon a sign given which they had agreed on before-hand, they made an unanimous assault upon the Christians, and murth'rd every one they met: Moreover, the Christians defended themselves; and thus mischief was attended with mischief. This fight was continued so long, till a satiety of slaughter put an end to it. Few of the Heathens were destroy'd in this conflict; but of the Christians [there fell] a great many. The wounded on both sides were innumerable. After the perpetration of this action, a fear seiz'd the Heathens, who dreaded the Emperor's anger. Wherefore, having done what they pleased, and satiated their minds with slaughters, they absconded, some in one place, others in another. Moreover, many of them fled from Alexandria, and dispers'd themselves into several Cities. Amongst which number were the two Grammarians, (a)

(a) Some excerpions of this Helladius the Grammarian, are extant in Photius's Bibliotheca. Valef.

† Πιθήξ; that is, The Ape's Priest. For the Egyptians worship an Ape, as Lucian tells us, in his piece, *ἑξ ὀσίων*.

(b) Sozomen (Book 7. chap. 15.) calls this Prefect's name Evagrius; and the Commander in chief of the Milice in Egypt, he names Romanus. Eunapius likewise (in the Life of Aedius,) names both these persons; and attests, that they gave a great assistance to Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, in destroying the Temple of Serapis. I will insert Eunapius's own Words here, because they want correcting; (see Eunap. in vita Aedisi, pag. 63. Edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1616:) καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τὸν Κανόβιον ἐπεὶ ταυτὸ πρὸς ἑπασχόν, Θεοδοσίῳ μὲν τότε βασιλεύοντι, Θεοδοσίῳ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιδόσαντων. Εὐετίῳ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι. Ρωμαῖον δὲ τὸν κατ' αἰγυπτίον στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἔχοντα. That is, the Temples about the City Canobus underwent the same thing, Theodosius being at that time Emperor, and Theophilus Presiding over those execrable Persons; he was a certain Eurymidon, that reigned over the haughty Gyants: Evetius being then Governour of the Civil affairs, and Romanus intrusted with the Command of the Milice throughout Egypt. On my peril, correct it

thus: *Εὐαγρίῳ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Evagrius being then Governour of the Civil affairs.* In the Theodosian Code, (title, *De Paganis*;) there is a Law extant of Theodosius's, directed to this Evagrius Prefect of Egypt, and to Romanus Comes of the Milice throughout Egypt; which Law was dated at Aquileia, in the Consulate of Tatianus and Symmachus. From which Law it may be concluded, that Serapis's Temple was demolish'd at Alexandria, in the year of Christ 391. But Marcellinus, in his Chronicon, contradicts this; and says, this Temple was destroyed when Timasius and Promotus were Consuls; which was the year of Christ 389. And this, in my judgment, is the truer. For Cynegius Prefect of the Praetorium, at his being sent into Egypt, had a command from Theodosius, that he should pull down the Heathen-Temples; as Zosimus relates in his first Book. And he had executed that command, as Idatius attests in his Fasti. Now, Cynegius died in his own Consulate, on the year of Christ 388. Valef.

The Temples therefore were ruin'd, but the Images of their Gods were molten into Caldrons, and into other utensils necessary for the Alexandrian Church; the Emperor having given [the Images of] the Heathen-Gods [to that Church,] for the relief of the Poor. Wherefore Theophilus brake in pieces all [the Images of] the Gods, save one, to wit, the Image of the fore-mention'd God, which he order'd to be preserv'd unmelted, and caused it to be set up in a publick place; lest (said he) the Heathens should in Ages to come deny, that they had been Worshippers of such Gods. At which action [of Theophilus's,] Ammonius the Grammarian was, to my knowledge, highly disgusted: for he was wont to say, that the Religion of the Gentiles had suffer'd most horrid abuses, (c) because but one Image only was not melted down; but was preserv'd meerly to render Gentilism ridiculous. But Helladius made his boasts in some persons hearing, that in the Conflict he had slain nine men with his own hand. Such were the doings in Alexandria at that time.

(c) Instead of [ἵνα μὴ ᾖ] it should be [ὅτι μὴ ᾖ,] because but, &c. Socrates means the

Image of their God Simius, which Theophilus had ordered to be reserved on purpose. And thus Epiphanius Scholasticus has explained this place in Socrates, much better than Christophorson; who understood those Words of Socrates [τὸ δὲ τὸ θεῖον] as spoken concerning a certain (or rather uncertain) God. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Hieroglyphical Letters found in the Temple of Serapis.

[Moreover,] at such time as Serapis's Temple was rifled and demolish'd, there were Letters found [in it,] ingraven on stones; (a) which [Letters] they call Hieroglyphical. These characters had the forms and resemblances of Crosses. When the Christians and Heathens saw these characters, each party \* adapted them to their own Religion. For the Christians, who affirm that the Cross is the sign of Christ's salutary Passion, thought this Character was properly and peculiarly theirs. The Heathens alledg'd it was some thing [that belonged in] common both to Christ, and to Serapis; for, a Character [said they] made in form of a Cross, betokens one thing amongst the Christians, another amongst the Heathens. [Letters]

(a) Instead of [τὰ καλόμενα ἱερογλυφικά,] called an Hieroglyphick; it ought rather to be thus written [τὰ καλόμενα ἱερογλυφικά,] which they call

Hieroglyphical:] so Epiphanius Scholasticus seems to have read. Indeed, Socrates and Sozomen do relate, that these Hieroglyphical Letters were found in the Temple of Serapis, cut upon the Walls thereof. But Rufinus does not say they were found there: He tells us rather, that they were kept and expounded at Canopus. At his second Book, Eccles. Hist. chap. 26; these are his Words: *Fam vero Canopi quicquid enumeret superstitiosa flagitia!* &c. But now, who can enumerate the superstitious impieties at Canopus? Where, under a pretext of their sacerdotal Letters, (for so they call the ancient Letters of the Egyptians;) there was in a manner a publick School of Magick Art. Valef.

G g

Whilest



*Valen. Jun. Theodosius.* Whilest these things were controverted amongst them, some of the Heathens (who were converted to the Christian Religion,) having Skill in these Hieroglyphical Letters, gave an interpretation of the Character made in form of a Cross, and said it signified *Life to come*. Thisthe Christians took hold of with much earnestness, as being more advantageous to their Religion in particular; and were not a little proud of it. (b)

(b) *Socrates bor-* row'd this out of *Ru-* finus's second Book, *Eccles. Hi-* stor. chap. 29. He apprehend- ed not *Ru-* finus's meaning. For *Ru-* finus says not, that it was pre- dicted to the Pagans by other Sacerdotal Letters, \* *Colof.* 1. 26. *Sera-* pis's Tem- ple would then be destroy'd, when that sign of the Cross should ap- pear: he only says, that the Egyptians received this as a tradition from their Ancestors, so wit, that the Temples wherein they then worshipp'd, should stand so long, till that sign should come, wherein there was Life. But, because mention is here made of *Serapis's* worship, and of the Letters found in his Temple; nothing hinders, but we may here explain, (in favour of the studious) an Old Epigram concerning *Serapis*, which is recorded by *Eusebius* in his Books de *Demonstratione Evangelicâ*. For it contains both the manner how this God was worshipped by the Egyptians; and besides, *Scaliger* understood it not, in his *Animadversions on Eusebius*, Number 1730. The Epigram therefore runs thus:

Ἐπὶ δὲ φωνήναι δέον μέγαν ἀφ' ὧν αἰνεῖ  
Γέγονα, τὸ πᾶντ' ἀνθρώπων πατήρ.

That is,  
The seven Vowels do my praise resound,  
Who am the Great, Immortal Deity,  
Th' unwearied Father of the Universe.

You must know, that the Egyptian Priests were wont to praise their God *Serapis* in no other manner, than by a recitation now and then of the seven Greek Vowels. Therefore, instead of Hymns and Songs, the Pipe and Harp; the sound of the seven Vowels was heard in *Serapis's* Temple. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* does attest this, in his Book περὶ ἐτυμολογίας, in the chapter de *Collisione Vocalium*. Where after he has informed us, that the Collision of the Vowels is not so much to be avoided, in regard it sometimes produces a pleasant noise; he adds these words: ἐναίγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δαὺς ὑμνοῦσι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ φωνήντων αἰσθῆσαι, &c. Moreover, in Egypt the Priests sing praises to the Gods by [repeating] the seven Vowels, sounding them out one after the other. And, instead of the Pipe and Harp, the sound of these Letters is heard. *Elias Vinetus* (in his notes at *Ausonius's* eighteenth Epistle,) does declare that he had seen an old Inscription, which was found upon a golden plate, fixt on the breast of a dead body. This plate contained the seven Greek Vowels, repeated in seven Verses, in such order as you may see there. But I doubt not but there

were seven other Verses on the reverse of the said plate, in the same order with those on the fore-side. To wit, in such a manner that the second Verse of the reverse side began with *Omicron*, the fourth with *Upsilon*, the sixth with *Omega*. *Vinetus* could not explain this Riddle. In my judgment *Serapis's* name is denoted by these Letters; which God (as *Hesychius* attests) was called Ἑπταγένηματος, not only because there are seven Letters contained in his name, but in regard he was usually praised by the seven Vowels. Now, it was an usage amongst the superstitious Heathens to engrave *Serapis's* name upon a brazen plate, and wear it hung about their Necks in form of a Buckler. *Artemidorus* (Book 4.) gives us an account of this usage, in these words: ἑδοξέ τι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ σεράπιδος ἐγγεγραμμένον ἀεὶ καλῶν καὶ τὸ τεύχηλον δεδεῖσθαι, ὡς περὶ σκυτίδα. *Vales.*

In what order the seven Greek Vowels were placed on the fore-side of this golden plate; the Learned Reader may see in *Vinetus's* Notes on the 18th Epistle of *Ausonius*, written to *Tetradius*; Edit. *Burdigal.* 1590.

## C H A P. XVIII.

That the Emperor *Theodosius*, during his stay in Rome, did a great deal of Good to that City, both by demolishing those Receptacles for Thieves in the Bake-houses, and also [by prohibiting] the obscene [use] of Bells in the Stews.

Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius*, during his short stay in Italy, was in many instances highly beneficial to the City of Rome, partly by his donation of some things, and partly by his abrogating others. For his donations were many and great: and he \*regulated two villai-<sup>\*Or, ren-</sup> nous and most infamous abuses (frequently pra-<sup>dr ed inef-</sup> ctised in) that City. The one whereof was this. <sup>festual.</sup> There were in the † great City Rome houses of † Or, in a vast bigness and largeness, long since [built,] <sup>the Gre- test Rome.</sup> wherein the bread was made which was distributed among the Citizens. The Masters of these houses (whom the Romans in their language term (a) *Mancipes*) in process of time turn'd these (a) Among the Ro- mans, Ba- kers were called *Mancipes*, because

they were [*Mancipati*] bound to the Colledge of Bakers, and to the Trade of making Bread; and their goods and families were obnoxious to this Function. See the eighteenth Law of the *Theodosian Code de Pistoribus*. In which Law, they are the *Decuriales*, (concerning whom I have made several remarks in my notes on *Amm. Marcel.*) who were of the *Decuria* of the City of Rome. These Officers had the custody of all the publick Acts and Monuments; especially the sentences of Judges, Contracts, Adoptions, and the like. On which account (as *Cassiodorus* tells us, Book 5. Epist. 21,) the quiet and security of all men, and the publick Faith was kept in their Desks. There was over all these a Rector of the *Decuria*; concerning whose Office see *Cassiodorus*, Book 5. Epist. 21, 22. But, to return to the *Mancipes*; it is observable, that in the fore-mentioned Law the Function of the *Mancipes* or Bakers is termed *Mancipatus*. So also it is called in that One Law in the *Theodosian Code de Mancipibus*: which Law was published at Rome by *Theodosius*, in the Consulate of *Timasius* and *Promotus*; at the same time that these things (which *Socrates* here relates) were done. See *Meursius's Glossary* in the word *μαλκίσιον*. It is further to be remarkt, that those Constitutions made at Rome by *Theodosius* (which *Socrates* treats of in this chapter, and places after the Emperor's Victory over the Tyrant *Maximus*,) are by *Cedrenus* placed after *Theodosius's* Victory over the Tyrant *Eugenius*. But *Cedrenus's* words (you will meet with this passage in *Cedrenus*, at pag. 266, Edit. *Basil.*) are corrupt, which I mend thus: μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην τῆς ἐσελῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πλείστον τῇ πόλει ἐχάλαστο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μαλκισίοις καὶ [in the fore mentioned Edition of *Cedrenus* the word καὶ against is omitted] καὶ ἐμποιπτόντων ξένων [in *Cedrenus*, instead of ξένων strangers, it is ζῶν living Creatures:] ἀχει γὰρ τοῖς μύλασι συκλειομένων, καὶ ἀλῆθεν κατεπειρομένων σκώλη; that is, making his Entry into Rome after his Victory over this person [*Eugenius*,] he did a great deal of good to that City, and abolished what [bad been usually done] in the Bake-houses against strangers that fell in thither, whom they shut up in the Bake-houses till they became aged, and forced them to grind. The Author of this emendation in *Cedrenus*, is *Theophanes*, who also relates this fact of *Theodosius's*, after his Victory over *Eugenius*. Concerning these *Mancipes* there is an eminent passage extant in the Excerptions of *Joannes Lydus de Mensibus Græcorum*, in the month *March*. *Vales.*

wherein



wherein they prostituted. Whores, by which device they \* trepanned many persons; some going in thither to supply themselves with food, others to satisfy their libidinous and filthy desires. For, by a certain Engin<sup>[purposely made on that account]</sup> they were † conveyed from the Victualling-house down into the Bake-house. This trick was chiefly put upon strangers that sojourned at Rome. Such as were after this manner trepanned, they forced to work in the Bake-houses. In which places many continu'd till they were grown old; being not permitted to go out, and their relations taking it for granted that they were dead. One of the Emperor Theodosius's Soldiers fell into this snare. But after the Soldier was shut up in the Bake-house, and not suffer'd to go out, he drew a Dagger that he had, and killed those that oppos'd [his escape.] The rest of them, affrighted at what had hapned, let the Soldier go out. The Emperor having had notice hereof, punish'd the *Municipes*, and gave order that those houses, which were Receptacles for Thieves, should be pulled down. This was one of the ignominious practices, from which the Emperor freed the Imperial City. Another was of this sort. If a woman were taken in adultery, they punish'd the delinquent, not with such a sort of punishment as might make her better, but in such a manner rather as should aggravate her offence. For they shut her up in a narrow *Brothel-house*, and forced her to play the whore in a most impudent manner. And, during the time of performing that most unclean act, they caus'd little (b) Bells to be rung, to the end that what was done [within] might not be conceal'd from those who passed by; but that that ignominious punishment shou'd be made known to all people by the sound of the Bells rung. When the Emperor had information of this impudent usage, he would by no means tolerate it; but commanded those *Sistra* (for by that name *these Stews* were called,) to be pull'd down; and gave order that women taken in adultery, should be \* punished by other Laws. From these two most wicked and reproachful † usages, the Emperor Theodosius freed the City [of Rome. Who, after he had well settled all other affairs, left *Valentinianus Junior*, Emperor at Rome. But he himself, together with his Son *Honorius*, returned to *Constantinople*, and entered that City in the Consulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*, on the tenth of November.

(b) I can scarce believe, that the Romans inflicted this sort of punishment upon adulteresses. For, after Constantine's time, they always punish'd adultery with a capital punishment. We are informed hereof from the Emperor's Laws extant in *Both the Codes*, *Tit. ad Legem Fuziam de Adulteriis*. I omit the testimony of *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 28. Further, any one may conjecture, that those little Bells, mentioned here by Socrates, were not found out to punish adulteresses; but were commonly made use of by all Whores, who prostituting themselves in their Cells, by this sign called Travellers unto them. Concerning which custom *Dion Cassius* (in the *Fragments of his 79th Book*, which I have some time since published,) speaks these Words: *τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὐκ ἦν τι σποδίζαν, &c.* In fine, having made a Cell within the Palace, he acted his lechery therein, (standing naked before the door thereof, as whores usually do, shaking his shirt which was hung up with golden rings, and with a soft, delicate, and broken voice, inviting his companions to him. Valef.

These Words *Dion Cassius* speaks of *Avitus* or *Heliogabalus*, Emperor of Rome; the Learned Reader will find this passage at pag. 912. Edit. Hanov. 1606.

## C H A P. XIX.

Concerning the Penitentiary Presbyters, how [these Officers in the Church] were at that time put down.

About the same time it was judg'd requisite to extinguish [the Office of] those Pres-

byters in the Churches, whose charge it was to oversee Penitents: [which was done] upon this account. (a) From such time as the Novatians made a separation of themselves from the Church, because they were unwilling to communicate with those that had lapsed in the Persecution under Decius; the Bishops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the (b) Canon of the Churches; to the intent that

by the Fathers during the first and purest times, reformed open Transgressors, by putting them into Offices of open Penitence, especially Confession, whereby they declared their own Crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their first convention capable of the holy Mysteries of Christ, till they had solemnly discharged this Duty. During which times, offenders in secret also knowing themselves altogether as unworthy of admission to the Lord's Table, as the other who were withheld; and being persuaded, that if the Church did direct them in the Offices of their penitency, and assist them with publick Prayer, they should more easily attain what they sought, than by trusting wholly to their own endeavours: Lastly, having no impediment to stay them from it but bashfulness, which countervailed not the forementioned inducements; and besides, was greatly eased by that good Construction, which the Charity of those times gave to such Actions, (wherein Men's piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God purchased them much more love, than their faults were able to procure disgrace;) these Offenders in secret, I say, were not nice to use some one of God's Ministers, by whom the rest might take notice of their faults, prescribe them convenient remedies, and in the end, after publick confession, all joyn in prayer to God for them. But, as professors of Christianity grew more numerous, so they waxed worse; when persecution ceased, the Church immediately became subject to those mischiefs, that are the product of Peace and Security; to wit, Schisms, Discords, Dissentions, &c. Faults were not corrected in Charity; but noted with Delight, and treasured up for malice to make use of, when the deadliest opportunities should be offered. Whereupon, in regard publick confessions became dangerous and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded Men, and in divers respects advantageous to the Enemies of God's Church; it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite, that voluntary penitents should cease from open confession. Instead whereof, private and secret confession was usually practised, as well in the Latin, as in the Greek Church. The cause why the Latins made this change of publick confession into private, *Leo the Great* declares, in his *Decretal Epistles*, Epist. 80, ad *Universos Episcopos per Campaniam*, &c. pag. 148, 149. Edit. Ludg. 1633. This alteration was made in the Greek Church, about such time as the Heresie of the Novatians had its original, (which is our Socrates's Sentiment here, and is very probable;) upon this occasion. The Church resolving (contrary to the opinion of Novatus, or rather Novatianus, and his followers; concerning which, see *Euseb. Eccles. History*, Book 6. chap. 43.) to admit the Lapsed in the Decian persecution to Communion, and judging it fit, that before that their admission, they (and all other voluntary penitents in future) should do penance, and make confession in private only; (to the end that the Novatians might not take occasion at the multitude of publick Penitents, of insulting over the Discipline of the Church, as they usually had done, and did;) constituted in every Church a Penitentiary Presbyter: whose Office it was, to take the confessions and appoint the penances of secret Offenders. So that, if penitents in secret, being guilty of Crimes whereby they knew they had made themselves unfit Guests for the Table of our Lord, did seek direction for their better performance of that which should set them clear; it was in this case the Penitentiary's duty to take their confessions, to advise them the best way he could for their soul's good, to admonish them, to counsel them; but not to lay upon them more than private Penance. As for notorious wicked Persons, whose Crimes were known; to convict, judge, and punish them, was the Office of the Ecclesiastical Consistory; Penitentiaries had their institution to another end. This Office of the Penitentiary was continued in the Greek Church for the space of above some hundred years; till Nestarius, and the Bishops of Churches under him begun a second alteration, abolishing even that confession which their Penitentiaries took in private, upon that occasion which Socrates mentions here in this chapter. See Mr. Hooker's *Eccles. Polity*, Book 6. pag. 332. &c. Edit. Lond. 1656; also Dr. Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, Part 3. Chap. 5.

(b) In *Rob. Stephens's Edit.* the reading is, οἱ ἐπισκοπεῖ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ὃ ἐστὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβυτέρου, The Bishops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the Canon of the Churches. In the *Sforzian M. S.* the reading is [τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, to the Ecclesiastick Canon;] which reading *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Nicephorus* found in their Copies, as appears by the Version of the first, and the Greek Text of the second. Which two Authors took Canon to signify a Rule or Ecclesiastick Decree. *Petavius*, in his notes on *Epiphanius*, pag. 242. took these Words of Socrates in such a sense, as it the import of them were, That the Bishops, by publishing of a Canon then newly found out, added a Presbyter who should take charge of the penitents; which opinion of his he confirms by these following Words of Socrates: *ἐν τῷ δὲ κανόνι, &c.* this Canon



is in force to this day amongst other Heresies; where the term Canon is manifestly taken for a Rule and Decree. But Valesius is not of Petavius's opinion. His reasons are. (1) The propriety of the Greek tongue admits not of this sense. (2) If a new Canon were then made concerning the institution of a Penitentiary Presbyter, he queries, where, and in what Council it was published. Valesius's Sentiment therefore is, that the term Canon is here to be taken for the *Matricula*, or Roll of Ecclesiastick Officers belonging to the Church. In which sense, he says, 'tis taken in the 2 Can. Concil. Chalcedon. pag. 112. Edit. Bevereg. where ('tis true) it must be taken in a more comprehensive sense, than to signify the Clerus only; that is, those who are ordained by imposition of hands: because the Fathers in that Canon speak of all the Ecclesiastick Officers, such as were the *Oeconomi*, the *Defensores*, the *Mansionarii*, &c. concerning whom see Dr. Beverege's Notes, pag. 109. But, whether it is to be used in this sense here, I determine not; let the Learned judge.

Valen. Jun. such Persons as had sinned after Baptism, might make a confession of their Crimes (e) before this Presbyter instituted for that purpose. This Canon is in force to this day amongst other Heresies. (e) What the course of discipline in relation to penitency was, as it was practised by the Fathers during the first and purest times, before Penitentiaries were instituted;

we have declared at note (a.) in this chapter, mostly in Mr. Hooker's own words. Which incomparable Author, in the forecited Book of his Eccles. Polity, has by unexceptionable authorities made it evident, (whatever the Learned Reader may find said to the contrary by Baronius at the year of Christ 56, by Petavius in his *Diatriba* about this point, which occurs at pag. 225, of his notes on Epiphanius, or by Bellarmine:) that the ancient ἐξομολόγησις, or confession, which the Primitive use to speak of in the exercise of repentance, was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Ecclesiastical Consistory and Assembly. After the institution of Penitentiary Presbyters in every Church, this publick confession was abrogated; and such as were guilty of Crimes, confessed them not ὁπὶ τῷ λαῷ, in the presence of the people, but (as Socrates here says) ἐπὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, before this Presbyter instituted for that purpose. The same is confirmed by Sozomen, Book 7. Chap. 16. where he tells us, how a Presbyter Elected to the Office of a Penitentiary, was to be qualified. One of his qualifications was, that he ought to be ἐχέμυθος, a person that could hold his tongue: by which 'tis plain, that the confessions made to him were private, and to be kept concealed.

\* That is, the Office of the Penitentiary. For these Hereticks admitted no Person to their Communion upon any repentance, who was once known to have sinned after Baptism: See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Book 6. Cap. 43. which practice of theirs, how fair soever their pretence might seem, made sinners not the fewer, but the closer, and the more obdurate.

+ To wit, from the Persecution under the Emperor Decius, till after the Election of Nectarius to the Episcopate of Constantinople.

(d) Valesius, in his note here, starts this query; whether the confession made by this Gentlewoman were publick, or private? In order to the answering whereof, he remarks, that she confessed twice before the Penitentiary. At her first confession, she made known all her sins; whereupon she is advised to continue in fasting and prayer. At her second, she discovered her having been debauched by the Deacon. These two confessions (continues Valesius) were different both in time and manner. The first was of all her faults καὶ μερῶν, particularly (as Socrates words it;) the second was of one crime only. All which may perhaps be true. After this remark made, Valesius concludes both these confessions to have been secret; which (says he) is apparent from these two reasons; (1) because publick confession was never in use in the Church: (2) in regard Socrates says, that this Woman accused not herself before the People, but before the Penitentiary. Valesius's first reason appears evidently false, not only from Mr. Hooker's Words quoted before, and the unquestionable authorities he there produces to prove what he asserts; but from a passage in Sozomen, Book 7. Chap. 16. where that Ecclesiastick Historian, (giving reasons of the alteration which the Grecians made, by abrogating publick confession, and instituting Penitentiaries throughout all Churches to take the confessions and appoint the penances of secret offenders,) assigns this for one: πορνήων, ὡς εἰδὲς, ὅτι ἀρχαῖς τοῖς ἱερεῶσιν ἐδόξε, &c. It did from the beginning deservedly seem burdensome to the Priests, that sins should be declared before the whole congregation of the Church as witnesses, in a Theatre as it were; from which Words 'tis evident that publick confession was once in fashion in the Church. Valesius's second reason we have before cleared and confirmed by the joint Testimony of Socrates and Sozomen. See note (c.)

tinople; to whom] she made particular confession of those sins, which she had committed after Baptism. The Presbyter advised the woman to fast, and pray continually, that together with her confession, she might have some

(e) work also worthy of Repentance to shew. (e) Valesius says, (f) Some time after this the woman detected herself of another crime. For she confessed that he a Deacon of that Church had lain with her. Upon her discovery hereof, the Deacon was ejected out of the Church; and the (g) people were in a kind of tumult disturbed. For they were not only offended at what was done, but also because that fact had brought an infamy and disgrace upon the Church. When therefore Ecclesiastick persons were reproached upon this account, one Eudamon a Presbyter of that Church, by birth an Alexandrian, advised Nectarius the Bishop to (h) abolish the Penitentiary Presbyter's [Office;] and to leave every person to his own conscience, for the participation of the [Holy] Mysteries:

lick penance, the Church being indulgent towards the Matrons. (2) Nothing occurs at this passage, which may make us think this Matron's penance was publick. (3) in regard she is enjoined to fast and pray continually; that may be understood of private satisfaction, which she performed at home and in secret. To which reasons of Valesius's, a fourth may be added, drawn from the Penitentiary's Office: which was to take the Confession of secret penitents, to advise them the best way he could for their souls health, to admonish and counsel them, but not to lay on them more than private penance. See note (a) in this chapter.

(f) In the original 'tis thus expressed, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ πρὸς βασιλέα πρὸς βασιλέα has the same import here with πρὸς βασιλέα, That is, in process of time, or some time after this. For Socrates's meaning is, that this was the woman's second confession. Which is confirmed by Nicephorus, and Sozomen; who (in his Eccles. Hist. Book 7. Chap. 16,) words this passage thus; τὴν ἑαυτὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διατείθεσα, &c. Whilest she made her abode in the Church upon this account, [to wit, of performing the penance enjoined her by the Penitentiary,] she confessed that she had been debauched by a Deacon. It may also not unfitly be thus: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ πρὸς βασιλέα, &c. But the woman came to [the Penitentiary,] and detected, &c. Valesius.

(g) Here arises a difficulty, to wit, how this fact could come to the people's knowledge, if the woman's confession were secret? How also the Bishop could know this wicked fact, who degraded the Deacon on account thereof? My Sentiment is, that the Penitentiary Presbyter, to whom the woman had confessed this impious act, first sent for the Deacon, reproving him before the woman, and forced him to a confession of his Crime; then, he made a report of the whole matter to Nectarius the Bishop, by whom he had been set over the penitents, and whole deputy he was in that Office. For the Bishop himself reconciled penitents. Nor ought any one to make this objection, viz. if we admit what you have said to be true, it follows that the secrets of confession may be discovered. I deny that consequence. For the Penitentiary Presbyter made known the Deacon's wickedness only to the Bishop; the Matron's name he concealed. Further, the Deacon's degradation does plainly confirm what I have asserted. For Nectarius the Bishop could not have deposed him, had he not had intimation from the Penitentiary, who had detected the Deacon of whoredom. Valesius.

(h) The Learned Reader must have observed, that there is nothing wherein the Romanists do more disagree amongst themselves, than in their accounts of this fact of Nectarius. Petavius (in his notes on Epiphanius, pag. 243.) does maintain, that Nectarius abrogated publick penance only, but continued confession, that is, private confession; for publick, he says, was never in use in the Church. Valesius (in his note at this place) does assert, that neither confession, nor penance were abolished by Nectarius; but that the Bishop removed this particular Penitentiary Presbyter only, and that but for a time, because of the discontented people's indignation. One John Hassellius, (who is mentioned by Pamelius, in his 92th Note on Saint Cyprian's Treatise de Lapsis,) wrote a Book on purpose to shew that Nectarius did but put the Penitentiary from his Office, and abrogated not the Office itself. But all these assertions are palpably contradicted (1) by the whole advice which Eudamon gives Nectarius in this chapter, to wit, of leaving the People from that time forward to their own Consciences; (2) by the Conference between our Socrates and Eudamon, which follows in this chapter; wherein complaint is made of some inconvenience which the want of this Office would breed: (3) by that which the History declares concerning other Churches, who did as Nectarius had done before them, not in deposing the same Man (for that was impossible) but in removing the same Office out of their Churches, which Nectarius had abrogated in his. All these particulars are evident from this chapter in Socrates; with whom Sozomen (Book 7. chap. 16.) agrees, and adds further, that



that in his time (he lived in the reign of the younger Theodosius,) the same abolition did still continue, and that the Bishops had in a manner every-where followed the example given them by Nestorius. But, though the Romanists differ (as you see) in their Sentiments about this fact of Nestorius's: yet they all unanimously agree in this, to wit, that Nestorius did not abrogate *Auricular Confession*. The reason of their consent in this assertion is plain: should it be acknowledged, that Nestorius did abrogate *Auricular* (or private) *Confession*, (as 'tis evident he did, from the attestation both of Socrates and Sozomen,) it would enforce them to grant, that the Greek Church at that time held not *Confession*, as the Latin Church now doth, to be the part of a Sacrament instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ, which therefore the Church till the World's end hath no power to alter. See Mr. Hooker's *Eccles. Politic*, pag. 343. Edit. Lond. 1666.

Valen. Jun. For this [in his judgment] was the only way of freeing the Church from obloquie and disgrace. I myself have heard these words from Eudæmon, have taken the boldness to insert them into this my History. For, as I have often said, I have used my utmost care and industry to procure an account of affairs from those that knew them best; and to make accurate researches into them, lest I should record any passage which is untrue. But my answer to Eudæmon [when he told me hereof] first, was this; (i) Whether your advice, O Presbyter! hath been for the Church's good, or otherwise, God knoweth. But I see that it has given an occasion, of our not reprehending one another's faults any more, nor of our observing that Apostolick Precept, which Ephes. 5. 11. saith, \* Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reveal them. But, let thus much be sufficient to Presbyter's have been said concerning these things.

Office, displeased our Socrates. Whence we may evidently conclude, (what ever Baronius and Petavius have said to the contrary, at the places before quoted) that our Socrates was no Novatianist. For, had he embraced that Heresie, he would doubtless never have found fault with that Sanction of Nestorius's, whereby he abrogated the Penitentiary: nor would he have doubted to pronounce these Words concerning the advice Eudæmon suggested to Nestorius, to wit, Whether it were useful or hurtful to the Church: for the Novatians never admitted either of Penitency, or of the Penitentiary Presbyter. Besides, Socrates in this place terms the Assembly of the Homöousians barely and simply The Church: which he would questionless never have done, had he been a follower of the Novatian Heresie. Valef.

## C H A P. XX.

That there were [at that time] many Schisms amongst the Arians, and other Hereticks.

BUT I think it fit, not to leave unmention'd those things also which hapned amongst others; I mean the Arians, Novatians, and those who had their denominations from Macedonius and Eunomius. For the Church being divided, rested not in that division once made. But turning again, came to an engagement one with another; and taking hold of a small and frivolous pretence, rais'd mutual separations and divisions. Now, in what manner, when, and for what reason each party were the authors of dissentions amongst themselves we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But this you must know, that the Emperor Theodosius persecuted none of them, except Eunomius; who holding his meetings in private Houses at Constantinople, and reciting the Books he had written, was by the Emperors order sent into banishment, in regard he corrupted many persons with his doctrine. But the Emperor molested none of the other [Hereticks,] nor did he force them to a communion with himself, but permitted every one of them to meet at their private Conventicles, and to entertain such Sentiments concerning the

Christian Faith, as every of them \* could attain to in their conceptions thereof. He gave the other Hereticks a Licence of building themselves Oratories without the Cities. But order'd, that the Novatians, (in regard they embraced the same Sentiments with himself, as to the Faith,) should without any fear continue in their Churches within the Cities, as I have said before. Concerning whom I judge it opportune to relate some passages, and shall make a short repetition of what has been said before.

## C H A P. XXI.

That the Novatians also disagreed amongst themselves.

Agelius presided over the Church of the Novatians at Constantinople during the space of forty years, from the times of Constantine until the sixth year of the Emperor Theodosius, as I have \* somewhere related before. Being near his death, he ordains Sisinnius to succeed him in his Bishoprick. He was a Presbyter of that Church over which Agelius presided; a person of great eloquence, and had been instructed in Philosophy by Maximus the Philosopher at the same time [that he read to] the Emperor Julian. But when the Novatian Congregation found fault with this Ordination, because [Agelius] had not rather ordain'd Marcianus, a Person of an eminent piety, by † whose interest the Novatians had continued unmolested during Valens's Reign; Agelius, desirous to appease the People's discontent, ordained Marcianus also: and being somewhat recovered from his distemper, he went into the Church, and spake these words to the people on his own account; After my decease, (says he) take Marcianus [for your Bishop,] and after Marcianus, Sisinnius. Having survived these words a small time, he ended his life. Marcianus therefore being constituted Bishop over the Novatians, there arose a division in their Church also, upon this account. One Sabbatius, (a Person that had turn'd Christian from being a Jew,) being by Marcianus promoted to the dignity of a Presbyter, continu'd notwithstanding a zealous promoter of Judaism, wherewith he had been leavened before. Moreover, he was extremely ambitious of being made a Bishop. Having therefore procur'd two Presbyters (Theoctistus and Macarius, who were privy to his ambitious design,) to be his Assistants, he took a resolution of defending that Innovation [made by the Novatians] in Valens's Reign, concerning the Festival of Easter, at Pazum a Village in Phrygia; which I have mentioned || before. And first of all, under pretence of [following] an Ascetick and more austere course of life, he secretly withdrew from the Church, saying that he was aggrieved upon the account of some Persons; in regard he had a suspicion, that they were unworthy of a participation of the \* Mysteries. But in process of time his design was discovered, to wit, that his desire was to hold private and separate meetings. When Marcianus understood this, he himself complained of his own mistake in ordaining, to wit, because he had promoted Persons so ambitious of vain-glory to the † Presbyterate. And being grieved, he did frequently use to say, That it had been better if he had laid his hands on thorns, than when he preferred Sabbatius to the dignity of a Presbyter.



Valen. Jun. Theodosius. Moreover, \* he procured a Synod of Novatian Bishops to be convened at (a) *Sangarum*; which is a *Mart-Town* in *Bitunia*, lying near *Helenopolis*. [The Bishops] being convened there, (a) Instead sent for *Sabbatius*, and ordered him to set forth before the Synod the reasons of his grief. Upon his affirming, that the dissention about [the observation] of the Feast [of *Easter*] was the cause of his being troubled, (for it ought [as he said] to be kept in the same manner that the *Jews* observ'd it, and agreeable to that Sanction which those convened at *Pazum* promulged: ) the Bishops present at the Synod, having a suspicion, that *Sabbatius* pretended all this on account of his being desirous of a Bishoprick, bound him with an Oath, that he should never accept of a Bishoprick. When he had sworn to this, they publish'd a \* Rule concerning the Feast of *Easter*; to which Canon they gave this Title, † *Adiaphoros*: affirming that a disagreement about the Festival [of *Easter*] was not a sufficient reason for a separation from the Church; and that those convened at *Pazum* did no prejudice to the Catholick and Universal Rule. For, the Ancients, [they said,] and those who lived nearest the Apostles times, altho' they differed in the observation of this Festival, yet communicated one with another, and in no wise raised any dissention [on that account.] Besides, the *Novatians*, [they added,] who inhabit the Imperial City *Rome*, never followed the *Jewish* usage; but always kept *Easter* after the *Aequinox*; and yet they separated not from those of their own Faith, who observed not the Feast of *Easter* after the same manner that they themselves did. Upon these and many such-like mature Considerations, they made that *Indifferent Canon* (which I have mention'd concerning *Easter*: whereby it was left to every one's arbitrement, to celebrate *Easter* according to that usage which by a prejudicate opinion he had embraced: And that there should be no dissention in relation to Communion, but that those who celebrated that Festival after a different manner, should notwithstanding continue in the unity and agreement of the Church. This Rule therefore concerning the Feast of *Easter*, having at that time been constituted and confirmed by them; *Sabbatius* being bound by his Oath, (if at any time there hapned a discrepancy in the celebration of the Feast of *Easter*,) himself anticipated the Fast by keeping it in private by himself, (b) and having watch'd all night, he celebrated the solemn day of the Sabbath of the Paschover. And again, on the day following he came to the Church at such time as the whole Congregation were assembled there, and together with them partook of the Mysteries. This he did for many years; and therefore could not avoid being taken notice of by the multitude. Upon which account some of the simpler sort of people, more especially the *Phrygians* and *Galatians*, thinking they should be justified by this fact, imitated *Sabbatius*, and kept the Paschover in secret agreeable to his fashion. But some time after this, *Sabbatius* disregarding his Oath, held schismatical Meetings by himself, and was constituted Bishop over those that were his own followers, as we shall manifest in the Procedure of our History.

(b) This place is corrupted; nor is this fault of a short standing. For, even in *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* age, this mistake had crept into the copies of *Socrates*, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For *Epiphanius* renders it thus: *Cum h.ec ab eis tunc fuisset regula definita, &c.* When this determination had at that time been made by them, *Sabbatius* bound by his Oath, (if at any time there hapned any discrepancy in the Paschal solemnity,) fasted by himself, and by night celebrated the solemn Day

of the Paschover on the Sabbath; and again, met with the whole Congregation in the Church, and partook of the Mysteries. *Christophorus* has express'd the same sense in his Version. *Nicephorus* also (*Eccles. Hist. Book 12. Chap. 31.*) has followed the same sense. For he says, that *Sabbatius*, (as often as the *Christians* differed from the *Jews* in the Celebration of *Easter*,) was wont to fast in private by himself, and to celebrate the Paschover on the Paschal Sabbath about evening, after the *Jewish* manner. Then on the Sunday following, after the Solemn Vigils, his usage was to celebrate *Easter* with the rest of the *Christians*, or rather *Novatians*. But this interpretation does in no wise please me. For thus *Sabbatius* (as often as the *Jewish* Paschover differ'd from the *Christian-Paschal Feast*,) could not have celebrated the first Paschal solemnity with the *Jews*. Then, if *Sabbatius* always celebrated the first Paschal solemnity on the Sabbath-day at evening after the *Jewish* manner, how is it possible, that he could celebrate the Solemn Vigils in the Church on the same Sabbath-day? For this is attested in express Words by *Socrates* here, and by *Sozomen*, *Book 7. chap. 18.* My Sentiment therefore is, that the Words in this place of *Socrates* are transposed, and must be put into their Pristine order after this manner: *ὁ Σαββάτιος τοῖς ὁμοῖς δεῖσις, ἐπολε διατεσσών, καὶ ἐξήλθε ἡ τὴν πάλαι ἐγγίη, αὐτὸς καὶ ἐαυτὸν παραμεινὼν ἐν τῷ, καὶ ἐπέλειπε τὸ πάλαι. Καὶ νυκτερεύων τὴν νουμισμένην τῷ Σαββάτῳ ἡμέραν, πάλιν τῇ ἐξῆς ἄμα πᾶσι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήλθε, καὶ ἡμυσσε νυκτερεύων.* that is, *Sabbatius* being bound by his Oath, (if at any time a disagreement hapned in the celebration of the Paschal Festival,) himself by way of anticipation fasted in private at home, and celebrated the Paschover. And watching all Night on the solemn day of the Sabbath, again on the next day he went to Church together with the rest of the Congregation, and partook of the Mysteries. *Sozomen* does evidently confirm this our Emendation, in his seventh Book chap. 18. where he sets forth the same thing much more clearly in these words: *ὁ ἐκείνους δὲ Σαββάτιος τοῖς ἰουδαίοις ἐτόλμος, &c.* But from that time *Sabbatius* following the *Jews*, (unless it by chance hapned that all Persons [as well *Christians*, as *Jews*] did celebrate the Feast [of *Easter*] at one and the same time,) fasted before-hand, as the manner is, and celebrated the Paschal solemnity in private by himself, according to the sanctions [of the *Mosaic Law*.] But on the Sabbath, from the evening to a fit time, he continued watching and making the usual Prayers, and on the day following met in the Church in common with the Congregation, and partook of the Mysteries. *Sabbatius* therefore kept the Paschal solemnity twice in one and the same year; the first time with the *Jews*, the second with the *Christians*: unless it by chance hapned, that the *Christians* agreed with the *Jews* in the time of celebrating the Paschal Feast. Which could very rarely happen. *Vales.* Our English-translation of this passage agrees with the Greek Text in *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, and that in this Edition of *Valesius*.

## C H A P. XXII.

*This Historian's Sentiment concerning the disagreements which appear in some places, in relation to the Feast of Easter, Baptisms, Fasts, Marriages, the Order of celebrating the Eucharist, and other Ecclesiastick Rites and Observances.*

BUT, I think it not unreasonable to declare in short what comes into my mind concerning *Easter*. Neither the Ancients, nor the Moderns who have studiously follow'd the *Jews*, had in my judgment any just or rational cause of contending so much about this Festival. For they consider'd not with themselves, that when the *Jewish* Religion was changed into *Christianity*, those accurate [Observances] of the *Mosaic Law*, and the Types [of things future] wholly ceased. And this carries along with it its own demonstration. For, no one of *Christ's* Laws has permitted the *Christians* to observe the Rites of the *Jews*. Moreover, on the contrary, the Apostle has expressly forbid this, and does not only reject Circumcision, but also advises against contending about Festival-days. Wherefore, in his *Epistle to the Galatians*, his words are these, \* *Tell me, ye that desire to be under the Law, do ye not hear the Law?* And having spent 4. 21. some few words in his discourse hereof, he demonstrates, that the people of the *Jews* are Servants, but that those who have † follow'd *Christ* † Or, are called to liberty. Moreover, 'tis his admonition, that days and months and years should



in no wise be observed. Besides, in his *Epistle to the Colossians* he does loudly affirm, that [such] Observations are a shadow. Wherefore he says, \* *Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of any holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come.* And in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, this very [Apostle] does confirm the same things in these words, † *For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The Apostle therefore, and the Gospels have no where imposed the yoke of servitude on those who have approached the preaching [of the Faith:] but have left the Feast of *Easter*, and the other Festivals, to be honoured by their gratitude and benevolence, who have had benefits conferred upon them [on those days.] Wherefore, in regard Men love Festivals, because thereon they have a cessation from their labours, each person in every place, according to his own pleasure, has by a certain custom celebrated the memory of the saving Passion. For neither our Saviour, nor his Apostles, have enjoyn'd us by any Law to observe this Festival. Nor have the Gospels, or the Apostles threatened us with any Mule, Punishment, or Curse, as the *Mosaick Law* does the *Jews*. For, 'tis merely for the History's sake, in order to [a publishing of] the reproach of the *Jews*, (because they polluted themselves with blood on their very Festivals,) that it has been recorded in the Gospels, that our Saviour suffered even on the Days of unleaven'd bread. Moreover, it was not the Apostles design, to make Laws concerning Festival-days, but to introduce good Life and Piety. And it seems to me, that, as many other things in several places have been establish'd by custom, so the Feast of *Easter* also had a peculiar observation amongst all persons from some old usage, in regard none of the Apostles, as I have said, have made any determinate Decree about it. Now, that the observation of this Festival had its original amongst all Men in the primitive times from Custom rather than Law, the things themselves do demonstrate. For, in *Asia the Less*, most people kept the fourteenth day of the Moon, disregarding the Sabbath-day. And tho' this was their practice, yet they never made a separation from those who celebrated the Feast of *Easter* otherwise; till such time as *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, over-much heated with anger, sent an \* *Excommunicatory Libel* to the † *Quartodecimani* in *Asia*. For which fact *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France* severely reprov'd *Victor* by Letter; blaming him for his immoderate heat; and informing him, that altho' the Ancients differ'd in their celebration of the Feast of *Easter*, yet they did in no wise separate from a mutual communion. Also, that *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, (a) who afterwards suffer'd Martyrdom under *Gordianus*, communion in *Gordianus's* reign, but that of *Marcus Antoninus*, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, and other Writers. 'Tis certain, that *Irenaeus* does relate, (in his third Book against *Hereses*, which piece he wrote during *Eleutherius's* Presidency over the *Roman Church*, that is, in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*;) that *Polycarp* had at that time suffered Martyrdom. Wherefore these Words [who afterwards suffered Martyrdom under *Gordianus*] are rather to be placed a little above, after these [*Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*.] For they are more accomodate to *Irenaeus*, than to *Polycarp*. But let the prudent Reader, determine hereof according to his own arbitrement. I know indeed, that in *St. Benignus Divionensis's Chronicle*, the Martyrdom of *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* is placed before *Polycarp's*. For the Author of that *Chronicle* does relate, that *Irenaeus*, after his Martyrdom, appeared to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* in his sleep, and commanded him to send *Benignus* into the *Gallia's*. But these are meer trifles. *Vales.*

with *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, and made no separation from him on account of this Festival, altho' *Polycarp* himself, according to his own Country-usage [practis'd] in [the Church of] *Smyrna*, kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, as *Eusebius* says in the \* *Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical History*. Some therefore in *Asia the Less*, as I have said, kept the fourteenth day of the Moon. Others in the

(b) *Eastern parts*, celebrated that Feast on the † *Sunday* indeed; but they differ'd concerning the Month.

Those [first mentioned] were of opinion, that the *Jews* were to be followed, altho' they observed not an exact Rule. (c) These celebrated *Easter* after the *Aequinox*, refusing to keep that Feast with the *Jews*. For they affirm that *Easter* must always be kept when the Sun is in *Aries*, on that Month which the *Antiochians* term *Xanthicus*, and the *Romans* *April*. And in their practise hercof, they followed [as they affirmed] not the modern *Jews* who mistake almost in all things, but the Ancients of that Nation, and *Josephus*; agreeable whereto are the words of that Author in his *Third Book of the Jewish Antiquities*. And thus these Persons disagreed amongst themselves. But all other [Christians] in the Western parts, as far as the Ocean it self, are found to have celebrated *Easter* after the *Aequinox*, from a very ancient Tradition. For all these persons keep it after this manner, and have never disagreed amongst themselves. Nor did the \* *Synod* under *Constantine* alter this Festival, as (d) some have

noised it abroad. For *Constantine* himself writing to those persons who differ'd about this Festival, advised them, in regard they were but few, to become Followers of those who exceeded them in number. You will find the Emperor's Letter entire, in the *Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*. But that part of it [which treats] concerning the Feast of *Easter*, runs thus: — \* *And since 'tis a decent Order, which all the Churches in the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the World do observe; and some places also the in East. Upon which account all persons have at present judg'd it good and right. (and We Ourselves also have engaged it will please Your Prudence;) [to wit,] That what is observed with one concordant mind in the City of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, all Egypt, Spain, the Gallia's, the Britannia's, the Libya's, all Greece, the Asian and Pontick Diocesis, and Cilicia; will willingly be embraced by your Prudence also; which will attentively consider, not only that the number of Churches in the fore-named places is greater; but also, that 'tis most just and commendable, that all persons should chiefly and in common desire that which strict reason seems to require; and*

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(e) to

*Valeu. Jun. Theodosius.*

\* *Colos. 2. 16, 17.*

† *Heb. 7. 12.*

\* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Book 5. Chap. 24. note (i.)*

† That is, those that kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the moon.

(a) But *Socrates* is mistaken. For *Polycarp* did not suffer Martyrdom in *Gordianus's* reign, but that of *Marcus Antoninus*, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, and other Writers. 'Tis certain, that *Irenaeus* does relate, (in his third Book against *Hereses*, which piece he wrote during *Eleutherius's* Presidency over the *Roman Church*, that is, in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*;) that *Polycarp* had at that time suffered Martyrdom. Wherefore these Words [who afterwards suffered Martyrdom under *Gordianus*] are rather to be placed a little above, after these [*Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*.] For they are more accomodate to *Irenaeus*, than to *Polycarp*. But let the prudent Reader, determine hereof according to his own arbitrement. I know indeed, that in *St. Benignus Divionensis's Chronicle*, the Martyrdom of *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* is placed before *Polycarp's*. For the Author of that *Chronicle* does relate, that *Irenaeus*, after his Martyrdom, appeared to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* in his sleep, and commanded him to send *Benignus* into the *Gallia's*. But these are meer trifles. *Vales.*

(b) He seems to mean the *Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians*, who kept *Easter* with the *Jews* before the *Nicene Council*, as *Athanasius* informs us, in his *Epistle to the Africans*, in these Words: *ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ οὐρανῶν, &c.* in regard the *Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians* differ from us, and celebrate [Easter] at the same time that the *Jews* keep it. Those [Eastern People] therefore, concerning whom *Socrates* speaks, followed the *Jews* indeed, in that they observed the fourteenth day of the Moon of the first month before the *Aequinox*. But they celebrated not *Easter* on the same day whereon the *Jews* kept it, but on the *Sunday* following. Wherefore, *Athanasius* says, that they kept *Easter* at the same time with the *Jews*, but not on the same day; as his Translator has ill rendred it. *Vales.*

(c) He means (I think) the *Montanists*, and *Pepusiani*, who kept *Easter* indeed after the *Aequinox*. But always fixt that Festival on the month *Xanthicus*, or *April*, before the eight of the *Ides* (that is, the sixth day) of *April*; as *Sozomen* attests, book 7. chap. 18. *Vales.*

(d) To wit, the *Audiani*. For these Hereticks affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petav. Vales.*

\* See *Euseb. Life of Constantine, Book 3. chap. 19.*



*Valen. Jun. Theodosius.* (e) to have no society with the perjury of the Jews. Such is the Emperor's Letter. Further, the *Quartodecimani* do affirm, that the observation of the fourteenth day of the Moon was delivered to them by John the Apostle. But the reading in *Romans*, and those in the Western parts say, that the usage in force with them was delivered by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Notwithstanding, neither of these two parties can produce any written testimony in confirmation hereof. Moreover, that the Feast of Easter is kept in all places from some usage and custom, I do from hence conjecture. No Sect of Religion observes the same Ceremonies, (f) although it embraces one and the same Opinion concerning God. For they that are of the same Faith, differ amongst themselves concerning Rites. Wherefore, it will not be unreasonable to add a few words concerning the different usages of Churches. First therefore, you may find that the Fasts before Easter are observed one way by some, and in a manner different by others. (g) For they at Rome fast the three continued Weeks before Easter, excepting Saturdays and Sundays. The Inhabitants of Illyricum, those throughout all Achaia, and (h) they at Alexandria, observe a Fast of six weeks before Easter, which they term *δοξασμός*, altho' it embraces one and the same opinion concerning God. Socrates's meaning is this; All Religions and Sects have different Rites and Ceremonies, altho' they entertain the same Sentiments concerning God. Socrates adds, For they that are of the same Faith, &c. Nicephorus also favours this our amendment; for he has express the passage in Socrates thus: For though all Men are of the same opinion, yet they observe not the same traditions throughout the Churches. Valef.

(g) Baronius, at the year of Christ 57 and 391, accuses Socrates of a double mistake; First, because he says that the Romans fasted three weeks only in Lent before Easter; Secondly, in regard he asserts, that in those three weeks, Saturdays were excepted, on which days the Romans fasted not. As to the first, Socrates's opinion is defended against Baronius, by *Hallouxius* in his Notes on the 11th chapter of *Irenaeus's* Life, pag. 678. That which makes me incline to Socrates's opinion, is the authority of *Cassiodorus*, who in his *Tripartite History* has put this passage in Socrates into these Words: *Romani enim tres ante pascha Septimanas, praeter Sabbatum & Dominicam, sub continuatione jejunant; the Romans fast three weeks before Easter without intermission, except on Saturday and Sunday.* Could *Cassiodorus* be ignorant of the custom of the Roman Church in the observation of the Lent-Fast, who was himself a Senator, Consul, and Praefectus Praetorio in the City of Rome? Who can believe he would have put these Words of Socrates into his History, if he had known the thing had been otherwise? Doubtless *Cassiodorus*, had he known this to have been false, would on purpose have omitted Socrates's Words, lest he should lead his Reader into a mistake. Which in regard *Cassiodorus* has not done, but was resolved to have Socrates's testimony, concerning the Romans Lent-Fast read in the History which bears his name; from thence 'tis apparent, that what Socrates has said concerning the Romans Fast is true. In the Catholick Church, though, the Lent-Fast was always observed by all Persons, yet they fasted not after one and the same manner, as *Irenaeus* informs us in his *Epistle to Victor Bishop of Rome*; a considerable part whereof is quoted by *Eusebius Eccles. Hist.* Book 5. Chap. 24. wherefore Baronius is impertinent in opposing Socrates with the testimony of *Gregorius Magnus*. For the Romans fasted in Lent after one manner in Socrates's age, after another in the days of *Gregory the Great*. In the times of *Pope Leo*, with which Socrates was in a manner equal, the Romans fasted three days of the week only in Lent, to wit, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, as 'tis apparent from that *Pope's* Sermons concerning Lent. In the Roman Order I have in my judgment found a footstep of that ancient Custom, which Socrates relates here. For, that Sunday of Lent vulgarly termed *Dominica de passione Domini*, is called *Dominica Mediana*; which name, 'tis said, was given it by command of the Roman See. Now, I see no other reason why it should be so termed, than, that of the three weeks wherein the Romans fasted in Lent, this was the second Sunday. *Bede* (in his Book concerning the Vernal Aequinox) relates, that in Italy some fasted twenty days, others seven. But now, what Socrates says concerning Saturday, may be truly defended. For in *Pope Leo's* age, the Romans fasted not on Saturdays in Lent; as 'tis apparent from the close of that *Pope's* fourth Sermon concerning Lent. Add hereto *Bede's* testimony, in his Book de Officiis; where he relates, that most people fasted not in Lent on Thursdays and Saturdays. Valef.

(h) Sozomen attests the same, Book 7. Chap. 19. Moreover, the Alex-

andrians began the Lent-Fast, not from the Sunday of the sixth week before Easter, (as *Johannes Filescus* supposed, in the 7th chapter of his book concerning Lent,) but from the Monday which followed that Sunday. Therefore, the first Sunday of the Alexandrians Lent was the fifth Sunday before Easter. And this is manifestly asserted by *Theophilus* and *Cyrillus*, in their Homilies or Paschal Epistles. Which I wonder *Filescus* perceived not, who produces *Theophilus's* testimony against himself. Valef.

\* the forty days Fast. (i) Others in a different manner from them, begin their Fast from the seventh week before Easter, and tho' they fast three five days only [part of three weeks,] and that by intervals; yet nevertheless they also call that time the forty days Fast. And I cannot but wonder, how these Persons, (tho' they disagree about the number of the days, yet) should in common give it the same name [to wit,] the forty days Fast. Of which appellation some assign one reason, others another, according to their particular fancies and humours. You likewise find several Persons disagreeing not only

(k) about the number of the days, but differing also in their abstinency from Meats. For some abstain wholly from [eating of] living creatures; others, of all living creatures feed on fish only. Othersome, together with fish, eat fowl also; affirming, according to *Moses's* words, that these were made likewise of the

(k) In the Florent. and Sfortian M. Ss. the reading here is [about the number of the Fasts:] But the other reading, which we have followed, is confirmed by *Socrates* a little above, where his words are [And I cannot but wonder, how these persons, (though they disagree about the number of the days, yet) should in common give it the same name [to wit,] the forty-days Fast.] Valef.

\* See Gen. 1. 20.

waters. Some abstain from all manner of fruits of trees, and from eggs. Others feed upon dry bread only: othersome eat not even this. Others, having fasted till the ninth hour, feed upon any sort of food whatever, making no distinction. (n) Again, amongst other Nations, there are other usages: for which innumerable reasons are assign'd. And in regard no one can produce a command in writing concerning this thing, 'tis manifest that the Apostles left every one to his own will and free choice in this case; to the end that no person might be compelled through fear or necessity, to the performance of what is good. Such is the disagreement throughout the Churches about their fastings. Nor is the variety [amongst them] less, (o) about their performances in their Religious Assemblies.

(m) In the Greek the reading here is [*διαφορὰν ἔχουσι τῶν βλασίων*, make use of a different sort of food:] but I am of opinion it should be [*ἀδιαφορὰν ἔχουσι τῶν βλασίων*, feed upon any sort of food without making any difference.] So *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read this place; for thus he renders it; *alii usque ad nonam jejunantes horam, sine discrimine ciborum reficiuntur*, others having fasted to the ninth hour, refresh themselves without making any difference about the sorts of food. Valef.

(n) After these Words [Again, amongst other Nations, there are other usages] *Sir Henry Savill* in his Manuscript had placed a Subdistinction, (that is, a single point, which Greek writers usually placed at the bottom of the Letter; See *Valesius's* Preface to his Edition of *Eusebius*;) but I had rather place a middle distinction (that is, a Colon) here. Which is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, who has express this passage of Socrates thus: *καὶ ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλοις ἕβεται καὶ οὐλοῖται· ἐν οἷς καὶ μυρία τῶν τοιούτων εἰσὶν* and there are other usages amongst other Nations and Tribes; amongst whom also there are infinite causes of such [customs] as these. Valef.

(o) *Πεὶ σινάξις*. Synaxis is a word used by Christian Writers in several senses. (1) 'Tis sometimes a general term, and contains all things usually done in the Religious Assemblies of Christians; in which sense we suppose it to be taken here. (2) The Celebration of the Lord's Supper is by a peculiar name termed Synaxis. (3) 'Tis used so as to signify the Christian Conventions or Assemblies, without any respect had to the Eucharist. (4) Synaxis is sometimes expressly distinguished from the Celebration of the Sacrament: in which sense our Socrates uses it a little lower in this chapter, where his words are these, *πάντα τὰ τῶν σινάξεως ἕβεται, διὰ τῆς ἁγίας μυστηρίων τελεσθῆναι*, and all things are performed which belong to the Church-Assembly, except the Celebration of the Mysteries [or, the Eucharist.] The



The Reader will find good authorities assigned for all these significations of this term, by the Learned Casaubon, Exercit. 16. ad Annal. Eccles. Baronii. Num. 42.

Valen. Jun. For, tho' [almost] all Churches over the whole world do celebrate the Sacred Mysteries on the Sabbath-day at the period of every week; yet the Alexandrians and they at Rome, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to practise this. The Egyptians who are neighbours to the Alexandrians, and the Inhabitants of Thebais, have their Religious Meetings on the Sabbath: notwithstanding, they participate not of the Mysteries, in such a manner as is usual amongst the Christians. For after they have feasted, and filled themselves with all manner of victuals, in the evening \* To wit, they \* offer, and partake of the Mysteries. Again, at Alexandria, on the † fourth Feria, and on that termed the || Preparation-day, the Scriptures are read, and the Doctors expound them; and all things are performed which belong to the Church-Assembly, except the celebration of the Mysteries. And this is an usage of great antiquity at Alexandria. For 'tis manifest that Origen most commonly taught in the Church on these days. Who, being a very Learned Doctor, and perceiving that the secret of the Mosaick Law was not to be expounded literally, reduc'd his discourse concerning the passover to a Mystical sense; asserting that there had been one only true Passover, [to wit,] that which our Saviour celebrated, at such time as being fastned to his Cross, he vanquished the adverse powers, making use of this Trophy against the Devil. In the same City Alexandria, as well the Catechumens, as the Faithful, are without difference or distinction made Readers and (p) Psalm-setters, whereas in all other Churches, the Faithful only are promoted to this dignity. (q) I my self, when I was have rendred this term very ill, thus, interpretes, Expounders. But E-piphanius translates it Psalmi Pronunciatores, Pronouncers [or Setters] of the Psalm; which rendition is good. It seems to have been these Person-Office, to begin to sing the first words of the Psalm; and then the People sang the rest after them. ὑποβολῆς were heretofore termed Monitores who prompted the Players whilst they were Acting: they put the Actors in as oft as they forgot any passage in the Play, and were out. There were Monitores also in the Prayers, of whom mention is made by Tertullian in his Apology; where he says, that the Christians prayed without a Monitor, because they prayed by heart. But Nicephorus at this place reads ὑπογεγραῖς, Notaries; instead of ὑποβοῖς, Monitors: which reading displeases me not. For the Bishops had their Notaries, who were learned young Men. Thus Proclus is said to have been Atticus's Notary, as Socrates attests, Book 7. Chap. 41. And long before that, Athanasius was Notary to Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, as Sozomen relates, Book 2. chap. 17. In Pope Gelasius's Decrees, cap. 2. amongst the first Ecclesiastick degrees, the Lectores, Notarii, and Defensores are reckoned. In Casarius Arelatensis's Life, chap. 22. are these words: Lector aut Notarius coram illo non cessabat clamare, that is, the Reader or Notary ceased not to cry before him. In the First Action of the Ephesine Synod, Epaphroditus is termed the Reader and Notary of Hellenicus Bishop of the Rhodii. From all which authorities 'tis apparent, that the Notary's and Reader's Office was in a manner the same; to wit, to read the Psalms or other Books of the Sacred Scripture, either in the Church, or in the Bishop's presence. And this Simeon Metaphrastes confirms, in the Acts of the Notaries Marcianus and Dasyrius, which occur in Surius at the twenty fifth day of October. These Notaries registred the Acts which were made in the Church; on which account they seem to have had this name given them. In the Gesta Collationis inter Catholicos ac Donatistas, we meet with this Title: Excipientibus quoq; Fanuario & Vitale Notariis Ecclesie Catholicae, Victore & Cresconio Notariis Ecclesie Donatistarum, &c. that is, also Fanuarius and Vitales Notaries of the Catholick Church, Victor and Cresconius Notaries of the Church of the Donatists, registring [the Acts, &c.] There was over these a Primicerius Notariorum, [or the Chief of the Notaries,] who was usually chosen out of the Presbyters, as we are informed from the first Action of the Ephesine Council, wherein Petrus Presbyter of Alexandria, and Primicerius of the Notaries, recites the Emperor Theodosius's Edict to Cyrillus and the other Metropolitans. But the chief duty of the Notaries was, to carry the Verge or Staff before the Bishop, as 'tis related in the second Book concerning the Life and Miracles of Casarius Arelatensis. Valef.

(q) In Rob. Stephens's Edition, this place is pointed thus: ἔγνων δὲ

ἐγὼ καὶ ἔτερον ἕδος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ἡρώδης κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ. I my self knew another custome also in Thessaly, being made a Clergy-man there: If this punctuation were true, it would follow, that Socrates was a Clergy-man in Thessaly. But this is in no wise probable, in regard Socrates does every-where stile himself Scholasticus, that is, an Advocate. Wherefore, I doubt not but this place must be otherwise pointed, to wit, after this manner: ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔτερον ἕδος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἡρώδης κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ &c. I my self when I was in Thessaly knew another custom also: A Clergy-man in that Country, &c. Notwithstanding Musculus and Christophorson have followed another punctuation here, to wit, this; ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔτερον ἕδος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἡρώδης κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, &c. I my self knew another custom also in Thessaly: One being made a Clergy-man there, &c. Which distinction I can't approve of. For the term ἡρώδης would be superfluous, and the word γινέσθαι would be too often repeated in the same period. Further, that Socrates had been conversant in Thessaly, is apparent from his following Words. For a little after this he adds, καὶ ἄλλο δὲ ἕδος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ διδα γινώσκον, also I have seen [or known] another custom in Thessaly. Although the term διδα is ambiguous, and may be meant as well of an absent, as a present Person. Valef.

in Thessaly, knew another custom also. A Clergy-man in that Country (if after his taking Orders, he does lie with his Wife, whom he had legally married before his being Ordained) is (r) degraded: whereas in the East all [Clergy-men] (s) of their own accord do abstain from their Wives] even the Bishops themselves; notwithstanding, they do this [voluntarily,] not by force or compulsion of a Law. For many of them, during even the time of their being Bishops, have begotten Children of a lawful Wife. Moreover, the Author of this usage in Thessaly was Heliodorus, [Bishop] of Trica in that Country, under whose name there are Love-Books extant, which he (t) composed when he was a young Man, and entitled them Ethiopici. This same custom is observed in Thessalonica, in Macedonia, and in Achaia. I have also known another custom in Thessaly. They baptize there on the days of Easter only. Upon which account all of them, except a very few, die unbaptized. At that Antioch which is in Syria, the site of the Church is inverted. For the Altar \* stands not towards the East, but towards the West. In Achaia, at Jerusalem, and in Thessaly, they go to (u) Prayers when the Candles are lighted, in the same manner that the Novatians do at Constantinople. Likewise, at Casarea, in Cappadocia, and in Cyprus, on Saturdays and Sundays, always in the Evening, after the Candles are lighted, the Presbyters and Bishops expound the Scriptures. Those Novatians in the Hellespont perform not their Prayers wholly after the same manner, with them who live at Constantinople; but they are (w) in most things conform to [the usages of] the Catholick Church, the reading here was [ἵς ἐν ἀναστολή πόντων γυναικῶν ἀπεχουμένων, whereas all the most illustrious Persons in the East do abstain;] in that M. S. the reading is [ἵς ἐν ἀναστολή πόντων γυναικῶν ἀπεχουμένων, whereas in the East all [Clergymen] of their own accord do abstain, &c.] Which emendation is confirmed by Nicephorus. Valef.

(t) Instead of [ἔταξε] I had rather read [συνέταξε, composed;] in Nicephorus 'tis [συνετέταξε:] But what Nicephorus adds, [to wit, that Heliodorus was ordered in a Synod either to burn his Love-Books, or else to relinquish his Bishoprick,] seems to me to be fabulous. For there is no sufficient Evidence, whether those Books concerning the Amours of Theagenes and Charicles, were written by Heliodorus the Bishop, or by some body else. Valef.

(u) This Office the Greek Church terms λυχνικόν, the Latin, Lucernarium; as Jacobus Symondus has observ'd in his notes on Eunodius. See Meursius's Glossary, in the Word λυχνικόν; and the notes on Casianus, at the words Lucernaris Hora. Valef.

(w) I doubt not but instead of [παρεπληροῦς δὲ παρὰ τοὺς] Socrates wrote [παρεπληροῦς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ, but they are in most things conform; and so Nicephorus has worded it. Musculus and Christophorson read thus also. For Musculus has rendred it thus: Sed in multis se imperiali conformant Ecclesiae, but in many things they conform themselves to the Imperial Church. Christophorson translates it after this manner: Sed tamen ex multo maiore parte, primariae apud illos Ecclesiae consuetudinem sequuntur, but yet much the greater part, they follow the Custom of the Primary Church amongst them. Neither of these



these Translators understood what was meant by these Words here, to wit, ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Socrates usually gives this appellation to the Catholic Church, because at that time it had gotten the chief power and authority. So in chap. 19. of this Book, to the Novatians he opposes τὰς καθολικὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, those who are in possession of the Churches, that is, the Catholics: Ναυλιανοὶ μὲν γὰρ (lays he,) ἐδὲ τῶν ἀρχὴν τὴν περὶ θύκω ταύτην ἐδέξαντο, οἱ δὲ νῦν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κερτύντες, &c. For the Novatians admitted not of this additional Function at its first institution. But [the Homoousians] who are at this present in possession of the Churches, &c. Valef.

In sum, in all places, and amongst all Sects, you will scarcely find two Churches exactly agreeing about their Prayers. At Alexandria, a Presbyter does in no wise Preach. And this [usage] had its beginning from such time as Arius raised a disturbance in that Church. At Rome

(x) Except those Saturdays in Lent, and in the Ember-weeks. For in Lent the Romans fasted not on Saturdays, as we have shown before, at note (g.) in this chapter, from Pope Leo's Sermon concerning Lent. Nor did the Romans fast on Saturdays in the Fast of the Ember-weeks; but only on Wednesdays and Fridays: on Saturdays they watched at St. Peter's Church, as the same Leo informs us in his Sermons concerning the Fast of the tenth month, concerning the Fast of Pentecost, and concerning the Fast of the seventh month. Wherefore, Baronius, Petavius, and Halloixius do undeservedly reprove our Socrates, because he has said that the Romans fasted not on Saturdays in Lent. Valef.

(y) Petavius in his notes on Epiphanius, at the Heresie of the Quartodecimani, does affirm that Socrates is here mistaken; and says, that the Penitential Canons of Basilus the Great are sufficient to confute this Error. But it may be answered, that after Basilus's death, there was perhaps another usage observed in the Church of Casarea. For Socrates speaks of a Rite then in use, when he wrote this History. Valef.

they fast every (x) Saturday. (y) At Casarea in Cappadocia they exclude those from Communion who have sinned after Baptism, as the Novatians do. The same is also practised by the Macedoniani in the Hellespont, and by the Quartodecimani in Asia. The Novatians

\* That is, those who have had two Wives successively one after another.

in Phrygia admit not of \* Digamists. Those Novatians who inhabit Constantinople, neither openly admit, nor openly reject them. But in the Western parts they are openly † received. The Bishops, who in their several times presided over the Churches, were (in my judgment) the Occasioners of this diversity. And those who received these Rites and Usages, transmitted them to posterity in manner of a Law as 'twere. To

give in a Catalogue of all the Rites and Customs in use throughout all Cities and Countries, is a thing difficult, or rather impossible. But these we have produced, are sufficient to demonstrate, that the Feast of Easter was by reason of some certain usage celebrated in a different manner in every particular Province. Wherefore, they are too profuse in their talk, who have spread abroad a rumour, that [the time of celebrating] Easter was alter'd in the Nicene Synod. For the Fathers conven'd in that Synod made it their business to reduce the people, (who at first dissented from the far greater part of the Church,) to an agreement. Now, that there hapned many differences upon this account, even in the Apostles times, was a thing not unknown even to the Apostles themselves, as the Book of the Acts does attest. For when the Apostles understood, that a disturbance was raised amongst the faithful, by reason of a dissention of the Gentiles; being all met together, they promulged a Divine Law, drawing it up in form of a Letter: whereby they freed Believers from a most burthensome servitude and vain contention about these things; and taught them a most exact \* way of living well, which would lead them to true piety; mentioning to them only such things as neces-

\* Or, form of good life.

farly ought to be observed. The Epistle itself is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles: yet nothing hinders but we may insert it here. \* The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren, send Greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, ye must be circumcised, and keep the Law, to whom we gave no such commandment: it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen Men unto you, with our Beloved Barnabas and Paul: Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessary things: that ye abstain from meats offered to Idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if you keep your selves, ye shall do well: fare ye well. These things pleased God. For these are the express words of the Letter, It seemed good to the Holy Ghost to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessities to be observed. Notwithstanding there are some, who disregarding these [Precepts,] suppose all Fornication to be a thing indifferent; but contend about Holy days, as if it were for their lives: [these persons] invert the commands of God, and make Laws for themselves, not valuing the Decree of the Apostles; nor do they consider, that they practise the contrary to those things which seemed good to God. It were indeed possible, to have extended our discourse concerning Easter much farther, and to have demonstrated, that the Jews observe no exact Rule, either in the time, or manner of [celebrating] the Paschal solemnity; and that the Samaritans, who are a Schism of the Jews, do always celebrate this Festival after the Equinox. But this Subject requires a particular and more copious Treatise. I only say this, that they who so affectedly imitate the Jews, and are so solicitously accurate about Types and Figures, ought in no wise to dissent from them, [in any particular whatever.] For, if they have taken a resolution of observing all things with an accuracy; they must not only observe days and months, but all other things also, which Christ (constituted under the Law) did after the manner of the Jews, or which he suffered unjustly from the Jews; or [Lastly], which he wrought typically whilst he was doing good to all Men. [For instance,] he entred into a Ship and taught: He ordered the passover to be made ready in an upper room: He commanded the Ass that was tied to be loosed: He proposed him, who bore a pitcher of water, as a sign to them for hastening their preparations of the passover: [these things, I say they must observe] and infinite others of this nature which are recorded in the Gospels. And yet they who suppose themselves to be justified by this Festival, make it their business to observe none of these things in a bodily manner. For no Doctor ever Preach'd out of a Ship: no Person ever went up to an upper room, and celebrated the Passover there: they never tyed, and again unloosed an Ass that was tyed: [in fine] no person ever enjoyned another to carry a pitcher of water, to the end that the Symbols might be fulfilled. For they thought that these and such-like things as these \* favoured rather of Judaism. For the Jews are solicitous about keep-

\* Or, manner of Jewish.



ing their (2) solemn Rites and Ceremonies in their bodies, rather than in their souls. Upon which account they are obnoxious to the Curse, because they conceive the Law of Moses [to consist] in Types and Figures, but [understand it] not according to the truth. But those persons, who are favourers of the *Jews*, do indeed refer these things to an allegorical sense and meaning: But they raise an irreconcilable War about days and months, contemning an allegorical interpretation of them; in so much that, as to this particular, they themselves as well as the *Jews*, are of necessity condemned, and bring the sentence of Execration upon themselves. But I think this sufficient to have been said concerning these things. Let us now return to our Subject, whereof we have made mention a little \* before: to wit, that the Church [once divided] rested not in that first division; and that those who were divided, did again engage one another, and taking hold of a small and very frivolous pretence, raised mutual separations

Valen. Jun. Theodosius. (1) The reading here is τὰ σὺμβολα, the Symbols; in which, what sense there can be, I see not. I am of opinion it should be τὰ σὺμβολα, the Symbols, which term Socrates makes use of a little above, where he says, to the end that the Symbols might be fulfilled. By Symbols, Socrates means the Legal Ceremonies and Commands; for instance, Circumcision, which the Jews kept in their bodies, but not in their hearts. Nicephorus has worded this passage in Socrates thus; οὗτοι τὰ σὺμβολα νομίζοντες τὰς σαρκὸς ἢ τὰς ψυχῶν σώζουσιν. Which words Langus renders thus: Siquidem & Judæi ea quæ sic in corporibus accidunt, majore studio, quàm si animabus eveniant, observare contendunt; for the Jews also with a greater industry strive to observe those things which so happen to their bodies, than if they happen to their souls. You see, that neither Nicephorus, nor his Translutor, apprehended Socrates's meaning. Socrates speaks concerning the Jews, who observed the law of works in their bodies, rather than their hearts; whom the Apostle (Rom. 2. 28.) terms Jews outwardly. Valef. \* See chap. 20. at the beginning.

and divisions. The *Novatians*, as I have † said, were divided amongst themselves on account of the Feast of *Easter*: Nor was the division among them concerning this [Festival] single. For some throughout divers Provinces [observed it] after one manner, others after another; and they disagreed amongst themselves not only about the month, but about the days of the week also, and about other matters of a small importance, part of them holding separate Assemblies, and part joyning in a promiscuous Communion:

C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning the Arians at Constantinople, who were also termed the Psathyriani.

Moreover, there arose dissensions amongst the *Arians*, upon this occasion. The contentious questions daily [started] amongst them, had reduced their discourses to some absurdities. For, whereas it has been always believed in the Church, that God is the Father of the Son, the Word; there hapned this Query amongst them, whether or no God could be called Father even before the Son existed? And, in regard they asserted, that the Word of God was not begotten of the Father, but existed of \* nothing; being thus mistaken about the first and chiefest Article of Faith, they deservedly fell into an absurd contentiousness about a bare word. *Dorotheus* therefore † who had been sent for from *Antioch* by them, maintained, that [God] neither was nor could be termed a Father, before the Son existed. But *Marinus* (whom they had called out of *Thracia* before

\* Or, things which are not. † See chap. 12. of this Book.

*Dorotheus*) having got a fair opportunity, (for he was vext because *Dorotheus* had been preferred before him:) undertook to defend the contrary opinion. For this reason there hapned a dissention amongst them; and being divided on account of the aforesaid Term, each party held separate Meetings. Those under *Dorotheus* continu'd posselt of their own Meeting-houses. But *Marinus's* followers built themselves private Oratories, wherein they had their Assemblies; and asserted that the Father was always the Father, even when the Son existed not. Moreover, the maintainers of this assertion were termed (a) *Psathyriani*, because one *Theodotus* by Country a *Syrian*, a \* *Psathyropola* by Trade, was a zealous defender of this Opinion. *Selenas* Bishop of the *Goths* became a follower of these persons Tenets: † He was a Man of a mixt descent, a *Goth* by his father's side, by his mother's a *Phrygian*. And upon this account he taught in the Church very readily in both these Languages. Further, this faction soon after quarrelled amongst themselves; *Marinus* disagreeing with *Agapius*, whom he himself had preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ephesus*. But these two contended not one with another about [any point of their] Religion, but about \* Primacy; the *Goths* sided with *Agapius*. Wherefore, many of the Ecclesiasticks under their jurisdiction (abominating the contest raised between them two, as being the product of their vain-glory,) deserted them, and became adherents to the *Homoousian* Faith. When therefore the *Arians* had continued divided amongst themselves during the space of (b) thirty five years, afterwards, (c) under the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, in the Consulate of *Plintha Master of the Milice*, the Heresie of the *Psathyriani*, being perswaded to cease from contending, were again united in one body [with the rest of the *Arians*.] And they made a Sanction [amongst themselves] in form of a Law as it were, that that Query, which had caused the separation between them, should in future never be mentioned: But they could bring this to effect no-where save at *Constantinople* only. For in other Cities (if any of these two parties chanced to be inhabitants therein,) they persisted in their former separation. Thus much concerning the division amongst the *Arians*.

here relate) to the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plinta* [or *Plintha*] there are twenty five years. Valef. (c) Instead of [ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, in the Consulate] it must undoubtedly be [ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, under the Reign.] For the word βασιλείας crept into this place from the following line. Valef.

C H A P. XXIV.

That the Eunomians also raised Factions amongst themselves, which had various denominations given them derived from the names of their first Founders.

Moreover, neither did the *Eunomians* continue undivided. For *Eunomius* himself had long before this made a \* separation from *Eudoxius*, who † Ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*, making this his pretence, to wit, because *Eudoxius* refused to give reception to his master *Aëtius*, who was Ejected [out of the Church.] But those Hereticks who had their name from him, were after this divided into several Factions. For first, one *Theophronius* a Cap-

\* See Book 4. cap. 13. † See Book 4. chap. 7.



valen. Jun. a Cappadocian (who had been instructed in the Art of disputing by Euthymius, and understood Aristotle's Categories, and his Book concerning Interpretation, but \* indistinctly and imperfectly ;)

† *ῥυχέως*, grossly, having wrote Books, to which he gave this Title concerning the exercise of the Mind, incurr'd the displeasure of those of his own Heresie, and was by them ejected as a Defector of their Sect. This person afterwards held Assemblies separate from them, and left behind him an Heresie which bore his own name. Then, one Eutychius at Constantinople, upon account of

† *ῥυχέως*, a very † flight Controversie, made a separation from the Eunomians, and at this present has his Meetings apart. Theophronius's Followers are termed Eunomio-Theophroniani : and the Adherents of Eutychius are called Eunomio-Eutychiani. What those slight and trifling words were, about which they differ'd, I judge it unworthy to be recorded in this History, lest I should too far digress from my purpose. [ I will mention this ] only, to wit, that they have adulterated Baptism. For they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the Death of Christ. There was also for some time a Dissention amongst the Macedoniani, when one Eutropius a Presbyter held separate Assemblies ; and Carterius would in no wise agree in Opinion with him. And there may perhaps be some other Sects descended from these in other Cities. But in regard I make my Residence in Constantinople, where I was born and educated, I || have resolved to be larger in my Relation of what has been transacted in that City ; both because I my self have been an eye-witness of some of those transactions, and also in regard the affairs transacted in that City, have been more eminent, and worthier to be remembred. And these things hapned not at one and the same time, but at different times. Now, if any person be desirous of knowing the names of the various Sects, he may have an account hereof, by reading that Book entitled *Ancoratus*, which Epiphanius Bishop of Cyprus compos'd. Let this be sufficient to have been said concerning these matters. But the affairs of the State were disturbed upon this occasion.

|| Or, I am larger.

#### C H A P. XXV.

Concerning Eugenius's Tyranny, and the Death of Valentinianus Junior ; also, concerning the Emperor Theodosius's Victory over the Tyrant.

IN the Western parts, a Grammarian by name Eugenius, having sometime been a Teacher of the Latin tongue, afterwards left his School, and undertook a Military Employment in the Emperor's Palace, where he was made (a) Ma-

(a) *Ἀντίστροφος* was a Person of great eloquence, and upon which I have rendred thus, *Magister Scriniarum Imperatoris*, Master of the Emperors Desks : for the Greeks call those *ἀντίστροφους*, whom the Latins term *Magistros Scriniarum*, Masters of the Desks ; as Cujacius has truly remark'd. But Salmasius, in his notes on Vopiscus, pag. 481. affirms, that the *ἀντίστροφους* were the Proximi of the sacred Desks, not the Masters. For his opinion is, that there was only one Master of all the Desks, who had under him four *Antigraphæi* or Proximi [that is, Clerks :] to wit, one in each Desk. But Salmasius is disproved, first by the Theodosian Code ; and secondly, by the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. For, in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, there are four Masters of the Desks of the Roman Emperors reckon'd ; to wit, the Master of the Memory, the Master of the Letters, the Master of the Libels, and the Master of the Greek Letters. And, in the Theodosian Code, in the sixth Book, there is a particular Title de *Magistris sacrorum Scriniarum*, whom the Emperors will have preferred before the Vicarii. But concerning the

Proximi, there follows another Title, at a great distance from this, wherein the Emperors give order only, that the Proximi, after two years space, should leave the *Scrinia*, and be followed by the Vicarii. From whence 'tis evident, that the Proximi of the Desks are distinguished from the Masters : for the Masters were chosen by the Emperors Codicil [or Letters-Patents,] as were the rest of the Officers of the Palace. But the Proximi came to that place by degrees and order of promotion : and they were more than one in every Desk ; whereas there was but one Master in each Desk. The Proximi therefore are not the *ἀντίστροφους* ; in regard there were only four *ἀντίστροφους*, as we are inform'd from the Glosses of Julianus Antecessor. See *Pe-trus Patricius in Except. Legationum*. Philostorgius relates, that Eugenius was prefer'd to the dignity of a Master, before he broke out into his Tyranny. Valef.

that account more highly esteem'd than others, Theodosius, he could not with moderation bear his prosperous success. But, taking one Arbogastes (born

(b) Instead of [ *Gallia the Less*, ] the reading in the Florentine M.S. is truer, thus [ *Galatia*. ] Altho' Arbogastes was not born in Gallia, but in Francia, as all Historians agree. Valef.

(c) Instead of [ *ἐπεὶ*, ] we read [ *ὅτι*, ] having (c) hired the Eunuchs that belonged to the Emperor's Bed-chamber, to be partakers in their design. These Eunuchs, having received [from them] promises of greater places than

(d) Valentinianus Junior was murder'd at Vienna, in Arcadius's second Consulate which he bore with Rufinus ; as Idatius rightly informs us in his Fasti. But Marcellinus says, that fact was perpetrated in the Consulate of Taurus and Symmachus, on the Ides of March. Notwithstanding, this appears to be false, from the fourth and fifth Law in the Theodosian Code de *Apostatis*. Valef.

(e) Zosimus (in his fourth Book) says, that only Arcadius was left by Theodosius at Constantinople ; and that Honorius followed his Father in his Expedition against Eugenius. The same is asserted by Marcellinus in his Chronicon. But Philostorgius agrees with So-crates. Valef.

assistance against the Tyrant. After some short time he arriv'd in the Gallia's with a very numerous Army. For there the Tyrant \* had put \* Or, himself into a posture of receiving him, who made preparations. They came to an Engagement therefore near the River named Fri-

(f) Here there is a defect in the Greek Text ; these Words [from Aquileia thirty six miles] being wanting. Which Valefius says, he perfected from Antoninus's Itinerary, and from Sigonius in his ninth Book de *Imperio Occidentali*.

gidus, which is distant (f) from Aquileia thirty six miles. In that part of the Armies where the Romans engaged the Romans, the fight was doubtful. But where the Barbarians (who were the Emperor Theodosius's Auxiliaries,) engaged, Eugenius's forces had much the better. When the Emperor saw the great slaughter that was made by the Enemy amongst the Barbarians, being in a great agony, he cast himself upon the ground, calling upon God



*Theodosius.* God to be his assistant ; and was in no wise frustrated of his request. For *Bacurius* his own Master of the Milice was so far encouraged, as to run with his Van-guard to that part where the *Barbarians* were \*hardest prest upon by the Enemy, who broke through their Ranks ; and routed those that a little before were on the pursuit. There hapned another accident also, worthy of admiration. For a very violent wind arose on a sudden, which retorted the Darts cast by *Eugenius's* Forces, upon themselves ; and moreover, it carried those thrown by *Theodosius's* Souldiers with a greater force against the Enemy. So prevalent was the Emperor's Prayer. The success of the Battle being after this manner turned, the Tyrant cast himself at the Emperor's feet, and requested that his life might be saved. But the Souldiers beheaded him, as he lay prostrate at the Emperor's feet. These things were done on the sixth of September, in *Arcadius's* third, and *Honorius's* second Consulate. But *Arbogastes* (who had been the Author of these great mischiefs) being on his flight upon the third day after the Battle ; as soon as he knew there were no hopes of life for him, ran himself through with his own Sword.

\* Or, routed.

[he ordered] that † Cirque-Sports should be exhibited, on which very day he died.

*Theodosius.*  
\* Or, running of Horses.

BUT, the Emperor *Theodosius* contracted an ill habit of Body, from the Troubles and Disquietudes he underwent in this War. And supposing that his Life would be ended by that Distemper which was upon him, he was more solicitous about the publick Affairs, than [concerned] at his own Death ; considering with himself, how great Calamities do usually befall Subjects after the Death of their Emperor. Wherefore he sends forthwith for his Son *Honorius* from *Constantinople*, being desirous to settle \* the State of the Western Empire. After his Son's arrival at *Millain*, he seemed to be somewhat revived from his Distemper ; and gave order for the celebration of Triumphant Cirque-Sports. And before Dinner he was very well, and was a Spectator at the Cirque-Sports. But after Dinner he was taken very ill on a sudden, and could not come to see the † Games. † Or, the But, having given his Son order to preside at fight. the Cirque-Sports, he died on the Night following, in the Consulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the seventeenth day of January. This was the first year of the two hundred ninety fourth Olympiad. The Emperor *Theodosius* lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen. This Book contains [an account of Affairs transacted] during the space of sixteen years and eight months.

\* Or, the Western parts.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Emperor falling ill after his Victory, sent for his Son Honorius to Millain ; and thinking himself somewhat recovered from his Distemper,

THE  
SIXTH BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

The PREFACE.

WE have finish'd the Task enjoy'd by You ( most Sacred Man of God Theodorus ! ) in the Five foregoing Books ; wherein, according to our best ability, we have comprized the History of the Church from the Times of Constantine. But you must know, that we have not been curious about our Stile ; for we considered, that should we have been careful about an Elegancy of Expression, we might peradventure have mist of our design. Besides, could we have accomplish'd [our design,] yet we were altogether unable to write such things as are extant in the Composures of Ancient Historians ; whereby any one of them might suppose himself able either to amplify, or disimprove Transactions. Further, such a Stile would in no wise have edified the Many and the Simpler sort of Persons ; who are desirous of knowing Affairs only, not

H h of



of admiring the Stile for its elegant Composure. That therefore our Work might not be unuseful to both these sorts of Persons ; to the Learned, because 'tis unworthy of being compared with the elegant Stile of Ancient Writers ; and to the Unlearned, in regard they cannot attain to [the knowledge of] affairs, being concealed by a Pride and Over-elegancy of Expression : We have designedly made use of such a Stile, \* as seems indeed to be lower and more mean, but is notwithstanding plainer and more conspicuous. But, before we begin our Sixth Book, we must give this Premonition : In regard we undertake [the writing a Narrative] of the Affairs which have hapned in our own Age ; we are afraid, lest we should seem to record such things as will displease many Persons : (a) Either because (according to the Proverb,) Truth is bitter ; or in regard we mention not their names, whom [all Men] have a great love for, with an Encomium ; or, [Lastly,] because we extol not their Actions. The Zealots of our Religion will condemn us, because we do not give the Bishops the Title of Most dear to God, or Most Holy, or such like. Others also will sometimes makes curious Remarks, because we term not the Emperors Most Divine, and Lords ; nor [do give them] those other Titles which are usually attributed to them. But, in as much as I am able to prove and demonstrate from the Testimony of Ancient Writers, that a (b) Servant amongst them did usually call his Master by his proper name, and made no account of his Dignity [or Title,] by reason of the urgency of Affairs ; and in as much as [my endeavour is] to obey the Laws of History, which do require a sincere, pure, and true Narrative of Transactions, free from all manner of Masks and Covers ; I will in future proceed in the same Narration ; recording those things which either I myself saw, or could learn from those who had seen them ; and making a judgment of the Truth from their not varying in their Relations, who told me them. But, my Labour in discovering the Truth hath been great, in regard many, and those different Persons, gave me an account of Affairs ; some of whom affirming they were present at the transacting of these things ; and others asserting they knew them better than any other Persons.

disturbs the Sense. Or, if it has a place here, it must be put at the close of the period, after these Words [extol not their Actions.] If this displeases any one ; 'twill be sufficient, to expunge the particle [n, either,] and put this Clause to the head of that following. Valef.

(b) To wit, in the Comœdies of Menander, and others. You may see the same in Plautus's and Terentius's Latine Comœdies ; wherein the Servants do usually call their Masters barely by their Names. Valef.

## CHAP. I.

That after the Death of the Emperor Theodosius, when his Sons had divided the Empire [between them,] and Arcadius had met the Army returning from Italy, after some short stay there ; Rufinus the Præfectus Prætorio was killed by the Souldiers at the Emperor's Feet.

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

THE Emperor Theodosius having ended his Life in the Consulate of Olybrius and Probinus, on the seventeenth of the month January ; his Sons succeeded him in the Roman Empire. Arcadius had the Government of the Eastern Empire, and Honorius of the Western. [The Bishops] who presided over the Churches at that time, were Damasus in the Imperial [City] Rome ; Theophilus at Alexandria ; Johannes was in possession of the Churches at Jerusalem ; and Flavianus of those at Antioch. At Constantinople, [termed also] New Rome, Nectarius filled the [Episcopal] Chair, as we have related in the foregoing Book. About the eighth of the month November, in the same Consulate, Theodosius's Body was brought [to Constantinople,] and interred by his Son Arcadius with an honourable and solemn Funeral. Not long after this, on the eight and twentieth of the same month, the Army also arrived, which had been employed in the War against the Tyrant, under the Emperor Theodosius's command. When therefore the Emperor Arcadius (agreeable to the usual custom) had met the Army without the City-gates, the Souldiers at that time slew Rufinus the Emperor's Præfectus Prætorio. For Rufinus lay under a suspicion of turning Tyrant, and 'twas believed, that he had called the (a) Hunni (a barbarous Nation) into

the Roman Territories. For at that time they destroyed Armenia, and some parts of the East, by making Incursions into these Provinces. Moreover, on the same day whereon Rufinus was killed, Marcianus Bishop of the Novatians died. He was succeeded in that Bishoprick by Sifinnius, of whom we have made mention \* above.

were solicited by Rufinus, to invade the Roman Provinces. The same is asserted by Marcellinus in his Chronicon. But Sozomen (Book 8. chap. 1.) agrees with Socrates. Nor, is there any disagreement between the forecited Authors. For Rufinus called in both those Nations against the Romans ; the Goths first, under their Chief, Alaricus : After the Goths were routed by Stilichon, he excited the Hunni to assist the Goths, as Claudian tells us, in his first Book against Rufinus ; and in his second Book, he sets forth the same more clearly, near the beginning thereof. But Sigonius, in his tenth Book de Occidentali Imperio, where he makes it his business to relate this whole Story, speaks not one Word concerning this Irruption of the Hunni ; which negligence of his is inexcusable. Valef.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning Nectarius's Death, and the Ordination of Johannes.

WITHIN a small interval of time, Nectarius also, Bishop of Constantinople, departed this life, in the Consulate of Cæsarius and Atticus, about the twenty seventh of the month September. Forthwith therefore, a \* Contention arose about the Ordination of a Bishop ; and some desired one Person, others another. When a Consult had been several times held about this matter, it was at last concluded on, that † Johannes a Presbyter of the Antiochian Church, should be sent for from Antioch. For a fame was spread concerning him, for his || Learning and Eloquence. Within some small space of time therefore, the Emperor Arcadius (with the common consent of all Persons, I mean the Clergy, a

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.  
(a) Zosimus  
(Book 5.)  
relates,  
\* See Book that Alari-  
5. Ch. 21. cus and the  
Goths, not  
the Hunni,

\* Or, a  
trouble, or,  
earnest-  
ness.

† This  
Person  
was term-  
ed Chryso-  
stome, that  
is Golden-  
mouth.  
|| Or, fit-  
ness to be  
a teacher.



*Arcadius and Honorius.* Clergy, as well as Laity) sends for him. And, to the end that his Ordination might be accomplish'd with more of firmness and authority, by the Emperor's order many other Prelates were present, as was also *Theophilus* [ Bishop ] of *Alexandria*; who made it his business to \* blacken *Johannes*'s glory, and to promote *Isidorus* ( a Presbyter under himself ) to the Bishoprick; whom he had a great love for, because *Isidorus* had undertaken a very dangerous affair upon his account. What that business was, we must now declare. When the Emperor *Theodosius* was actually engaged in a War against the Tyrant *Maximus*, *Theophilus* sent Presents by *Isidorus* to the Emperor, and deliver'd two Letters to him, ordering him, to present the Gifts and Letters to him that should be Conqueror. *Isidorus*, in obedience to these commands, arriving at *Rome*, staid there expecting the \* Event of the War. But this business could not lie long concealed; for a Reader who accompanied him, stole the Letters privately. On which account *Isidorus* being in a great fear, fled forthwith to *Alexandria*. This was the occasion of *Theophilus*'s being so highly concern'd for *Isidorus*. But [the Grandees] of the Imperial Palace, gave *Johannes* the preference. And in regard many Persons raised Accusations against *Theophilus*; and presented Libels (some upon one account, others on another) against him, to the Bishops that were present; *Eutychianus* the chief Person of the Bed chamber to the Emperor, took the written Accusations, and shew'd them to *Theophilus*, bidding him take his choice, whether he would Ordain *Johannes*, or be brought to his Tryal, and answer the Accusations on foot against him. *Theophilus* terrified herewith, Ordained *Johannes*. *Johannes* therefore being Ordained, was seated in the Episcopal Chair, in order to [his bearing] the Office of a Bishop, on the twenty-sixth of *February*, in the following Consulate, (a) which the Emperor *Honorius* celebrated at *Rome*, and *Eutychianus* (at that time (b) *Præfectus Prætorio*) at *Constantinople*, with Games and Sports. But in regard this *Johannes* is famous, both for the Books he left written, and also for the many Troubles he fell into, I judge it fit not to pass his affairs over in silence, but relate as compendiously as 'tis possible, what might be declared more at large; and to set forth whence he was, from whom extracted, how he was called to the Episcopate, after what manner he was deprived of it; and [lastly,] upon what account he was more honour'd after his death, than whilst he was living.

(a) Instead of [ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει] it must be [ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει] which the Emperor, &c. A small fault, but which being not perceived by the Translator, led them into a great mistake. For thus they have rendred it: On the following Consulate wherein Honorius the Emperor at Rome, and Eutychianus at Constantinople Governed the publick. But, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει signifies Consulatū dare, that is, to publish or shew the Ludi Circenses, on account of succeeding well in their Office of Consul. Valef. See Socrat. Book 5. chap. 29. note (c.)

(b) *Christophorus* has rendred it ill, thus, *Præfect of the Emperors*; when as he should have translated it *Præfectus Prætorio*. For in the Greek it must be [ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει]. The same mistake in the same Word I have taken notice of before. *Eutychianus* therefore was Consul and *Præfectus Prætorio* on the same year; which was the common usage of those times, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code*. Valef.

### CHAP. III.

Concerning the Descent and Education of *Johannes Bishop of Constantinople*.

**J**ohannes therefore was born at *Antioch* [a City] of *Syria-Cæle*, the Son of *Secundus*, and his

Mother's name was *Anthusa*, persons of a noble Family in that Country. He was Scholar to *Libanius* the *Sophista*, and an hearer of *Andragathius* the Philosopher. Being ready to betake himself to the practice of the *Civil Law*, and perceiving how laborious and unjust a life they lead, (a) who are conversant in the \* *Forum*, he chose rather to follow a quieter sort of life. And this he did; in imitation of (b) *Evagrius*; who having been educated under the same Masters, had long before betaken himself to a more sedate and quieter course of life. Changing therefore forthwith his Garb and his Gate, he applied his mind to reading the Sacred Scriptures, and frequently went in great haste to the Church [on account of praying.] Moreover, he persuades *Theodorus* and *Maximus* (who had been his School-fellows under *Libanius* the *Sophista*) to leave their Profession which had a respect to nothing but gain, and betake themselves to a more simple and meaner course of life. Of these two Persons, *Theodorus* was afterwards Bishop of *Mopsuestia* a City in *Cilicia*; and *Maximus* of *Seleucia* in *Isauria*. But being at that time very studious and diligent about Virtue, they were instructed in a monastick course of life by *Diodorus* and *Carterius*, who then presided over the (c) Monasteries.

\* Or, Courts of Judicature. (a) That conjecture displeases me not, which came here-tofore into my Mind, that at this place, instead of [τὸν ἐν τοῖς δὲ τῶν δὲ] it should be [τὸν ἐν τοῖς δὲ τῶν δὲ]. Further, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do indeed affirm, that *John Chrysostome* did not follow

the Practice of the *Civil Law*. For they say, that he went from *Libanius*'s School, when it was supposed he would have pleaded causes, and on a sudden betook himself to a quieter sort of life. Notwithstanding there are those who do affirm, that for some time he did plead Causes. Which seems to be intimated by *Libanius*'s Epistle, which *Isidorus Pelusiota* records Book 2. Epistol. But that Epistle of *Libanius*'s is, I fear, written to some other *Johannes*, who then pleaded Causes at *Constantinople*, and spoke a Panegyrick there to *Theodosius*, on account of his assuming his Sons to be his Colleagues in the Empire. Now, our *Chrysostome* (who went from *Libanius*'s School about the beginning of *Valens*'s Reign,) neither left *Antioch*, that *Libanius* (who professeth Rhetorick at *Antioch*) might write Letters to him being absent; nor could he praise *Theodosius*, who at that time was not Emperor. Nor can *Libanius*'s Words be understood of any other Emperor, than of *Theodosius*, who took in his Sons to be Partners with him in the Empire. However, that *Chrysostome* did for some time practise the *Civil Law*, is apparent from the beginning of his first Book de Sacerdotio. Valef.

(b) What *Evagrius* this should be, who having left *Libanius*'s Auditory long before *Chrysostome* had embraced a pious and religious course of life, 'tis hard to determine. For I cannot think it was *Evagrius* of *Pontus*, who was afterwards a Deacon at *Constantinople*, under *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, and under *Nectarius*; and thence remov'd into the Solitudes of *Egypt*. *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 382, calls this *Evagrius*, *Chrysostome*'s School-fellow, *Evagrius Junior*, Son of the most noble *Evagrius* a Citizen of *Antioch*; and says that he went into the Desert before *Chrysostome*, and led a monastick Life under *Diodorus* and *Carterius*. But, I know not what authority *Baronius* had for this, nor why he should term this Person *Evagrius Junior*. Unless perhaps he has called this Person *Evagrius Junior*, to distinguish him from *Evagrius Senior* the *Antiochian*, whom he had made mention of before at the year of Christ 372, from *Basilius Magnus*'s Epistle to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*; the Words whereof are these: ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Ἐβραγίου. The Presbyter *Evagrius*, the Son of *Pompeianus* of *Antioch*, who sometimes went into the West with the Blessed *Eusebius*. The Latin Translator has rendred it *Evagrius Senior*, &c; whereas he should have translated it, *Evagrius the Presbyter*, &c; concerning whom *Hieronymus* (in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*) writes thus: *Zenobia apud Immam, haud longe ab Antiochia Vincitur*, &c. *Zenobia is conquered at Immæ, not far from Antioch; in which fight Pompeianus the Commander, furnished Francus fought most valiantly against her: his Family continues at this Day at Antioch, from whose Race our dearest Evagrius the Presbyter descended.* *Jerome* makes mention of the same Person in his Book de Scriptor. Eccles. And in my judgment, this is the *Evagrius*, *Chrysostome*'s School-fellow, whom *Socrates* mentions here. For, what *Baronius* writes concerning *Evagrius Junior*, is founded on no Authority. Valef.

(c) Instead of [ἀσκητήριον] which is the Dative Case, the Rules of Grammar do require it should be [ἀσκητήριον, over the monasteries] in the Genitive Case: the reading in *Sozomen* is the same, as was also that in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Copy, as appears from his Version. Further, *Baronius* (following indeed the Greek Writers) is of opinion, that these Monasteries of *Diodorus*, and *Carterius*, were



were situated without the City. But a Learned Person, who has lately published the *Life of John Chrysostome in French*, does affirm they were within the City of *Antioch*: to whom notwithstanding I cannot assent. 'Tis more probable, that these *Little Houses* were placed in the *Suburbs*, to the end that Pious and Religious Persons, who were continually employed in Contemplation and reading of the sacred Books, might be far remote from noise and disturbance. But what the same Learned Person objects out of *Theodoret*, (to wit, That *Diodorus* was continually conversant in *Antioch*, and made a courageous resistance against the rage and force of the *Arians*;) does in no wise weaken our opinion. For *Diodorus*, as often as he pleased, could easily come out of a Monastery in the *Suburbs*, into the City. *Valef.*

*Arcadius and Honorius.* Of these two *Diodorus*, afterwards made Bishop of *Tarsus*, wrote many Books, being intent upon the bare Letter [and obvious sense] of the Sacred Scriptures; but avoiding the (d) Allegorical interpretation thereof. Thus far concerning these Persons. Moreover, *Johannes*, (who of *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus*; *filius* (f) at that time ordained a Deacon by *Meletius*, that *letius*, but afterwards constituted Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*) was made Reader of the *Antiochian* Church, by (g) *Zeno* the Bishop in his re-

Scriptures, *αὐτὸς τὸ πῦρ*, literally; but avoided the more abstruse and mystical sense. *Jerome* says the same concerning him, in his *Book de Scripto. Eccles. Extant ejus in Apostolum Commentarii*, &c. his Comments upon the *Apostle* are extant, and many other pieces, belonging rather to *Eusebius Emisenus's* Character: whose sense altho' he has followed, yet it could not imitate his eloquence, because of his ignorance in *Humane* [or *Secular*] Learning. *Jerome* says, that *Diodorus* has followed *Eusebius Emisenus's* sense, that is, his method in explaining the Scriptures. Let us see therefore, what sense *Eusebius Emisenus* has followed. *Jerome* himself will inform us; whose Words concerning *Eusebius Emisenus* are these: *Magisque Historiam Secutus, ab iis qui declamare volunt, studiosissime legitur, and having rather followed History, he is most studiously read by those, who have a mind to declaim.* From whence it appears that *Eusebius* in his exposition of the Scriptures, has chiefly followed the Historical and Literal sense; but has not touched the Mystick and Allegorical. For the term *Secutus* comprehends these senses. *Allegoria* therefore differs from *Theoria*, as a *Species* does from the *Genus*. Indeed, *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, of whom we now speak, had written a Book with this Title, *Τὴν διαφοράν Θεωρίας καὶ Ἀλληγορίας*, that is, what may be the difference between *Theoria* and *Allegoria*. But I wonder at *Jerome*, who says that *Diodorus* was instructed neither in Eloquence, nor in the knowledge of humane Learning. And yet *Theodoret* (*Histor. Book 4.*) compares his eloquence to a most limpid River; and *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca* does attest, that in his discourses he was clear and perspicuous. *Valef.*

(e) That *Chrysostome* conversed familiarly with *Basilus*, 'tis evident from *Chrysostome's* Books de *Sacerdotio*. But who that *Basilus* was, concerning whom *Chrysostome* speaks in those Books, 'tis uncertain. *Socrates* does in this place affirm, that it was *Basilus Magnus*. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) says it was *Basilus* Bishop of *Seleucia*. *Baronius* (at the Year of Christ 382,) does deservedly disprove both these Opinions. *Chrysostome* ('tis certain) does attest in the beginning of his Book, that himself and that *Basilus*, concerning whom he there speaks, had always the same Masters. Now *Basilus Magnus* learnt Rhetorick at *Athens*: but *Chrysostome* was *Libanius's* hearer at *Antioch* a long while after that. If that were *Basilus the Great*, whom *Chrysostome* affirms to have obtained the principal place amongst his own Companions and Friends, doubtless some footsteps of his Friendship would at this day be extant in *Basilus's* Epistles. But, amongst so many of his Epistles which have been preserved to our times, there occurs not one, written to our *Johannes*. Wherefore I agree with *Baronius*, who says, that that *Basilus* who was companion to *Chrysostome*, was *Basilus* Bishop of *Raphanea*, or else *Basilus* Bishop of *Byblus*. For both these Persons were *Chrysostome's* Contemporaries, in regard they subscribed the *Constantinopolitane Council*. *Valef.*

(f) Instead of [*τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διακόνον, sometimes made a Deacon, &c.*] In my judgment it should be [*τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διακόνον, at that time made Deacon, &c.*] For it follows [but afterwards constituted Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*.] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* confirms our conjecture, as 'tis apparent from his Version; for thus he renders it, *qui tunc à Meletio factus erat Diaconus, who was then made Deacon by Meletius*. Further, *Basil* was made Deacon by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*. But that Book is stuff with Fables and Lies. Doubtless, in regard *Basil the Great* was by lawful degrees promoted to be Reader and Presbyter at *Cæsarea*, (as *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does attest, in his *Funeral Oration concerning the praises of the same Basilus*) 'tis scarce credible, that he should have been made Deacon any where else, but at *Cæsarea*. *Valef.*

(g) *Nicephorus* (what Author he follows, I know not,) makes this *Zeno*, Bishop of *Gaza* or *Majuma*. But, whereas *Zeno* was created Bishop of *Majuma* in the Reign of *Theodosius*, (as *Sozomen* relates *Book 5. chap. 8.*) he must necessarily be a different Person from that *Zeno* who ordained *Chrysostome* Reader; in regard *Chrysostome* was made a Reader in *Valens Augustus's* Reign, about the year of our

Lord 370. But *Baronius* (at the Year of Christ 382,) says that this *Zeno* (by whom *Chrysostome* was ordained a Reader of *Antioch*) was Bishop of *Tyre*, the same Person who was present at the *Constantinopolitan Council*; and was then (*Meletius* being absent) his Deputy in the Church of *Antioch*. In which thing I do really assent to *Baronius*. But whereas he reproves *Socrates* there, for his saying, that that *Zeno* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*; therein the Cardinal is evidently mistaken. For *Socrates* does not make *Zeno* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; he only says, that *Zeno* the Bishop, returning from *Jerusalem*, ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*. Now *Zeno* had made a journey to *Jerusalem*, either on the account of Prayer, (as it was the custom of those times,) or by reason of some Ecclesiastick Affair. But here arises a difficulty. For, if *Zeno* in his return from *Jerusalem*, Ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*; the City of which he was Bishop, must necessarily be farther remote from *Jerusalem*, than *Antioch* was; or at least it must lie at the side of *Antioch*. Which cannot be said of the Cities *Tyre*, and *Gaza*. For both those are far nearer to *Jerusalem*, than *Antioch* is. Therefore, this *Zeno*, who ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*, was Bishop of some other City. In *Basil the Great's* 69th Epistle, there is mention of one *Zeno* a Bishop, who was present at the *Antiochian Council* under *Meletius*: but the name of his See is not set down. I know *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chrysostome*) does relate, that *Chrysostome* was ordained Reader by *Meletius*. But this, in my judgment, is so to be understood, that that may be said to have been done by *Meletius*, which was performed by *Zeno*, supplying his place. *Valef.*

turn from *Jerusalem*. Whilst he continued in the degree of a Reader, he wrote a Book against the Jews. Having not long after obtained the dignity of a Deacon from *Meletius*, he wrote his Books concerning Priesthood, and those against *Stagirius*: Moreover, those concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, and those concerning \* *subintro-* \* See Eu. *duced women*. After this, when *Meletius* was dead at *Constantinople*; (for he made a journey thither, on account of *Gregorius Nazianzenus's* Ordination :) *Johannes* made a separation from the † *Meletianists*, nor did he communicate with *Paulinus*; but lived quietly for the space of three whole years. Afterwards, when *Paulinus* was dead, he is ordained Presbyter by (h) *Evagrius*, *Paulinus's* successor. This (to speak compendiously) was *Johannes's* course of life, before his being made Bishop. He was a Person (as 'tis said) slower and morose, by reason of his [over-much] Zeal for temperance; and (as one of his intimados has reported;) from his younger years more addicted to anger, than bashfulness. Because of his \* Sanctity of Life, he was not cautious and circumspect in relation to things future; and by reason of his || plainness, he was open || Or, simplicity, or singleness. *Evagrius*,) him. In his teaching, he made it his chief business to improve the Morals of his hearers: and in his conferences, he was supposed by those who knew him not, to be proud and arrogant. (h) This is the *Evagrius*, of whom we have spoken at note Chapter. But, what *Socrates* says, (to wit, that *Chrysostome* was ordained Presbyter, by *Evagrius*;) has but little of probability. For, if that be true which *Socrates* says, (I mean, that *Chrysostome*, after *Meletius's* death, abstained from *Paulinus's* Communion;) how can it be supposed that *Chrysostome* should admit of *Evagrius's* Ordination, who was Successor to *Paulinus*? It is better therefore to follow *Palladius*, *Simeon Metaphrastes*, and others, who relate that *Chrysostome* was promoted to the Presbyterate by *Flavianus* the Bishop. *Valef.*

#### C H A P. IV.

Concerning Serapion the Deacon, and how by his instigation *Johannes* became offended with, and an enemy to his Clergy.

THIS being the humour and disposition of *Johannes*, after his promotion to the \* *Bishop-* \* *risk*. *piscopate*, he was more supercilious and severe towards his Clergy than was fitting; his design in that being (as he expected,) to rectify the lives of those under him. Immediately there-



Arcadius and Honorius. Hatred. fore at his very entry [upon the Bishoprick] he seemed rough and austere to the Ecclesiasticks, and incurred their \**Odium*, many of them became his Enemies, and declined him as an angry person. *Serapion* his Deacon incited him to alienate all Mens minds from himself. And on a time, when all the Clergy were present, he spake aloud to the Bishop, after this manner, *You will never be able (O Bishop ! ) to get the mastery over these Persons, unless you drive them all out with one Rod.* This expression of his excited an *Odium* against the Bishop. Not long after the Bishop ejected many Persons out of the Church, some for one reason, others for another. But they (as it usually happens in such violent proceedings of Governors,) enter into a Combination against him, and calumniated him to the People. That which induced the hearers to a belief of what was spoken against him, was, that the Bishop would not eat with any body, nor would he upon any invitation go to a Feast. Upon which account most especially, the Calumny against him improved, and grew greater. Upon what design || he refused to eat with any Person, no one could ever certainly tell. For those who are desirous of defending him, say that he had a very weak Stomach, and could hardly digest meat ; for which reason he did eat alone. Others affirm, he did this on account of his *Ascetick* and most severe course of life. Whatever of truth there was in this matter, it was of no small advantage to his Accusers, in order to their calumniating him. Notwithstanding, the People did highly approve of him upon account of the Sermons he preach'd in the Church, loved the Man exceedingly, and disregarded those Persons who attempted to accuse him. Moreover, what his Sermons were, (as well those published by himself, as them taken by the Notaries from his mouth as he preach'd them,) how elegant, inviting and perswasive ; it is needless now to declare, in regard those that are desirous may read them, and reap abundant benefit from them.

C H A P. V.

*That Johannes differed not only with the Clergy, but with the Magistracy also. And concerning Eutropius the Eunuch.*

\* Or, the first of the Eunuchs. AS long as *Johannes* was offensive to the Clergy only, the designs framed against him were weak and infirm. But after he attempted to reprove many of the Magistracy also, beyond the bounds of what was fit, then the envy against him was much more enkindled. Many things were spoken against him, most whereof were in future believed by the Hearers. But that which made an addition to the calumny, was the Oration at that time spoken by him against *Eutropius*. For *Eutropius* the Eunuch (the chief Person of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, the † first Eunuch that was vouchsafed the dignity of a Consul by the Emperor,) desirous to be revenged upon some persons who had taken sanctuary in the Church, made it his business to get an Edict published by the Emperors, prohibiting any Person from flying into the Churches for sanctuary ; but that such as had fled thither should by force be drawn out thence. But [Divine] Vengeance follow'd immediately hereupon : for the Law was pro-

mulged, and not long after *Eutropius* himself, having offended the Emperor, made his escape into the Church. The Bishop therefore (whilst *Eutropius* lay under the Altar, and was terrified with fear,) (a) sitting in the Pulpit (out of which it had before been his usage to preach, in order to his being heard more easily ;) made an Oration in reproof of him. Whereupon he seem'd to give a greater offence to some Persons, because he was not only incompassionate towards an unfortunate Man, but on the contrary evenly reproved him. *Eutropius* therefore at that time bearing the Consulate, was by the Emperor's order beheaded, for some crimes [he had committed.] His name was rased also out of the † *Fasti Consulares*, and only *Theodorus's* name, who had been his Colleague in the Consulate, was (b) recorded therein. 'Tis reported likewise, that Bishop *Johannes*, making use of his usual freedom and boldness in speaking, did sharply reprove *Gaïna* also, at that time Master of the *Milice*, because he took the confidence to make a request to the Emperor, that one of the Churches within the City might be assign'd to the *Arians*, who were of the same opinion with himself. He also reprov'd several other of the Grandees upon various accounts, with much freedom and boldness ; by reason of which liberty of his, he gained the Ill-will of many Persons. Wherefore, *Theophilus* also Bishop of *Alexandria*, soon after *Johannes's* Ordination, began to consider, how he might undermine and ruin him. And with some Persons that were present he discoursed privately concerning that affair ; but he imparted his own design [by Letters] to many others who were at a great distance. For he was not only vexed at *Johannes's* too great boldness ; but also because he had not been able to promote *Isidorus*, a Presbyter under him, to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. In this posture were Bishop *Johannes's* affairs ; and immediately, at the very beginning of his Episcopate, he felt the pangs of Mischiefe and Disquietude. But we will declare the matters that concern him, in the procedure of our History.

ded, in his first Tome of the Councils of France, pag. 300 ; but it is there imperfect. We will make good one defect in it, from the most ancient *Corbeienian Manuscript*, after this manner : *Qualiter in sacrilegos Dei injuria vindicetur, nostrum est pertractandum. Et quia fides nostra ut verbo de altario sacerdote faciente quacunque de Evangelio, Prophetis vel Apostolo fuerit adiuturum, in quantum Deus dat intellectum : ad nos querimonia processit, &c.* The sense of these Words, which are very corrupt, is this : Because the Priests have complained, whilst they make Sermons to the People, that the Banterers [what the import of that Word is, I cannot find] walk through the fields, and recal the People from the Church ; Therefore we command, &c. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 407, number 17. Valef.

(b) Hence 'tis, that in the *Fasti* of *Prosperus*, *Idatius*, and *Cassiodorus*, this year has only *Manlius Theodorus* Consul, *Eutropius's* name being expunged. Concerning *Eutropius's* death, consult *Zosimus*. Valef.

C H A P. VI.

*Concerning the Tyranny of Gaïna the Goth, and the Disturbance raised at Constantinople ; and concerning his Death.*

I Will now relate an affair worthy to be recorded, which hapned at this very time ; and will demonstrate, how Divine Providence freed the City and Roman State from the greatest danger imaginable, by unexpected assistances. What that was must now be declared. *Gaïna* was by extract a Barbarian. Having made himself a



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

Subject to the Romans, and engaged in a Military Employ, he rose by degrees, and was at length constituted General both of the Roman Horse and Foot. When he had gotten so great a power, he knew not himself, nor could he moderate his own mind. But (as the saying is) moved every stone, that he might render the Roman Empire subject unto himself. He sent for the whole nation of the Goths, out of their own

(a) In my judgment this place is thus to be mended: τὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιτελέειν τὰς ἐργασίας αὐτῶν ἀρχαί; ἔχεν παρασκευάζειν. and took care, that such as were his Relations, &c. This our emendation is confirmed by Sozomen, Book 8. chap. 4. in these words: καὶ τὸς ἐπιτελέειν ὁμοίως παρασκευάζειν καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑσπερίους, and he made his Relations Centurions and Tribunes. Had Translators consulted this passage in Sozomen, they would have rendered Socrates's Words here more happily. Valef.

\* Or, made an innovation.

knowing nothing [of his design,] readily yielded. Gainna therefore forthwith made an Expedition, pretendedly indeed against Tribigildus; but in reality, with a resolution to turn Tyrant. He took along with him a vast multitude of the Barbarous Goths: And when he was arrived in Phrygia, laid all places desolate. The Romans were on a sudden mightily disturbed, not only by reason of the vast number of Barbarians who were with Gainna, but also in regard the [fertilest and] most useful Provinces of the East were highly endanger'd. But then the Emperor, in relation to the present juncture of affairs, made use of a prudent and useful advice, and by subtlety made an attempt upon the \* Barbarian. Having therefore sent [Ambassadors] to him, he took a resolution of appeasing him as well by words, as deeds. Upon Gainna's demanding two of the eminentest Personages of the Senatorian Order (who had born the Consulate,

\* That is, Gainna.

(b) This passage is thus to be worded; ὅς τις ἐπενόησεν ἀντιτατὲς τοῖς ὁμοῖς, Persons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his designs; So Nicephorus expresses it. Moreover, of these two Persons Aurelianus bore the Consulate on this very year with Stilichon: Saturninus had been Consul long before with Merobaudes, in the times of Theodosius Senior. Concerning whose praises Theodoret speaks at large in his *Gratiarum Actio* to Theodosius on account of the Peace made with the Goths, and on account of the Consulate given to the said Saturninus. Valef.

\* Ἀντιζούσας, making a feigned, or, disdainful refusal.

to wit, Saturninus and Aurelianus, (b) Persons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his designs;) to be Hostages; the Emperor, in compliance with the necessity of that time, deliver'd them, tho' unwillingly. These two Persons, prepared to undergo death for the good of the publick, with a courageous mind obey'd the Emperor's Command. And went forth to meet the Barbarian, some distance from Chalcedon, at a place term'd the Hippodrome; being ready to endure whatever he should inflict. However, they suffered no harm. But Gainna made use of \* dissimulation, and came to Chalcedon, whither the Emperor Arcadius also went to meet him. The Emperor and the Barbarian going both into that Church, where the body of the Martyr Euphemia is deposited, bound themselves in a mutual Oath, that they would not frame designs one against the other. The Emperor, a Person that had a pious and religious esteem for an Oath, and was upon that account beloved by God, kept the engagement he had

entred into: But Gainna violated it, and receded not from the design he had proposed to himself; but was intent upon causing burnings and plunderings, both at Constantinople, and also (if he could have effected it) over the whole Roman Empire. The \* City therefore was turned into a Barbary, by reason of the innumerable multitudes of Barbarians, and its Inhabitants had the treatment of Captives. [Moreover,] so great was the danger which hung over the City, that a vast Comet, which reached from Heaven even to the Earth, the like to which no Man ever saw before, gave an Indication thereof. Gainna therefore in the first place impudently attempted to make plunder of the Silver, publicly exposed to sale in the Shops: But when, by a preceding rumour thereof, [the Money-changers] abstained from exposing their Silver on their Tables; he betook himself to another design. And in the dead of the night he sends a great number of Barbarians to burn down the Palace. At which time it was perspicuously manifested, how great a care God had of the City: For a multitude of Angels appeared to the Traytors, in the form of armed Men of a vast stature; whom the Barbarians conjecturing to be in reality a numerous and valiant Army, were astonished thereat, and departed. When this was told to Gainna, it seemed incredible to him. For he well knew, that the greatest part of the Roman Army was then absent, being engarison'd in the Cities [of the East.] On the next night therefore, and on many nights afterwards, he sent other persons. But when he had sent (c) several Men, who still brought him the same news; (for God's Angels always appeared in the same form to the Traytors: ) at length he himself went accompanied with a great multitude, to be a spectator of the Miracle. Supposing them really to be an \* army of Soldiers, which on the day-time lay concealed, and in the night opposed his attempts; he framed a design, prejudicial (as he thought) to the Romans, but which (as the event demonstrated) was of great advantage to them. For feigning himself to be possessed with a Devil, upon a pretence of prayer, he goes to the Church of John the Apostle, which is seven miles distant from the City. The Barbarians went out with him, and carried out their Arms covertly, hiding them partly in Tuns, and partly making use of other devices. But when the Guard that kept the City-gates, having discover'd the trick, would not suffer them to carry out their Weapons, the Barbarians drew their Swords, and slew those that guarded the Gates. Hereupon arose a horrid tumult in the City, and death seem'd to be impendent on all persons. Notwithstanding, at that time the City suffer'd no harm, all its Gates being strongly fortified. But the Emperor made a seasonable use of prudent advice, and having proclaim'd Gainna a publick Enemy, he commanded those Barbarians who were left in the City to be slain. One day

(d) I doubt not but Socrates wrote [τὸς τῶν αὐτῶν πυλῶν ἀναίρεσιν, after the Men that guarded the Gates were slain;] not [μετὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναίρεσιν, after the pulling down of the Gates.] For on the foregoing day, those that guarded the Gates had been slain by Gainna's Soldiers, as Socrates has related a little before. Valef.

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.  
Constantinople.

(c) Instead of [στρατῶν, in a various manner] we read [διαφόρων, several Men;] and so Musculus seems to have read. Valef. \* Or, a multitude.



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius

those of his Party who could not get out of the City were slain; and perceiving that his artifices were unsuccessful to himself, left [St. John's] Church, and went in great haste into *Thracia*. Being come to *Cherronesus*, he endeavoured to pass over from thence, and take *Lampsacus*, that from that place he might make himself Master of the Eastern parts. But upon the Emperor's sending Forces immediately both by Land and Sea, there appear'd another admirable effect of Divine Providence. For whilst the *Barbarians*, wanting Vessels, patch'd up Ships in great haste and disorder, wherein they might make their passage; on a sudden the *Roman* Navy appear'd in sight, and a West-wind blew hard. The *Romans* had a safe and easie passage in their Ships; but the *Barbarians*, together with their Horses in their Ships, were tossed up and down and dispersed by a Storm, and at length perish'd in the Sea. Many of them also were destroy'd by the *Romans*. After this manner a numerous multitude of *Barbarians* at that time lost their lives in their passage: But *Gaina* got away from thence, and flying through *Thracia*, falls into the hands of another party of the *Roman* Forces, by whom he is slain, together with the *Barbarians* in his company. Let thus much be sufficient to have been

(e) The true reading seems to be [ἀς ἐβήθησαν] αὐτὸν τὸ Γαῖνα, cursorily concerning *Gaina*. Valef.

(f) *Advocates* were heretofore called *Scholastici*, as we are informed from *Justinian's* 74th and 76th Novel. The words of *Macarius* in his 15th Homily, are these: ὁ θελὼν μαθεῖν πρὸς γὰρ, &c. He that desires to have a Knowledge in Forensic Cases, goes and learns the Letters. And when he has been the first there, he goes to the School of the *Romans*, where he is the last of all. Again, when he comes to be the first there, he departs to the School of the *Pragmatici* [or, *Practicians*] where he is again the last of all, and *Arcarius* [or *Novice*.] Then, when he is made a *Scholasticus*, he is *Novice*, and the last of all the *Lawyers*. Again, when he becomes the first there, then he is made a *President* [or *Governour* of a province.] And when he is made a *Governour*, he takes to himself an *Assistant* or *Assessor*. See more in *Franciscus Pithæus's* Glossary ad *Novellas Juliani Antecessoris*, and in *Maurusius's* Glossary in the term Σχολαστικός, & Ἀσχητό. Valef.

\* In the year of Christ 401, See Book 6. chap. 11. note (c.)

*Fravitus* bore a Consulate, a Personage by extract indeed a *Goth*, but one who had express much of kindness and fidelity towards the *Romans*, and had done them excellent service in this very War. On which account he had the dignity of a Consulate bestow'd upon him; in whose year the Emperor *Arcadius* had a Son born, *Theodosius the Good*, on the tenth of \* *April*. Let thus much be said concerning these things. [Further,] whilst the affairs of the *Roman* State were thus tempestuous, those intrusted with the Prelacy, abstained not in the least from framing designs and plots one against another, to the reproach and disgrace of the *Christian Religion*: For at this very time the Bishops employ'd their thoughts about raising Tumults and Insurrections against one another. Which mischief took its beginning from *Egypt*, upon this account.

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Dissention which hapned between Theophilus [Bishop] of Alexandria, and the Monasticks in the Solitude. And how Theophilus Anathematized Origen's Books.

A Little before this, a question had been started, whether God were a Body, and had a Human shape; or whether He were incorporeal and foreign, not only to an Human, but to any other bodily shape and figure whatever. By reason of this question, Strifes and Contentions were raised amongst many Persons: Some favouring this Opinion; others patronizing that. The greater part of the plainer and simpler sort of *Asceticks* asserted, that God was corporeal, and had an Human shape. But most [other Persons] condemned their Opinion, affirming God to be incorporeal, and wholly void of all manner of bodily shape. Whose Sentiment was embraced by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; insomuch that he inveighed publickly in the Church, in the presence of the People, against those who asserted God had an Human shape; and did himself expressly determine, that he was incorporeal. The *Egyptian Asceticks* understanding this, left their Monasteries and came down to *Alexandria*; and raised a tumult against *Theophilus*, condemning him of impiety, and were resolved to kill him. *Theophilus*, acquainted herewith, was forely perplex'd, and employ'd his Mind about a Device, how he might avoid the Death he was threatned with. Being come into the presence of these Men, he addrest himself to them in a flattering way, and spoke to them on this wise: \* Whilst I behold you, to my thinking I see God's Countenance. These words mollified the fury of the Monks. Their return to him was: If you speak true, [to wit,] that God's Countenance is like ours, then Anathematize Origen's Works. For some Persons have disputed out of those (a) Books, and contradicted our Opinion. But if you refuse to do that, expect from us the treatment due to impious persons and enemies to God. I will do whatever seems good to you, (replied *Theophilus*) and therefore be not incensed against me: For I my self do abominate Origen's Books, and judge those Persons worthy of reprehension who admit of them. *Theophilus* therefore having after this manner given the Monks a repulse, dismiss'd them. And perhaps the Controversie about this matter, which had come to this height, might have been quieted and appeased; had there not another accident forthwith hapned of this nature. There presided over the Monasteries in *Egypt* four pious Men, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthymius*. These Persons were own Brothers; and from their [ stature of ] body were termed *The Long*. They were eminent both for their [Sanctity of] life and eloquence: And upon that account their fame was very great at *Alexandria*. Moreover, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* had an high esteem for these Men. For which reason he constituted one them, to wit, *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Hermopolis*; having by force constrained him [to undertake that Ecclesiastick Charge.] Two more of them he intreated to continue with him, and could scarcely perswade them to it: But in regard he was Bishop, at length he forced them

\* Or, I look upon you in the same manner that I do behold God. (a) The passage in Origen wherein he disputes against those who affirmed God was endued with an humane shape, is extant in *Theodoret*, in his Questions upon *Genesis*, chap. 20. [quoted] from Origen's Comments upon *Genesis*. Valef.



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

them [to stay;] and (b) having honour'd them with the Dignity of Clergy-men, he committed the disposal of [the Revenue of] the Church (b) *Johannes* to them. They, necessitated thereto, stay'd; and discharged their Office of Stewardship very well. Notwithstanding, they were displeased, because they could not philosophise as they had a mind to do, nor be intent upon [their studies of] an *Ascetic* Discipline. But when in process of time, they were of opinion that their Souls received harm, in regard they perceived the Bishop wholly intent upon Lucre, and making it his chief concern to amass Money together, (and upon that account, as 'tis commonly said, *moving every stone*;) (c) then they refused to live any longer with him, saying, they were in love with the Solitude, and preferr'd that before a City-life. The Bishop, as long as he was ignorant of the true reason [why they resolved to be gone,] entreated them to stay. But after his perceiving himself condemned by them, he was fill'd with rage, and threatened to do them all manner of mischief. When they, disregarding his menaces, were departed into the Solitude; *Theophilus* being (as may be conjectured) a person of an hot and hasty temper, raised no small disturbance against these persons; but set all engines to work to create them trouble. He forthwith entertained an hatred for their Brother *Dioscorus* also, Bishop of *Hermopolis*. For he was sorely vexed at him, because the *Ascetics* were his favourers, and had an high veneration for him. He very well knew, that he could no way damnify these persons, unless he could make the Monks their enemies. He therefore makes use of this method. 'Twas certainly known to him, that those Men, in their frequent disputes with him, [had strongly asserted] that God was incorporeal, and in no wise had a human shape: For, human passions do of necessity accompany an human shape. And this had been diligently inquired into by the Antients, especially by *Origen*. Although this was *Theophilus's* own sentiment concerning God, yet that he might be revenged of his enemies, he was not ashamed of contradicting what he and they had well and truly asserted. But \* imposed upon most of the Monks; persons

innocent indeed and sincere, but who were unskilful in learning, yea most of them illiterate. For he sends Letters to the Monasteries in the Solitudes, giving them advice that they ought not to be perswaded by *Dioscorus*, nor his Brethren, who affirm God to be incorporeal. For God (said he,) according to the [testimony of the] Sacred Scriptures, hath eyes, ears, hands, and feet as Men have. But those Persons about *Dioscorus*, being followers of *Origen*, do attempt to introduce an \* impious opinion; to wit, that God hath neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor hands. With this imposture he deceives most of the Monks; and there arises a very hot dissention amongst them. Such as had their minds † cultivated with Learning, were in no wise caught with this fraud; but continued their adherence both to *Dioscorus* and *Origen*. But the simpler sort, who were the most in number, and had the greatest warmth and zeal, forthwith made an insurrection against the Brethren. A division therefore was made amongst them, and they reproach'd one another as impious Persons. *Theophilus's* Party term'd the Brethren *Origenists* and impious Persons. On the contrary, the other Faction stiled those instigated by *Theophilus* || *Anthropomorphitæ*. Whereupon no small contention arose, and an irreconcilable war was kindled between the Monks. As soon as *Theophilus* understood that his design succeeded according to his own mind, he went to *Nitria* (where the Monasteries are) accompanied with a great multitude, and (d) Arms the Monks against *Dioscorus* and his Brethren. They having been in great danger of losing their lives, at length with great difficulty made their escape. *Johannes* of *Constantinople* was in the interim wholly ignorant of what had been done in *Egypt*: and he grew famous for his Learning and Eloquence, on account whereof he became eminent [in all places.] He was also the first Person that enlarged the Prayers [usually made] in the Nocturnal Hymns, [which he did] for this reason.

*Nitria* by *Theophilus*. For, they were forced from thence, because they were defenders of *Origen*, whom, together with his Errors, *Theophilus* had condemned in the *Alexandrian Synod*. *Socrates* seems to have been imposed upon by some Person that was an *Origenist*, who favouring *Ammonius* and his Brethren, had given *Socrates*, a Narrative of that business, otherwise than it really was. *Baronius*, not content to fix the *Novatian Heresie* upon our *Socrates* does openly call him an *Origenist*. But we only say this, that *Socrates* had this relation from some one of *Ammonius's* friends. I do not in the least doubt, but *Theophilus*, out of a grudge and hatred towards *Ammonius* and his brethren, made the Errors of *Origen* and the Crime of Heresie his pretext only; as he did afterwards frame the same Calumny against *John Chrysostome*. Vale.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the Prayers of the Nocturnal Hymns [sung] by the Arians and Homoiousians; and concerning the ingagement which hapned between them: and that the singing of Hymns in parts, wherein one sang one Verse, another another, had its original from Ignatius (a) *Theophorus*.

*Theophorus* is usually stiled. This term is differently accented in the Greek, which makes its import different also. For if it be written Θεοφόρος, it denotes a Divine Person, one whose Soul is full of God. If it be Θεοφορος, its import is passive, and implies one born or carried by God. We are told by many Learned Men, that *Ignatius* had this title from our Saviour's taking him up in his arms. For, he was that very Child (they say) whom our Saviour (*Mar. 9. 36.*) took up, and set in the midst of his Disciples. Others, on the contrary, affirm this Story to be groundless and uncertain. See Dr. *Cave's* Life of *Ignatius*.

(c) Instead of [παρηγορητο τε, and they refused] I read [παρηγορητο τότε, then they refused. Vale.

\* Or, imposed in.

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

\* Or, blasphemous.

† Or, exercised in.

|| That is, persons that affirmed God had an humane shape.

(d) *Socrates* conceals the true reason why those Monks, termed *The Long-Brethren*, were driven out of the Monasteries of



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

\* Covered,  
or, Arched  
Walks.

**T**HE Arians, as we have said, had their meetings without the City. Every week therefore, as often as the Festival days occur'd (I mean the Sabbath, and Sunday,) whereon Assemblies were usually held in the Churches, they flock'd together within the City, about the publick \*Piazza's, and sang Hymns adapted to the Arian Heresie, answering one another by turns. And this they did for the most part all night long. Early in the morning they sang the same *alternative Hymns*, passed through the midst of the City, out of its Gates, and so went to the places where they met. But in regard they would not desist from making use of such terms as gave a provocation to the Assertors of the *Homousian* Opinion: (for they frequently sang such words as these; *Where are they who affirm Three to be One Power?*) *Johannes* being afraid, lest any of the more ignorant sort might be drawn away from the Church by such Hymns, in opposition to them appoints some of his own People, that they might employ themselves in singing of *Nocturnal Hymns*, and by that means both obscure the Sedulity of the Arians about these things, and also confirm his own Party [the Orthodox] in the profession of their Faith. This design of *Johannes's* was seemingly good and useful; but the conclusion of it was Disturbance and Dangers. For, in regard the Hymns of the *Homousians*, in their singing them in the night, were performed with more of pomp and show: (for *Johannes* invented Silver-Crosses, whereon were carried Wax-tapers lighted; the Empress *Eudoxia* being at the charge hereof :) the Arians, who were very numerous, and possess'd with an envious emulation, resolved to be revenged, and to make an attack against them. For by reason of that power and sway which they had formerly had, they were as yet hot and ready for such conflicts, and likewise they despised their Adversaries. Without delay therefore, on one of those nights they engaged. *Briso*, the Empress's Eunuch, who at that time was the Singers Instructor, received a wound in his Forehead by a Stone: and moreover, some Persons on both sides were slain. The Emperor incensed hereat, prohibited the Arians from singing their Hymns any more in publick. Such, as we have declared, were the Transactions then. We are further to relate, whence this usage of singing *alternative Hymns* in the Church had its original. (b) *Ignatius* the third Bishop of *Antioch* in Syria from the Apostle *Peter*, who also convers'd with the Apostles themselves, saw a Vision of Angels, praising the Holy Trinity by singing of *alternative Hymns*, and he deliver'd that way of singing, which he had seen in his Vision, to the *Antiochian* Church. Whence the same Tradition was spread over all other Churches. This is the account we have received concerning *alternative Hymns*.

(b) I cannot imagine whence *Socrates* had this Story. For 'tis manifest, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons,

who in *Constantius's* Reign divided the Quires of Singers at *Antioch* into two parts, and gave them *David's* Psalms, to be sung *alternatively*, or by turns: which usage being first practis'd at *Antioch*, afterwards spread over all the Churches of the World. *Theodoret* attests this in his *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 24.* as does also *Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (a Person ancienter than he) who lived in the same times with *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *Theodorus's* words are quoted by *Nicetas in thesauro Orthodoxe fidei, lib. 5. cap. 30.* Altho' that way of singing Psalms seems to have been used by the Syrians, before *Flavianus* and *Diodorus's* times. For *Theodorus* writes, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons, who translated that kind of *Psalmodie* which they term *Antiphonæ*; [That is, when one singeth one Verse, another another] out of the Syrian Language into the *Græcian*; and that those two Persons appear'd almost the only Authors of this thing, to all the parts of the World.

What therefore the Syrians had done long before *Flavianus's* time, (to wit, in singing of *David's* Psalms *alternatively* in *Syriack*.) that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* order'd to be done, by the *Græcians* of *Antioch* in their singing the Psalms in *Greek*. Valef.

## C H A P. IX.

Concerning those termed The Long Monks, and Arcadius how Theophilus having conceived an implacable hatred against Johannes upon their account, made it his business to get him deposed [from his Bishoprick.] *Honorius.*

**N**OT long after this, the Monks together with *Dioscorus* and his Brethren, went from the Solitude to *Constantinople*. They were accompanied by *Isidorus*, a Person for whom *Theophilus* had heretofore had a great \*love; (a) but was then become his most deadly enemy upon this account. One *Peter* was (b) Chief-Presbyter of the *Alexandrian* Church. *Theophilus* had conceived an hatred against him, and took a resolution of ejecting him out of the Church. He charged him with this accusation, that he had admitted a Woman, by Sect a *Manichean*, to [a participation of] the sacred Mysteries, before he had brought her off from the *Manichean* Heresie. But in regard *Peter* said that the Woman had renounced her Heresie, and that she had not been admitted [to the Eucharist] contrary to *Theophilus's* mind; *Theophilus* was for that reason highly incensed, in regard he was calumniated. For he affirmed himself to be wholly ignorant of what had been done. *Peter* therefore summon'd *Isidorus* to attest, that the Bishop was not ignorant of what had been done concerning the Woman. It hapned that *Isidorus* was at that very time at the Imperial City *Rome*:

\* See the second Chapter of this Book.

(a) Besides this reason of *Theophilus's* hatred against *Isidorus*, *Sozomen* (Book 8. Chap. 12.) relates two other causes. The first was, because *Isidorus* had refused to give evidence in favour of *Theophilus's* Sister. The second, because he had reproved *Theophilus* for his over-much diligence in building Churches, whereby he wasted the Money of the Church, which ought rather to have been bestowed on the poor. I am easily induced to believe, that these were the Reasons of *Theophilus's* hatred against *Isidorus*; in regard both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do expressly attest it. Notwithstanding, *Isidorus* was not for these reasons ejected out of the Church; but was condemned by the sentence of the Bishops, on account of *Origen's* Errors, which he maintained; as *Baronius* has long since informed us from *Palladius* in *Lausiaca*. Valef.

(b) *S. Arsius*, who succeeded *Chrysostome* in his Bishoprick, is term'd *μεγίστος ἐπίσκοπος*, Chief-Presbyter, in the Acts of the Synod at *Quercum*; and one *Martyrius* is stiled *μεγίστος διάκονος*, Chief-Deacon. *Sozomen* calls this *Peter* Arch-Presbyter. This is a name of honour, not of ancientness. For the Bishops Elected whom they pleased out of the Colledge of Presbyters to be Arch-Presbyters, as *Liberatus* informs us in his *Breviarium*, chap. 14. Valef.

For he had been sent by *Theophilus* to *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*, that he might make a reconciliation between him and *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For *Meletius's* Adherents made a separation from *Flavianus* on account of his Oath, as has been declared \* before. *Isidorus* therefore being returned from *Rome*, and summon'd by *Peter* to give in his evidence, affirm'd that the *Manichean* Woman was admitted [to the Sacrament] agreeable to the Bishop's consent: and that the Bishop himself administered the [Sacred] Mysteries to her. Hereupon *Theophilus* was highly enraged, and out of anger ejected them both [out of the Church.] This was the occasion of *Isidorus's* accompanying *Dioscorus* and his Brethren to *Constantinople*; that the designs which had fraudulently been formed against them, might be inspected and laid open before the Emperor himself, and *Johannes* the Bishop. *Johannes* informed hereof, gave the Men an honourable reception;



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

ption; and excluded them not from communion of the Prayers; but said, he would not allow them a Communion of the [Sacred] Mysteries, before cognizance had been taken of their Case. Whilst the affair was in this posture, a false report is brought to the hearing of *Theophilus*, as if *Johannes* had both admitted them to the Sacred Mysteries, and was also ready to give them assistance. Wherefore [*Theophilus*] made it his whole business, that he might not only be revenged upon *Dioscorus* and *Isidorus*, but cast *Johannes* also out of his [Episcopal] Chair. He sends Letters therefore to the Bishops of every City, concealing indeed his own design, and to appearance blaming therein *Origen's* Books only: [notwithstanding,] *Athanasius*, (who lived long before him,) in confirmation of his own Faith, has frequently made use of the authority and testimony of *Origen's* Writings, in his *Oration against the Arians*.

#### C H A P. X.

*That Epiphanius [Bishop] of Cyprus being also led away by Theophilus's Frauds, convened a Synod of Bishops in Cyprus, to determine against Origen's Writings; and reprov'd Johannes for reading Origen's Books.*

**H**E became reconciled also to *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantia* in *Cyprus*, with whom he had heretofore disagreed. For *Theophilus* (a) had been angry with *Epiphanius*, in regard he entertained abject thoughts of God, and supposed Him to have an Human shape. Altho' *Theophilus* embraced these sentiments concerning God, and reprov'd those who supposed the Deity had an human shape; yet by reason of the hatred he had conceived against some other persons, he openly denied his own thoughts; and at that time entred into a friendship with *Epiphanius* (with whom he had before been at difference) as if he had altered his mind, and entertained now the same sentiment with him concerning God. He was very earnest with *Epiphanius* likewise, to convene a Synod of the Bishops in *Cyprus*, that therein *Origen's* Writings might be condemned. *Epiphanius* being by reason of his singular piety, a person of a plain disposition, and unacquainted with subtlety, was soon induced into error by *Theophilus's* Letters. And having assembled a Synod of the Bishops within the Island [*Cyprus*], prohibits the reading of *Origen's* Books. He sent Letters also to *Johannes*, intreating him to abstain from reading *Origen's* Works; and [requesting] that he also would convene a Synod, and make the same determination he had done. *Theophilus* therefore having wound in *Epiphanius*, a person famous for his piety, to embrace his own Opinion; and perceiving that his design throve according to his wish; became more confident, and he also himself (b) assembled many Bishops; in which Con-

vention (agreeable to what had been done by *Epiphanius*) a sentence of Condemnation was pronounced against the Writings of *Origen*, who had been dead (c) almost two hundred years: Not that this was *Theophilus's* principal design, but [he did it chiefly] to be revenged on *Dioscorus* and his Brethren. *Johannes* gave little heed to what he was acquainted with, either from *Epiphanius*, or *Theophilus* himself; his mind being wholly employ'd about preaching in the Churches; and for that indeed he was extraordinarily eminent: But he altogether slighted the Plots and Designs form'd against him. But after it came to be apparently known to most persons, that *Theophilus* made it his business to divest *Johannes* of his Bishoprick, then all those Men who had an hatred for *Johannes*, joyn'd in their raising calumnious complaints against him. And many, as well of the Clergy, as of the *Grandees* who had a great interest in the Imperial Palace, supposing they had a very fair opportunity offer'd them of being reveng'd upon *Johannes*, procur'd a Grand Synod to be convened at *Constantinople*, sending into divers parts [for the Bishops,] partly by Letters, and partly by Messengers.

that Heresie in the Year of Christ 399. Which was done after many Conferences concerning that matter, held by the Bishops who came thither, as *Postumianus* informs us in *Sulpicius's* *Dialogues de l'Evêque B. Marini*. After this *Theophilus* sent a Synodick Letter to all the Bishops, and he wrote a particular Letter to *Epiphanius*, beseeching and intreating him that he would convene all the Bishops of the Island, condemn the same Heresie himself, and subscribe his Synodick Letter. This Letter of *Theophilus's* is at this day extant, translated by St. *Jerome*. Valef.

(c) Περὶ διακοσίων καὶ πενήντης ἐτῶν. The particle καὶ must be expunged. Moreover, *Socrates* here uses a perfect number for an imperfect. And for this reason he adds the Term πενήντης, That is, almost, or, thereabout. But if we would speak exactly, above fifty Years must be taken from this number. For *Origen* died on the year of Christ 252, as may be made out from what we have said at note (b.) and (c.) on *Euseb. Eccles. Histor. Book 7. chap. 1.* From which Year, to the Year of Christ 399. wherein *Origen* was condemned in the *Alexandrian* Synod, there are 147 Years. Valef.

#### C H A P. XI.

*Concerning the [two] Syrian [Bishops] Severianus and Antiochus, how, and for what reasons they disagreed with Johannes.*

**M**oreover, the Odium against *Johannes* was increased by another accident of this nature. There were two Bishops who flourished at one and the same time, by extract they were Syrians, [their names] *Severianus* and *Antiochus*. *Severianus* presided over the Church of *Gabala*, which is a City of Syria; and *Antiochus* over that of *Ptolemais* situate in Phœnice. Both of them were famous for their eloquence. *Severianus*, though he seemed to be very learned, yet did not pronounce the Greek tongue exactly and distinctly: But whilst he spoke Greek, his voice had the sound of Syriack. *Antiochus* came first to *Constantinople* from *Ptolemais*; and having for some time preached in the Churches [of the Imperial City] with much labour and diligence, and from them procur'd a great sum of Money, at length he return'd to his own Church. Afterwards, *Severianus* being inform'd that *Antiochus* had gotten a great deal of Money at *Constantinople*, made it his business to follow his example. Having therefore exercised himself very much, and made many Sermons, he also comes to *Constantinople*: Where being courteously received by *Johannes*, for some time

(b) Socrates  
(and  
Sozomen  
who has



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

\* Or, ma-  
ny of the  
Magistra-  
cy.

† Or,  
without  
labour, or,  
trouble.

|| Book 6.  
Chap. 4.  
\* Or, By  
the by.

† Or, Li-  
berty and  
confidence.

time he sooth'd and flatter'd him, and was not-  
withstanding belov'd and honour'd by *Johannes* : In the mean while he grew famous for his  
Sermons, and on that account came to be taken  
notice of by \* many great Personages [of that  
City,] and moreover, by the Emperor himself.  
It hapned that the Bishop of *Ephesus* died at that  
time, and *Johannes* was necessitated to make a  
journey thither, to Ordain a Bishop there. Be-  
ing come to that City, and finding some en-  
deavouring to promote one person to the Bi-  
shoprick, others another, (who also strove very  
earnestly amongst themselves upon their ac-  
count, for whom they gave their Suffrages ;) *Johannes* perceiving that both Parties contended  
most pertinaciously, and would in no point be  
obedient to his admonitions; resolv'd to put an  
end to their contention † without offending ei-  
ther Faction. He himself therefore preferr'd one  
*Heraclides* his Deacon, by Nation a Cypriot, to  
the Bishoprick. And so both parties desisted  
from their mutual contentiousness, and were at  
quiet. On this account *Johannes* was necessitated  
to stay at *Ephesus* a long time. In the interim that  
he resided there, *Severianus* gain'd a greater es-  
teem and affection from his Auditors at *Constantinople*. Nor was this thing unknown to *Johan-  
nes* ; for he was with all imaginable speed ac-  
quainted with whatever hapned. When there-  
fore *Serapion* (of whom we have made mention  
|| before) suggested to him, and told him the  
Church was disturb'd by *Severianus*, *Johannes*  
was provok'd to an emulation. And having \* in-  
cidentally taken away many Churches from the  
*Novatianists* and *Quartodecimani*, he return'd to  
*Constantinople* ; where he renew'd the care of the  
Churches which were incumbent on him. But  
no body was able to endure *Serapion's* haughti-  
ness and arrogancy. For in regard he was in  
possession of a great † interest and favour with  
*Johannes* the Bishop, his insolence towards all  
persons was immeasurable. For which reason  
the *Odium* also against the Bishop became more  
enkindled. Upon a time, when *Severianus* pass'd  
by him, *Serapion* refused to give him the honour  
due to a Bishop ; but continued in his seat, de-  
monstrating thereby that he had but a very  
slight esteem for *Severianus's* presence. *Severia-  
nus* could not bear this contempt of *Serapion's* ;  
but spake with a loud voice to those that were  
present, If *Serapion* dies a Christian, Christ hath  
not been incarnate. *Serapion* having gotten this  
occasion, did openly render *Severianus* odious  
to *Johannes*. He conceal'd the first Clause of the  
Sentence [to wit, this,] if *Serapion* dies a Chri-  
stian ; and affirmed that *Severianus* said these  
words only; doubtless Christ was not incarnate. He  
produced a company of his own [Faction] who  
attested that the words were spoken so. *Jo-  
hannes* therefore forthwith expels *Severianus* out  
of the City. This coming to the knowledge of  
the Empress *Eudoxia*, she reproves *Johannes* se-  
verely ; and gave order that *Severianus* should  
forthwith be recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*.  
He return'd immediately. But *Johannes* declin-  
ed his Friendship ; nor could he be induced  
thereto by the intreaty of any one : (a) Till at  
length the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church  
called *The Apostles*, cast her Son *Theodosius* (who  
now reigns successfully, but was then a very  
young Child ;) in my judgment it should be [ἐως ἢ βασιλεύσῃ, till at  
length the Empress.] Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Ni-  
cephorus* words it expressly according to our Emendation. And in  
*Sozomen* the reading is [εἰς ὅτε, until,] which is the same. *Vales.*

young Child ;) before *Johannes's* knees, and *Arcadius*  
(b) having adjured him frequently by her Son, and *Honorius*.  
with much ado prevailed with him to admit of a  
friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner (b) *Kar*  
therefore these two persons were to appearance  
reconciled : nevertheless they retained a ran-  
cour'd mind one towards another. Such was the  
occasion of *Johannes's* grudge against *Severianus*.  
him by her

Son. The Ancients were wont to swear by their Children. So in *Virgil*,

*Per caput hoc juro, per spem surgentis Iuli :*

*I swear by this head, by the hopes of growing Iulus.*

After the same manner, when they would earnestly entreat others,  
they beseeched them by their own Children, and whatever they ac-  
counted most dear to themselves. In this manner therefore *Eudoxia*  
spake to *John Chrysostome* at that time : By this little Child of mine,  
and your spiritual Son, whom I brought forth, and whom you received out  
of the sacred Font ; be reconciled with *Severianus*. 'Tis certain *Chry-  
stome* had received *Theodosius Junior* out of the sacred Font, as *Ni-  
cephorus* relates at this place, from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, as I suppose.  
Further, *Baronius* places this reconciliation between *Severianus* and  
*Chrysostome*, on the year of Christ 401, in the Consulate of *Vincentius*  
and *Fravitus*. But I had rather place it on the year following. For  
if it be true that *Theodosius* was then baptized, as we have before re-  
lated from *Nicephorus* : (which is indeed highly probable ; for *Eudoxia*  
would not have brought her Son into the Church of the Apostles, had  
he not been baptized,) this reconciliation of the Bishops must neces-  
sarily happen on the year of Christ 402. For *Theodosius Junior* was  
born in the Consulate of *Vincentius* and *Fravitus*, (which was the  
year of Christ 401,) on the tenth of April. For so 'tis recorded in  
the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in *Marcellinus's* which was put forth by  
*Onufrius*. The reading in *Sirmondus's* Edition is false, where it is on  
the eleventh of April. Nor is it credible, that he could be baptized,  
except in the Easter of the year following. If any one notwithstanding  
shall maintain, that he was baptized a few days after his birth,  
(as *Marcus* seems to intimate in the Life of *Porphyrius* ;) we will al-  
low this, if he pleases. But who can believe, that *Theodosius* would  
have been brought into the Church by his Mother, and placed at  
*Chrysostome's* Knees, before he was a year, or ten months old ? *Vales.*

## C H A P. XII.

That *Epiphanius* coming to *Constantinople*, held  
Assemblies, and perform'd Ordinations contrary to  
*Johannes's* mind, that he might gratifie *Theo-  
philus*.

Not long after this, *Epiphanius* the Bishop  
comes again out of *Cyprus* to *Constantinople*,  
induced thereto by *Theophilus's* \* Perswasives : \* Or, Ar-  
He brought along with him † a Copy of a Sen-  
tence of a Synod, wherein he had not declared  
*Origen* to be Excommunicate, but had condem-  
ned his Books only. Arriving therefore at Saint  
*John's* Church, (which is distant from the City  
seven miles,) and coming ashore, he celebrated  
an Assembly, (a) and ordain'd a Deacon ; after  
which he entred into the City. That he might  
gratifie *Theophilus*, he declined *Johannes's* Invi-  
tation, and lodg'd in a little private House. And  
having called together those Bishops who were  
then at *Constantinople*, he produced a Copy of the  
Sentence of Condemnation against *Origen's*  
Books, and recited it to them : (b) Having no-  
tain'd a Deacon at *Constantinople* without the consent of the Bishop of  
that City. *Epiphanius* had done that before indeed, in the Diocesis  
of *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as 'tis manifest from *Ferome's* Epistles.  
*Socrates* therefore, and those that follow him, being deceived by the  
likeness of the name, thought that was done by *Epiphanius* in the  
Church of *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*. This device *Baronius* has  
invented to excuse *Epiphanius*. But, who sees not, that there is no  
reason, why we should charge *Socrates* with a Lye in those things  
which he himself was able to see ? For what had been once done al-  
ready by *Epiphanius* in *Palestine*, why could it not afterwards be made  
use of by the same person at *Constantinople* ? For there was not so  
great a Crime in ordaining a Deacon, whom notwithstanding *Epipa-  
nius* ordained not, but by the entreaty of the multitude that stood  
by. *Vales.* (b) Instead of [ἐκ ἔχων, I have nothing ;] it must  
doubtless be [ἐκ ἔχων, having nothing ;] in the next line, we read  
[ἐδόκει, were pleased] instead of [δοκεῖ, is pleased.] *Vales.*  
thing



*Arcadius and Honorius.* thing against those Books, only he and *Theophilus* were pleased to reject them. Some [of the Bishops] out of that reverential respect they bore *Epiphanius*, subscribed [this Decree of the Synod:] but very many of them refused to do it. Amongst which number was *Theotimus* Bishop of *Syria*, who made this answer to *Epiphanius*. I (said he) will neither be injurious (O *Epiphanius*!) to a person who has long since ended his life piously; nor dare I attempt so impious a fact, as to condemn what our Predecessors have in no wise rejected; especially when I do not (c) know of any ill Doctrine in the Books of *Origen*. After this he produced a Book of *Origen's*, which he began to read, and shewed the Ecclesiastick Expositions [of Scripture which occur'd] therein. And then he subjoyn'd these words: They who are injurious towards these Writings, perceive not that they fix a stain upon those very Books, concerning which these are written. This was the return which *Theotimus* (a person eminent for his piety and rectitude of life) made to *Epiphanius*.  
(c) agree with Christ in the Books of *Origen*. After this he produced a Book of *Origen's*, which he began to read, and shewed the Ecclesiastick Expositions [of Scripture which occur'd] therein. And then he subjoyn'd these words: They who are injurious towards these Writings, perceive not that they fix a stain upon those very Books, concerning which these are written. This was the return which *Theotimus* (a person eminent for his piety and rectitude of life) made to *Epiphanius*.  
Notwithstanding, 'tis my opinion, that there is something more wanting here. And after the word [*Origen*], I think the place is to be made thus, ταῦτα εἰπὼν, περικρίνας τὸ βιβλίον, having said these words, and produced a Book, &c. Which is confirmed by *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus*. And *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have read thus, as may be collected from his Version. Valef.

## C H A P. XIII.

What this Writer can say in defence of *Origen*.

**B**UT in regard such as delight in reproaching have imposed upon many persons, [and diffwaded them] (a) from reading *Origen*, as being a blasphemous Author; I judge it not unseasonable to discourse a little concerning them. Vile and despicable Men, who of themselves can't arrive at an eminency, are desirous of getting a name from discommending those who are better than themselves. The first person affected with this distemper was *Methodius* Bishop of that City

in *Lycia*, named *Olympus*. Then, *Eustathius*, who for some small time presided over the Church in *Antioch*. After him *Apollinaris*, and lastly, *Theophilus*. This Mess of Revilers have calumniated *Origen*, but proceeded not in one and the same method. For one has broke out into an accusation against him upon one account, another upon another; whereby each of them hath sufficiently demonstrated, that he has fully approv'd of whatever he has not found fault with. For, whereas one blamed him in particular for one opinion, another for another, 'tis manifest that each of them has wholly admitted as true what he had not cavil'd at; his silence approving of that which he hath not found fault with. *Methodius* indeed, when [in his Books] he had in many passages severely inveigh'd against *Origen*, does notwithstanding, afterwards unsay as it

(b) *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 402, does charge *Socrates* here with a Lye and Calumny, because he has said, that *Methodius* (when he had before reproach'd *Origen*;) did afterwards unsay what he had written, and set forth his praises, in his Dialogue, intitled *Xenan*, or, the House of Entertainment. But *Baronius* affirms, that *Methodius* did the contrary. For when he had at the beginning praised *Origen*, afterwards having detected his Errors, he inveighed against him. *Baronius* confirms this by the testimony of *Eusebius*, who in the sixth Book of his Apology in de-

fence of *Origen*, writes thus: Quomodo ausus est *Methodius* nunc contra *Origenem* scribere, qui hac & hac de *Origenis* locutus est dogmatibus: How dares *Methodius* write against *Origen* now; who has spoken in these and these things, concerning *Origen's* opinions. Which passage in *Eusebius* *St. Jerome* quotes in his Apology against *Rufinus*, to shew that he had done the same thing which *Methodius* did before. But *Eusebius*, in the place now cited, does not say; plainly, that *Methodius* had heretofore spoken in defence of *Origen*. For he does not say [who had spoken these and these things concerning *Origen's* opinions;] but only [who has spoken, &c.] which may be taken on either side. Therefore *Socrates* is not to be charged with a Lye. Valef.

Man in the (c) the Dialogue to which he gave the title of *Xenan*. But, I do affirm, that an addition is made to *Origen's* commendation, from his being accused by these persons. For they who have gotten together whatever they supposed blame-worthy [in *Origen*], and notwithstanding have not in the least found fault with him in these their Collections, for entertaining ill Sentiments concerning the Holy Trinity; [these Men, I say,] do most evidently demonstrate and bear witness to his true and orthodox Piety. And by their not blaming him in this particular, they commend him by their own testimony. But *Athanasius* a courageous Defender of the *Homoënian* Faith, in his Orations against the *Arians*, does with a loud voice cite this Author as a Witness of his own Faith, interweaving his words with his own, after this manner; The most admirable and laborious *Origen*, (says he) does by his own testimony confirm our sentiment concerning the Son of God, affirming him to be co-eternal to the Father. They therefore who reproach *Origen*, have forgot themselves [and consider not] that they speak calumniously of *Athanasius*, *Origen's* praiser. But let thus much be said concerning *Origen*. We will now return to the Sequel of our History.

some Excerptions. Of the same sort also was this Dialogue of his, intitled *Xenan*, that is, the House of Entertainment, wherein Strangers lodge. For, as παρθεῶν is a place for Virgins to dwell in: so ξενῶν is an house for Strangers to dwell in. This Book is mention'd in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, in his Excerptions out of *Methodius's* Book εἰς ἡσυχίαν, where these Words occur; ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, καὶ τοῖς μαρμαίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπαροῦν ὅτι χόριον, μαρμαίτας μὲν τὸ ξενῶντος τὰ μυσικώτερα τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀλαμβαίνοντες μαθήματα. Χοίροι δὲ, &c. ὁ μέγας μετέδοτος ἐστὶ, &c. Which place the Translator has rendred very ill; it is thus to be translated: The passage in the Gospel [cast not that which is Holy to the Dogs, nor your Pearls before Swine] is thus explained by *Xenan*, that by Pearls meant the more secret Mysteries of the Religion given by God: But the Hogs, &c. the great *Methodius* says, &c. In this Dialogue therefore, the title whereof was εἰς ἡσυχίαν, an *Origenist* was introduced, by name *Xenan*, against whom *Methodius* disputed, not in his own name, but under another Person, as *Photius* attests in the same Excerptions. Hence 'tis apparent, that that Dialogue of *Methodius's*, which *Socrates* calls *Xenan*, was the same to which *Photius* gives the title of εἰς ἡσυχίαν; and that *Xenan* is not to be taken for a place of Entertainment, but rather for a Person of the Dialogue. But some one will object that in that Dialogue intitled *Xenan*, *Origen* was highly commended by *Methodius*; but in the Dialogue intitled εἰς ἡσυχίαν, *Methodius* terms him a Centaure. For so 'tis extant in two places in *Photius's Excerptions*. My answer is, 'Tis possible that in the beginning of that work *Methodius* might have been sharp upon *Origen*; but in the end or procedure of it, he might found a Retreat as it were, and praise him highly. Notwithstanding, if any one has a mind still to maintain, that the Dialogue *Xenan* differed from that intitled εἰς ἡσυχίαν; then it must be said, that *Xenan* was not the proper name of any Man, but that thereby is rather meant the whole School of *Origen*, wherein the Auditors and Scholars, coming from divers parts of the World, were conversant. Which in my judgment is the truest. 'Tis certain, if ξενῶν were a proper name, it would have the accent in the last syllable have one. Valef.

## C H A P. XIV.

How *Johannes* (having invited *Epiphanius* to come to [his Palace] and he refusing, and continuing his holding of separate Assemblies in the Church of the Apostles,) admonished and reproved him, because he did many things contra-



*Arcadius and Honorius.* *ry to the Canons. Whereat Epiphanius was terrified, and returned into his own Country.*

*(a)* *Johannes was in no wise angry, because Epiphanius had made an Ordination in his Church, contrary to the Canon; but invited him to come and lodge with him in the Bishop's Palace. But his answer was, that he would neither abide nor pray with him, unless he would expel Dioscorus and his Brethren out of the City, and with his own Hand subscribe the Condemnation of Origen's Books. Upon Johannes's deferring to do these things, and saying, that nothing ought rashly to be done \* before a determination of a General Council; those that hated Johannes put Epiphanius upon another design. For they contrive, that at the next Religious Meeting which was to be held in that Church named The Apostles, Epiphanius should come forth publicly, † condemn Origen's Books in the presence of all the People, excommunicate Dioscorus with his Followers, and reproach Johannes as being their Favourer. These things were declared to Johannes; and on the day following he sends this message to Epiphanius (who was then come into the Church) by Serapion: Epiphanius, you do many things contrary to the Canons: First, you have made an Ordination in the Churches under my jurisdiction: Then, without any order from me, you have made use of your own Authority, and ministered in the said Churches: Further, when (b) heretofore I invited you hither, you refused to come, and now you allow your self that liberty. Take heed therefore, lest a tumult being raised amongst the People, even you your self incur danger therefrom. Epiphanius having heard this, was fearful and went from the Church: and after he had very much blamed Johannes, he began his Voyage to Cyprus. Some Persons report, that at his going a-board, he spake these words to Johannes; I hope you will not die a Bishop. And, that Johannes made him this return, (c) I hope you will not arrive in your own Country. I cannot positively affirm, whether they who told me these things spake true. Notwithstanding, the event was agreeable to both their wishes. For Epiphanius arrived not at Cyprus: but (d) after his departure died on Shipboard. And within a small time afterwards, Johannes was deposed from his Bishoprick, as we shall manifest in the Procedure of our History.*

*(b)* *Instead of [πρόσκλησιν] and again] in should in my judgment be [πρόσκλησιν] here- before;] (although this reading be disagreeable to all our Copies.) For tis opposed to what follows, to wit, ὡς νῦν, and now. Valesius.*

*(c)* *The reading in the Florentine M.S. pleases me best; which is, ἐλπίζε μὴ ἐμῶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος, do not hope, Epiphanius, to arrive in your own Country. Moreover Baronius does deservedly deride these Predictions of Epiphanius and Chrysostome, as fabulous and forged. Socrates relates them not for true and certain; and in my judgment they are altogether misbecoming Holy Men and Bishops. Valesius.*

*(d)* *Baronius does indeed place that contest between Epiphanius and Chrysostome on the year of Christ 402. But concerning Epiphanius's death he differs from Socrates, Sozomen, and the other Writers, who tell us that Epiphanius died soon after, in his return to his own Country. And yet Baronius confesses he knows not what year Epiphanius died on. Which I cannot wonder at enough. For, whereas Baronius follows Socrates and Sozomen in the foregoing account of that contest which hapned between those two eminent Men, what reason had he to dissent from them about the death of Epiphanius? They might indeed have been mistaken in their relating the mutual predictions between Epiphanius and Chrysostome; nor is it sufficiently manifest, whether or no they predicted those accidents to one another. But the things which hapned to each of them are most certain, nor could Socrates and Sozomen be ignorant hereof; the latter of whom was born at Salamine, over which City Epiphanius had been Bishop; and both of them were almost Epiphanius's Contemporaries. It ought therefore to be look't upon as certain from the Testi-*

mony of these Writers, that Epiphanius died at the close of the year 402, or at least on the beginning of the year following, before the Synod ad Quercum. Theophilus informs us hereof in his Epistle to Saint Ferome, which Epistle Ferome has prefixt before Theophilus's Paschal Epistles, which he translated into Latin. For in that Epistle Theophilus speaks these Words concerning Chrysostome then condemned: Sed ille, ut ceterae ejus flagitia taceam, &c. But he, not to mention his other Crimes, admitted the Origenists to a familiarity with himself, and preferred many of them to the Sacerdotal Office; on account of which fact he sadned the Heart of that Man of God Epiphanius of Blessed memory, (who shined as a bright Star in the World amongst the Bishops;) and therefore has deserved to hear, Babylon is fallen, is fallen. Where you see Theophilus does speak of Epiphanius, as then dead; for he terms him a Man of blessed memory: and he intimates, that he was dead before Chrysostome's condemnation. Valesius.

CHAP. XV.

*How after Epiphanius's departure, Johannes made an Oration against Women; and upon that account (by the care of the Emperor and Empress,) a Synod was convened against him at Chalcedon, and he is ejected out of his Church.*

**F**OR, after Epiphanius's departure, Johannes received information from some Persons, that the Empress Eudoxia had animated Epiphanius against him. And being a Person of an hot disposition, and of a ready expression; without delay he made an Oration in the presence of the People, the Contents whereof were the commendation of all Women in general. The Multitude understands that Oration so, as if it had been \* Ænigmatically spoken against the \* Dirty, Empress. This Speech is taken in writing by or, ob-malevolent Persons, and brought to the knowledge of the Emperors. The Empress, informed hereof, complains to the Emperor of the injury done to herself, and tells him that her injury was his. She takes care therefore, that Theophilus should forthwith convene a Synod against Johannes: which was in like manner urged by Severianus; for he still retained his grudge [against Johannes.] Within a small interval of time Theophilus arrived, accompanied with many Bishops of several Cities [whom he had summoned together by his Letters.] (a) For, the Emperor had given him this order by his Rescript. They flock'd together, most especially, who were displeas'd with Johannes, some upon one account, others on another. They came also, whom Johannes had turned out of their Bishopricks. For Johannes had deposed many Bishops in Asia, when he went to Ephesus upon account of ordaining Heraclides. All of them therefore by agreement met together at Chalcedon [a City] of Bithynia. One Cyrinus was at that time Bishop of Chalcedon, by Country an Egyptian: he prated [against Johannes] before the Bishops, terming him an impious, arrogant, and (b) inexorable person. With which words the Bishops were mightily pleased. But Maruthas Bishop of Mesopotamia, against his will trod upon Cyrinus's Foot: By reason of

*(a)* *Instead of [ἐντολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως, &c.] Moreover, the Emperor, &c.] I had rather it should be [ἐντολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως, &c.] For the Emperor, &c.] Moreover, Chrysostome affirms the contrary to what is said here, in his Epistle to Innocentius. For he says that the Emperor commanded Theophilus to come to Constantinople alone, to plead his cause: but, that he came thither, accompanied with many Bishops. Notwithstanding, these things may be reconciled, if we say that the Emperor gave Theophilus this order at the beginning, when the Monks had gone to him. But afterwards, at the instigation of his Wife Eudoxia, who was angry with Johannes, the Emperor commanded Theophilus to bring the Bishops out of Egypt with him. Valesius.*

*(b)* *Ἀγώγιμος. Musculus renders it inflexible. Christopherson, contumacious. I would rather translate it inexorable; for we fall down at their knees, whom we entreat. Valesius.*

which



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

which [bruise] he was in very great pain, and could not accompany the rest of the Bishops in their passage to Constantinople. He therefore continued at Chalcedon; but the rest sailed over to Constantinople. None of the Ecclesiasticks went out to meet Theophilus, nor shewed him the usual respect and honour: for he was known to be [Johannes's] open Enemy: The Alexandrian Mariners, whose Corn-fleet hapned to be there at that time, went forth to meet him, and received him with Acclamations of joy. Theophilus refused to go into the Church; but took up his Lodgings in one of the Emperor's Houses named Placidiana. Thence-forward many Accusations were raised against Johannes. Nor was there the least mention now made concerning Origen's Books: but they betook themselves to other absurd Criminations. Provision being made before-hand after this manner; the Bishops met at a place \* near the City Chalcedon, termed the † Oak, whither they cited Johannes immediately, that he might make his Defence in reference to the Crimes he stood charged with. Together with him they summoned in Sermodius [his Deacon,] Tygris the Eunuch a Prefbyter, and Paulus a Reader: For these persons were accused together with Johannes. But, in regard Johannes made use of an (c) Exception, and refused those that summon'd him in, as being his Enemies, and appeal'd to a General Council; without any delay they cited him in four times. And when he refused to appear, but gave them always the same answer, they condemned and deposed him; laying no other crime to his charge but this only, that upon his being summon'd he would not appear. This business being divulged about Evening, put the Multitude into the greatest tumult imaginable: Wherefore they watched all night long, and would in no wise suffer him to be taken out of the Church; but cried out, that cognizance ought to be taken of his Case in a greater Synod. But the Emperor issued out an Order, that he should be forthwith ejected, and carried into banishment. Johannes understanding this, surrendered himself about (d) Noon on the third day after his Deposition, the People not knowing of it. For he was afraid, lest a disturbance might have been raised upon his account. So, he was convey'd away [and banish'd.]

\* Εὐπρεπὴς ἀσκή. See Euseb. Book 7. chap. 11. note (k.) † This was termed Synodus ad rapion [his Deacon,] Tygris the Eunuch a Prefbyter, and Paulus a Reader: For these persons were accused together with Johannes. But, in regard Johannes made use of an (c) Exception, and refused those that summon'd him in, as being his Enemies, and appeal'd to a General Council; without any delay they cited him in four times. And when he refused to appear, but gave them always the same answer, they condemned and deposed him; laying no other crime to his charge but this only, that upon his being summon'd he would not appear. This business being divulged about Evening, put the Multitude into the greatest tumult imaginable: Wherefore they watched all night long, and would in no wise suffer him to be taken out of the Church; but cried out, that cognizance ought to be taken of his Case in a greater Synod. But the Emperor issued out an Order, that he should be forthwith ejected, and carried into banishment. Johannes understanding this, surrendered himself about (d) Noon on the third day after his Deposition, the People not knowing of it. For he was afraid, lest a disturbance might have been raised upon his account. So, he was convey'd away [and banish'd.]

to Innocentius, does attest, that he was put on Shipboard late in the Evening, and carried into banishment. Upon which account Baronius (at the year of Christ 403.) charges Socrates with a mistake here. But, if we weigh Socrates's Words more attentively, we shall find them in no wise differing from Chrysostome's Narrative. For Socrates says only, that John Chrysostome surrendered himself to the Emperor's Officers about Noon; therefore the Emperor's Officers might detain him in custody till the Evening, that he might be conveyed into banishment with more secrecy in the Night. Valef.

## C H A P. XVI.

That the People being tumultuous because of Johannes's Banishment, Briso the Empress's Eunuch was sent to bring him back again to Constantinople.

**B**UT the people were intolerably tumultuous. And (as it usually happens in such cases) those who had conceived an hatred against him changed it into a compassion, and affirmed him to be calumniated, whom a little before they desired to see deposed. Upon this account therefore they were the most numerous, who exclaimed both against the Emperor, and the Synod of Bishops. But in a more especial

manner they fix'd the occasion of this Calumny upon Theophilus. For his frauds could no longer continue concealed; but [were discovered] both by many other Indications; and also because he communicated with Dioscorus and those termed the Long Monks, (a) soon after Johannes's Deposition. Moreover, at that time Severianus also (in a Sermon which he preach'd in the Church,) supposing he had a fair opportunity of reproaching Johannes, spake these words; *Although Johannes had been condemned for nothing else, yet his proud and arrogant Disposition was crime sufficient [justly to have occasion'd] his Deposition: For Men are forgiven all other sins, but God resisteth the proud, as the Sacred Scriptures inform us.* These words provoked the Populace to an higher degree of obstinacy and contention. Upon which account the Emperor gave order he should be recalled immediately. Briso therefore the Empress's Eunuch being sent, found him at (b) Prænetum, which is a Mart-Town situate over-against Nicomedia, and ordered him to return to Constantinople. But in regard Johannes, after he was recalled from exile, refused to enter the City, before he had been declared innocent by a greater Judicature; in the interim therefore he abode in a (c) Village at some distance from the City, termed Mariana. Upon his making delays, and refusing to enter the City, the multitude was incensed, and forthwith began to cast forth opprobrious words against the Emperors. For which reason Johannes was forced to return. The Populace therefore went forth to meet him with [expressions of] the greatest veneration and honour, and bring him directly to the Church; entreating him to place himself in the Episcopal Chair, and (according to his former usage) pray for peace upon the People. Upon his refusing to do that, and saying that that ought to be done by a determination of the Judges, and that it was necessary his Condemners should acquit him; the Multitude grew more inflamed, they being extremely desirous to see him sitting in the [Episcopal] Chair, and to hear him preach again. At length the People prevailed to have these things done. And Johannes after he had seated himself in the Episcopal Throne, according to his usage prayed for peace upon the People: and moreover, being constrained thereto, he preach'd a Sermon to them. This thing gave Johannes's Adversaries an occasion of [raising] another calumnious accusation against him. But concerning that they spake not one word then.

Note (k.) which the Latines do sometimes call Suburbana. Wherefore Ortelius (in his *Thesaurus Geographicus*) is mistaken, in his supposing Mariana to be the Suburbs of Constantinople; whereas it was a Village, so called from its Builder. Sozomen (Book 8. Chap. 18.) says this Village was then in the Empress Eudoxia's possession. Valef.

## C H A P. XVII.

That upon Theophilus's desiring to discuss Heraclides's Case then absent, and Johannes's refusing to permit him; an Engagement hapned between the Constantinopolitans and Alexandrians, wherein many were slain [on both sides.] At which Theophilus and some other of the Bishops were terrified, and fled from the City.

**B**UT in the first place Theophilus made an attempt to call in question Heraclides's (a) Ordi-

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

(d) Yea, he communicated with them, before Johannes's case was inquired into: So Sozomen tells us, Book 8. Chap. 17. Valef.

(b) This Town's name is written variously. Hierocles, Theophanes, Cedrenus, Nicephorus, and Moscopulus, call it Prænetum. Sozomen terms it Pronetum. In Stephanus's it is named Pronetum. In the Ptolemy's Table it is called Pronetio. Valef.

(c) Mariana, or Farms in the Country, which were at some distance from the City, were termed Mariana, (as we have remarked in our Notes on Eusebius, Book 7. Chap. 11.)



*Arcadius and Honorius.* (a) Ordination; that so, if possible, he might make that an occasion of deposing *Johannes* [again.] *Heraclides* was not present; but was judged in his absence, as if he had unjustly beaten some persons, bound them with chains, and caused them to be led thorow the midst of the City *Ephesus*.

And when *Johannes* and his Favourers affirmed, that judgment ought not to be \* passed upon those that were absent; the *Alexandrians* on the contrary stily maintained, that *Heraclides's* Accusers ought to be admitted, altho' they accused him in his absence. A tumult therefore and a sharp conflict was forthwith raised between the *Constantinopolitans* and *Alexandrians*: And a Fight hapned, wherein many persons received Wounds, and some few were slain. Upon sight hereof, *Theophilus* fled forthwith to *Alexandria*: the same thing was done by the other Bishops, excepting a few who were of *Johannes's* side. And all of them made their escape and went to their own [Sees.] These things hapning thus, *Theophilus* was condemned in the judgment of all Men. Moreover, the *Odium* against him was increased, by his being in no wise ashamed of reading *Origen's* Books constantly after this. Being asked therefore by one, Why he would again embrace those Books which he had condemned; his answer was this: *Origen's Books are like a Meadow adorned with all manner of Flowers. If therefore I find any thing that is good amongst them, I gather it: But if any thing appears thorny to me, that (in regard it pricks) I let alone.* This was *Theophilus's* answer; but he considered not this saying of wise

† The first Clause of and they ought not to kick against them, who are pricked by the Precepts [contained therein.] For these reasons *Theophilus* was condemned in all Mens judgments. Moreover *Dioscorus* (one of those termed *The Long Monks*) Bishop of *Hermopolis*, (b) died a little after *Theophilus's* Flight, and was honoured with a splendid Funeral, being buried in the Church at *The Oak*, wherein the Synod upon *Johannes's* account had been convened. But *Johannes* employed himself about Preaching: And ordains *Serapion* (for whose sake the *Odium* against him had been raised,) Bishop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*. Not long after, these things also hapned.

(b) *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Hermopolis* was dead before the Convention of the Synod at the Oak, nor was he buried in the Church at the Oak, but in *St. Mocius's* Church; as *Sozomen* attests Book 8. chap. 17. *St. Mocius's* Church was at *Constantinople*, as we are informed by *Procopius* and others. Wherefore *Socrates* is mistaken, who attributes that to *Dioscorus*, which was rather to have been said concerning his Brother *Ammonius*. For, at such time as the Synod at *Quercum* [that is, the Synod at the Oak,] was summoned, *Ammonius* fell into a distemper: And having passed over to *The Oak*, he died soon after, and was honoured with a splendid Funeral, in the Monastery of that place, as *Sozomen* tells us, Book 8. Chap. 17. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning *Eudoxia's* Silver-Statue; and how *Johannes* was ejected out of his Church again on account of that, and conveyed into Banishment.

(a) *Marcellinus* (in his *Chronicon*) reports this Statue to have been

(a) Silver-Statue of the Empress *Eudoxia*, cloath'd in a Womans Stole, had been erected upon a Pillar of *Porphyry*. It stood upon an high *Basis*, not very near, nor yet at any great distance from that Church named *Sophia*:

but there was the distance of half the breadth of the Street between them both. At that Statue publick Sports were usually celebrated. *Johannes* supposing what was performed [at those Sports] to be done in contempt to the Church, re-assumed his usual freedom and boldness of Speech, and armed his Tongue against those who did these things. And whereas he ought to have perswaded the Emperors by an Exhortatory Oration, to abstain from such Sports; he did not do that; but made use of his sharp Tongue, and reproach'd those who had ordered these [Sports] to be performed. The Empress did again apply these Expressions to her self. And supposing *Johannes's* words [to be spoken] in contempt to her, she makes it her business to have another Synod of Bishops convened against him. *Johannes*, made sensible hereof, preach'd that famous Sermon of his in the Church, the beginning whereof is this: \* *Herodias* rages again, she is again disturbed, she dances again, she again desires to receive *John's* Head in a Charger.

Hereby the Empress was more highly exasperated. And not long after the Bishops arrived, to wit, *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the Less: *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* which is in *Pisidia*: (b) *Briso* of *Philippi* in *Thracia*: *Acacius* of *Berea* in *Syria*, and some others. After these Prelates were come, those who had accused *Johannes* before, were set up again. *Johannes* was embolden'd with a greater degree of confidence before these Judges: and desired that the Crimes he was accused of, might be inquired into. [In the interim, the Feast of of] Our Saviour's Nativity approached, and the Emperor, as he had usually done before, went not to the Church; but gave *Johannes* notice, that he would not communicate with him, till such time as he should clear himself of the Crimes he stood charged with. Farther, in regard *Johannes's* Accusers shew'd a despondency and fearfulness of mind, by reason of his great confidence, the Bishops that were present superseded their researches into any thing else, and affirmed that a scrutiny was to be made concerning this only, to wit, That after his deposition he had thrust himself into his Episcopal Chair, without having had it adjudg'd to him by the authority of a Synod. When *Johannes* made answer, that sixty Bishops who held communion with him, had decreed that; *Leontius* rejoyned [in

made in the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumordius*, which was the year of Christ 403: his words are these, *Eudoxia Arcadii uxoris super porphyriticam Columniam argentea Statua juxta Ecclesiam posita hactenus sedit; a Silver Statue of Eudoxia, wife to Arcadius, placed upon a Porphyry-pillar near the Church still stands. Theophanes* relates the same, who says, that that Statue was erected in that place called *Pittacia*, near the Church of *St. Irene*; and that at the dedication thereof the Prefect of the City (who was a *Manichean* and a *Semipagan*) excited the People to shout and dance in such a manner, that the Divine Service could not quietly be performed in the Church, because of the noise made by the multitude of Dancers. Notwithstanding, *Baronius* places the Dedication of this Statue on the year of Christ 404. But in regard *Marcellinus Comes*, in his *Chronicon* does in express Words place it on the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumordius*, I judge it more safe to follow his opinion; provided it be said to have been made after the Synod at *Quercum*, and after *Chrysostome's* first condemnation, that is, about the close of the year 403. And this is confirmed by *Socrates*: For he adds a little after, that when the Nativity of our Lord drew near, *Arcadius* gave *Johannes* notice, that he could not come to the Church. Now *Johannes* was deposed a little before Easter, in the Year of Christ 404. *Valef.*

\* Πάλιν ἡρῳδίας μαινέται, πάλιν ταρβανέται, πάλιν ὀρχαίται, &c. This Homily occurs at Tom. 7. pag. 545. of Sir Henry Savill's Edition of *Chrysostome*.

(b) This *Briso* seems to be a different Person from *Briso* the Bishop, (who as *Cedrenus* tells us) was one of *Johannes Chrysostome's* Scholars. And *Socrates* seems to have put *Philippi* instead of *Philippopolis*. For *Philippopolis* is an eminent City of *Thracia*. But *Philippi* is a City of *Macedonia*. *Valef.*



Arcadius and Honorius. these words,] (c) But they were the more in number, O Johannes! who condemned you in the Synod. Again, when Johannes urged, that that (c) Baronius was not a Canon of the Catholick Church, (b) but of the Arians making; (for the Bishops heretofore, convened at Antioch in order to the subversion of the Homœusian Faith, out of their hatred to Athanasius made that Canon :) [Leontius and his Party] rejected his defence, and pronounced sentence against him; not considering, that by making use of that Canon, (e) they deposed Athanasius also. These things were transacted at the approach of the Feast of Easter. only had condemned.

ned Johannes; of which twenty nine were Egyptians, the rest were of divers Provinces, as Theodorus (in Palladius, in his Dialogue concerning the Life of Chrysostome,) relates from the Acts of the Synod at the Oak. But when he was afterwards recalled to Constantinople, he had been admitted to Communion by sixty five Bishops. Either therefore Socrates must necessarily be mistaken, who has said that Chrysostome was condemned by more Bishops than those by whom he had been admitted to Communion and restored; or else it must be said that Palladius is out. Unless any one will reconcile these things by saying thus, viz. That Leontius the Bishop has here reckoned the suffrages of the Bishops together, who had condemned John Chrysostome in both Synods, as well that held at the Oak, as the other assembled at Constantinople. For although, at such time as Leontius spake these Words, the Bishops present in the Constantinopolitan Synod had not pronounced sentence against Chrysostome, yet Leontius, who knew they were incensed against Chrysostome, made not the least doubt of their Suffrages. Valef.

(d) Palladius tells us, that this very answer was given by John Chrysostome's defenders, against the Canon of the Antiochian Synod; to wit, that that Canon was made by the Arian Bishops. But Chrysostome's Adversaries rejected this defence, asserting that Canon to have been made by the Catholick Bishops. And when Elpidius, a Bishop of Chrysostome's party, urged them to subscribe that draught of the Creed then promulged by those Bishops; they answered in presence of the Emperor, that they were ready to subscribe it: but they put off that business to another time. Therefore, what must we determine concerning this question? Athanasius indeed, in his Book de Synodis, does wholly reject that Antiochian Synod, together with its draught of the Creed, as having been held by the Arians with a design to subvert the Nicene Creed. But to Athanasius (who cannot be a sufficient Witness in his own case,) we in the first place oppose Hilarius, then Pope Julius, and lastly, all the Eastern and Western Bishops, who have now at length by a general consent admitted of that Synod. Hilarius, 'tis certain, (in his Book de Synodis) does fully admit of it, and commends that form of the Creed drawn up there, as being useful and necessary, on account of the Heresies which sprang up after the Nicene Council. Moreover, Pope Julius wrote a Synodick Epistle to all the Bishops who had been convened in that Synod; amongst whom were Eusebius, Narcissus, Theodorus, and Maris. Which Synodick Epistle Athanasius does record in tire, at pag. 739, &c. Tom. 1. Edit. Paris. 1626. In the Title and Body of that Letter, Julius terms them Beloved Brethren; which undoubtedly he would never have done, had he lookt upon them to have been Arians. Now, what reason had he to look upon them to be Arians, who as yet had not been condemned by the sentence of any Synod; and amongst whom there were many stiff maintainers of the Nicene Creed, which Baronius himself does not deny? Of which sort was Diamus Bishop of Casarea in Cappadocia, whom Julius names in the first place; concerning whose praises Basil the Great has a peculiar Epistle extant. Lastly, all the Easterns have acknowledged that Synod to be Catholick, and inserted its Sanctions into the Book of Canons, soon after John Chrysostome's times, as appears from the Chalcedon-Council. And at length the Western Church has by degrees admitted of those Canons, rendered into Latine by Dionysius Exiguus. Notwithstanding, in John Chrysostome's times they might be rejected, in regard they were not received by a general consent of the whole Church, nor as yet admitted by the Romish Church. Pope Innocentius, in his Epistle to the Constantinopolitan Church, (which Sozomen has recorded, Book 8. Chap. 26.) does in no wise admit of these Canons. Valef.

(e) Christopherson supposed that these Words were spoken by Socrates concerning the Bishops convened in the Antiochian-Synod. But I think they are to be understood concerning the Bishops then assembled at Constantinople against John Chrysostome. And in this sense Epiphanius Scholasticus and Musculus took this place: For Epiphanius has rendered it thus, Non intelligentes, quod dum hæc regulâ uterentur, Athanasium quoque deponerent; not understanding, that whilst they made use of this Canon, they deposed Athanasius also: and Musculus has translated it happily after this manner: Nec cogitantes, non Johannem se modò, sed & ipsum Athanasium hoc Canone utentes deponere, nor thinking, that by using of this Canon, they deposed not only Johannes, but even Athanasius himself. Valef.

The Emperor therefore gives Johannes notice, that (f) he could not come to the Church, because two Synods had condemned him. Wherefore Johannes desisted in future, and went not any more to the Church. On which account those of his Party left the Church immediately, and celebrated Easter in the publick Baths termed Constantianæ. There were with them many Bishops, Presbyters and others of the Ecclesiastick Function; who were termed Johannitæ, because from that time they held Meetings in several places apart by themselves. Johannes appeared not at all in publick for the space of two months, till such time as the Emperor issued out an Order for his being carried away into Exile. By virtue whereof he was drawn out of the Church, and convey'd into Banishment. On which very day some of the Johannitæ set the Church on fire. Whilst that was burning, an Easterly Wind blew, which conveyed the Fire to the (g) Senate-house, whereby that was burnt. This hapned on the twentieth of June, in Honorius's sixth Consulate, which he bore with Aristænetus. Moreover, what mischiefs the Præfect of Constantinople (whose name was (h) Optatus, an Heathen as to his Religion, and therefore an hater of the Christians) did to Johannes's Friends upon account of this Fire, and how he destroyed many of them by a capital punishment, I think fit to omit.

before in this chapter: where he relates, that Arcadius at the approach of Christmas, gave John notice, that he could not come into the Church, unless John (who had been condemned by the sentence of a Synod,) should first clear himself. After the same manner therefore, at the approach of Easter, Arcadius gives John notice, that he could not go to the Church, as long as John, condemned now by two Synods, resided therein. Valef.

(g) This Edifice was called the Senate-house. The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, at the sixth Consulate of Honorius which he bore with Aristænetus, has these words: καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν μεγάλην ἐκαύσαν τὸν πρὸς σενάτω ἀπὸ κερτάντων αὐτῶν: καὶ λεγόμενον ἐκκλησίαν τὴν μεγάλην ἐκαύσαν τὸν πρὸς σενάτω ἀπὸ κερτάντων αὐτῶν. And on a sudden the Great Church was burnt together with the Senate-house, [fired] by those who held it, termed the Xyloceretæ, on the second day, at the sixth hour. See Chronic. Alexandr. pag. 714. Edit. Monach. 1615. Zosimus describes this Structure about the middle of his fifth Book. It was in the Second Ward of the City Constantinople, as we are informed from the Old Description of that City, published before the Notitia Imperii Romani. Valef.

(h) This (if I mistake not) is the Manichean and Semipagan Præfect of the City, who, at the dedication of Eudoxia's Statue, had mocked the Christians, as we have related before (see Note (a.) in this chapter,) from Theophanes. Palladius (in the Life of Chrysostome) speaks concerning the same Optatus; that when he was Præfect of the City, he compelled the Noble Matrons either to communicate with Arsacius, who had been put into John Chrysostome's Bishoprick, or else to pay two hundred pounds of Gold into the Exchequer. Valef.

### C H A P. XIX.

Concerning Arsacius, who was ordained Johannes's Successor, and concerning Cyrinus [Bishop] of Chalcedon.

SOME few days after, Arsacius is ordained Bishop of Constantinople; he was Brother to Nestarius, who had been Johannes's Predecessor in that Bishoprick, and had governed it well: but he was very aged. For he was above eighty years old. During his calm and peaceable presidency over that Bishoprick, by reason of his singular mildness, Cyrinus Bishop of Chalcedon, \* whose foot Maruthas Bishop of Mesopotamia had unawares trod upon, was in so very ill a condition, that his foot putrified, and he was forced to have it cut off. Nor was this abscission performed once only, but it was many times iterated. For † the Gangrene preyed upon his whole Body, distemper.

Arcadius & Honorius. (f) Christopherson thought these words were spoken concerning John, who after this was withheld from entering the Church. But I had rather they should be understood of the Emperor himself; in which sense Epiphanius and Musculus take them. Our sentiment is confirmed by that passage in Socrates, which occurs a little

\* See chap. 15.

† Or, the



Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

\*Chap. 15.

† See the  
close of  
the fore-  
going  
Chapter.

body, in so much that it seized his other foot, which he was forced to have cut off also. I have mention'd this thing for this reason, in regard many persons did affirm; that *Cyrinus* suffered all this on account of the opprobrious words he had spoken against *Johannes*; for he frequently termed him an inexorable person, as I have said \*before. And because [about the same time] their fell an hail, [the stones whereof were] of a vast bigness, at *Constantinople* and in the Suburbs round that City; (which hapned in the fore-mention'd Consulate; about the thirtieth of *September* :) this was said to have been an act of Divine vengeance for *Johannes's* unjust deposition. These reports had more of credit given to them, and were improved by the Empress's death, which hapned soon after. For she ended her life on the fourth day after the hail fell. Others affirmed, that *Johannes* was deservedly deposed, because, when he was in *Asia* and *Lydia*, he had seized upon many Churches belonging to the *Novatianists*, *Quartodecimani*, and some other [Hereticks, to wit,] at such time as he made a journey to *Ephesus* on account of *Heraclides's* Ordination. But, whether *Johannes's* deposition were just, agreeable to their saying who were incensed against him; or whether *Cyrinus* underwent a due punishment for his reproachful language; and whether the hail fell, and the Empress died, upon *Johannes's* account; or whether these things hapned for other reasons, or for both, God knows, who is the Discerner of things secret, and the just Judge of Truth it self. I have recorded what the common reports of men were at that time.

## C H A P. XX.

How, after *Arsacius*, *Atticus* obtained the *Constantinopolitan* See.

BUT *Arsacius* did not long survive his taking the Bishoprick: For, on the following Consulate, which was *Stilichon's* second, and *Anthemius's* first, about the eleventh of *November* he died. Many persons being exceedingly desirous of obtaining the Bishoprick, and for that reason much time having been spent, on the following Consulate, which was *Arcadius's* sixth, and *Probus's* first, a religious person was promoted to the Bishoprick, his name *Atticus*. By original extract he was of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, but had followed an *Ascetick* course of life from his younger years; and, besides his being furnished with a competency of Learning, he was endowed with a greater degree of natural prudence. But I shall speak concerning this person hereafter.

## C H A P. XXI.

Concerning *Johannes's* departure to the Lord in exile.

*Johannes* being carried into banishment, died at *Comana* upon the *Euxine* Sea, on the fourteenth of (a) *September*, in the following Con-

(a) Instead of [November,] it must be [September,] as it is in the *Sfortian* M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. Nor did *Nicephorus* read otherwise, who adds, that the day whereon *John Chrysostome* died, was dedicated to the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross*. For so it was agreeable, that he who had passed his whole life under the Cross, and had gloried in nothing but in the Cross of his Lord, should be loosed from the Frame of his body on that Festival, as the same *Nicephorus* does elegantly write. Valef.

fulate, which was *Honorius's* seventh and *Theodosius's* second. He was a person (as I have said \*before) by reason of his zeal for Temperance, more addicted to anger than bashfulness; and because of his sanctity of life, he always made use of too great a liberty of speech. But it is to me a wonder, how he, who was so zealous a follower of Temperance, should teach in his Sermons, that Temperance was to be contemn'd. For, whereas the Synod of Bishops allowed Repentance but once to those who lapsed after Baptism, he was so bold as to say, [ (b) although] you have repented a thousand times, approach. For which doctrine many of his acquaintance rebuked him; but more especially *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatianists*: who wrote a Book against this saying [of *Chrysostome's*,] and reproved him sharply for it. But, these things hapned long before this time:

(a) In what *Honorius* was said by *Chrysostome*, I cannot find. And yet we have little reason to question *Socrates's* authority, because he lived in the same times, and could have heard the Sermons, as well of *Chrysostome*, as of *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatians*. Moreover, it may be more certainly concluded from this passage, than from any other, that *Socrates* was a *Novatianist*. For he does both put an ill interpretation upon *Chrysostome's* saying, and also openly favours *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatian* party, against *John Chrysostome*. You must know further, that this saying was objected to *Chrysostome* by Bishop *Isaacius* in the Synod at *Quercum*; because he gave Sinners a liberty, in regard he taught, if you have sinned again, repent again. And, as often as you sin, come to me and I will heal you. Valef.

## C H A P. XXII.

Concerning *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatianists*, what expressions he is said to have used in his discourses with *Johannes*.

BUT, I judge it not inopportune, to speak something briefly concerning *Sisinnius*. He was (as I have often said) an eloquent person, and an excellent Philosopher: But in a more especial manner he had taken pains about *Logic*, and was incomparably well versed in interpreting the Sacred Scriptures: In so much that *Eunomius* the Heretick would [out of fear] frequently avoid his judicious and powerful acuteness in discourse. His diet was not slender. But though he was eminently temperate, yet his Fare was sumptuous and magnificent. His way of living was splendid and delicate, [he was clad] in a white garment, and bathed himself twice a day in the publick Baths. Being one time asked by one, why he that was a Bishop would bathe twice a day; his answer was, because I cannot bathe thrice. At another time, when out of respect he went to give *Arsacius* the Bishop a visit, he was asked by one of those about *Arsacius*, why he would wear a garment mis-becoming a Bishop? And where it was written, that a Priest should be cloathed in a white garment? His answer was, Tell me first where is it written, that a Bishop should wear a black garment? And when he that asked him, was in doubt [how to return answer] to this contrary question, *Sisinnius* added; You, said he, can never shew that a Priest ought to wear black. But *Solomon* is my Author, whose words are, \* Let thy garments be white. And our Saviour in the † Gospels, appeared cloathed in a white garment. Moreover, he shewed *Moses* and *Elias*, wearing white garments, to the Apostles. Having with readiness said these and many other such words as these, he was greatly admired by those that were present. When *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Gallia*



*Arcadius and Honorius.* *latia the Less,* had taken the Church [there] from the *Novatianists*, and was [at that time] come to *Constantinople*, *Sisinnius* went to him, and entreated him to restore the Church. But *Leontius* in an heat made answer, and said to him, *You Novatianists ought not to have Churches; [in regard] you take away Repentance, and exclude the Loving-kindness of God.* After *Leontius* had spoken these and more such ill words against the *Novatianists*, *Sisinnius* made answer, *But no person repents in such a manner as I do.* When *Leontius* added again, *How do you repent? Sisinnius*

(a) In *Suidas*, at the word *Σισίννιος*, this whole passage in *Socrates* is transcribed, where the word [*ἀπενεχέσθαι*, he answered] is wanting. Which word must either be expunged here as superfluous, [which we have done in our Version;] or else the word [*ἐπὶ*, subjoined] which went before, must be blotted out, *Vales.*

*subjoyned, because I have seen you (a).* One time *Johannes* reprov'd *Sisinnius*, and said to him, *a City cannot have two Bishops; Sisinnius's answer was, Nor has it.* *Johannes* being angry hereat, and saying, *you seem desirous of being the only Bishop; Sisinnius replied, I do not say that; but that I am*

*not a Bishop in your account only, when as notwithstanding other persons look upon me to be such.* *Johannes* incensed at that answer, *I (said he) will make you leave preaching; for you are an Heretick.* To which *Sisinnius* made this pleasant return; *But I will give you a reward, if you will free me from so great pains.* *Johannes* being mollified with this answer, replied, *I will not make you leave off preaching, if that Office be troublesome to you.* So facetious was *Sisinnius*, and so ready at answering. It would be tedious to write and record all his sayings: wherefore, I have accounted it sufficient, by these few to shew what manner of person he was. I will only add this, that he was very eminent for his Learning; on which account all the Bishops that were his Successors, loved and honoured him. Moreover, all the eminent personages of the *Senatorian Order* had a great affection for, and admired him. He wrote many Books; but \* he is too studious about words in them, and intermixes Poetick terms. He was more admired for his speaking, than his writing: for, in his Face and Voice, in his Garb and Aspect, and in the whole Motion of his Body, there was a gracefulness. By reason of which [accomplishments] he was beloved both by all Sects, and chiefly by *Atticus* the Bishop. But, I think thus much sufficient [to have been said] concerning *Sisinnius*.

\* Or, he hunts after words, &c.

### C H A P. XXIII.

#### Concerning the Death of the Emperor Arcadius.

Not long after the death of *Johannes*, the Emperor *Arcadius* died; a man of a mild and quiet temper, and who at the close of his life gat the repute of a person beloved by God, for this reason. There is at *Constantinople* a very spacious House, which is termed \* *Carya*. For, in the Court of this House there is a Nut-tree, on which ('tis reported) the Martyr *Acacius* was hanged, and compleated his Martyrdom. On this account a small Church was built near that Tree. The Emperor *Arcadius* desirous to see this Church, went into it [one day:] and when he had said his Prayers, came out again. All those persons who dwelt near that Church, ran together to see the Emperor. Some went out of the House, and made it their business to

\* That is, a nut-tree.

take their standings before hand in the streets, from whence they supposed they might have a plainer view of the Emperor's Countenance, and of the Guards that were about him. Others followed, until all persons, together with the Women and Children, were got out of the Church. After which, all that great House, the Buildings whereof enclosed the Church on every side, fell down immediately. Hereupon followed an outcry, together with an admiration, because the Emperor's Prayer had delivered so great a multitude of persons from destruction. This hapned thus. [Moreover, *Arcadius*] leaving his Son *Theodosius*, then but eight years old, ended his life in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Philippus*, on the first of *May*: this was the second year of the two hundredth ninety seventh *Olympiad*. He reigned with his Father *Theodosius* thirteen years: after his Father's death [he reigned] fourteen; he lived one and thirty years. This Book contains the † History of twelve years and six months.

*Arcadius and Honorius.*

† Or, the Space.

\* In other Copies this following passage occurs, not as if it were omitted, but worded in a different manner. We judged it therefore meet to annex it. On which account we have added it at this place.

\* This Appendix is part of the eleventh chapter of this Book, worded in

a different manner only. *Musculus*, *Grynaus*, and *Dr. Hamner* have omitted it in their Versions. *Christophorson*, *Curterius*, and *Valesius* have inserted it in their translations. The Greek Text of it occurs in *Stephens's Edition*, and in *Valesius's*; from which latter we have rendered it into English.

But, in regard the Bishop of *Ephesus* hapned to die in the interim, *Johannes* was necessitated to go to *Ephesus*, to ordain a Bishop. Being arrived in that City, and some endeavouring to promote one person, others another; he preferred one *Heraclides*, his own Deacon, by Country a *Cypriot*, to the Bishoprick. Whereupon a disturbance being raised in *Ephesus*, because *Heraclides* was [reputed] unworthy of the Episcopate; *Johannes* was forced to stay at *Ephesus* for some time. During his residence there, *Severianus* grew more beloved and esteemed by his Auditors at *Constantinople*. Nor was this unknown to *Johannes*. For he was speedily acquainted with what hapned by *Serapion*, whom he had a singular affection for, and to whom he committed the whole care of his Episcopate, in regard of his piety, his fidelity in all concerns, his prudence in the management of all matters, and his studiousness about defending the Bishops Rights. After sometime, *Johannes* returns to *Constantinople*, and personally undertook again a becoming care of the Churches. But between *Serapion* the Deacon, and *Severianus* the Bishop, there arose a great \* diffention; *Serapion* opposing *Severianus*, because he strove to out-do *Johannes* in his Preaching; and *Severianus* envying *Serapion*, because *Johannes* the Bishop favoured him highly, and entrusted him with the whole care of his Episcopate. Being thus affected one towards the other, the vehemency of their hatred hapned to be much increased by this reason. To *Severianus* on a time passing by, *Serapion* † shewed not that honour which is due to a Bishop; but continued in his seat; whether it was because he saw him not, (as *Serapion* afterwards affirmed upon oath before the Synod;) or whether it was because he slighted the presence of a Bishop, (as *Severianus* averred) [which of these was truest] I cannot say: God only knows. But

\* Mixture of narrowness of mind.

† Or, gave not.

Seve-



*Arcadius Severianus* could not then bear *Serapion's* con-tempt; but immediately, even before cognizance had been taken of the Cause in a publick Synod; with an (a) Oath condemns *Serapion*, and not only [divests him] of the dignity of a Deacon, but excommunicates him also from the Church.

*(a)* He means the oath mentioned before, at the 11th chapter, to wit, if *Serapion* dies a Christian, Christ hath not been incarnate. Further, these words [condemns] and [excommunicates] denote *Severianus's* Menaces, rather than the thing it self. For *Severianus* Bishop of *Gabali* had no power of condemning or deposing a Deacon of another Dioceſs; but he only threatened to do this, and committed his complaint to the Judgment of the Bishops. *Valeſ.*

*Johannes* hearing this, took it very ill: But afterwards, when the business came under scrutiny before a Synod, and *Serapion* excused the fact, and averr'd that he saw him not, and also produced witnesses [in confirmation thereof;] the whole Synod of Bishops then convened pardon'd him, and entreated *Severianus* to admit of *Serapion's*

excuse. But *Johannes* the Bishop, that he might fully satisfy *Severianus*, removes *Serapion*, and suspends him from the \* Office of a Deacon for a weeks space: although he used him as his Right Hand in all businesses, in regard he was a most acute and diligent person about Ecclesiastick Disputes and Answers. Notwithstanding, *Severianus* could not thus be prevailed with: but made it his whole business to get *Serapion* not only wholly degraded from his Diaconate, but excommunicated also. *Johannes* was sorely vexed hereat, went out of the Synod, and left the Bishops then present to determine the

Cause, having spoken these words to them: *Do you inquire into the Cause, and make such a definitive Determination as you shall think fit. For I refuse to determine the difference between them.* After *Johannes* had spoken these words, and was risen up, the whole Synod arose likewise, and left the Cause in the same state it was in, blaming *Severianus* rather, because he † acquiesced not in what had been said by *Johannes* the Bishop. But *Johannes* admitted not *Severianus* to a familiarity any more in future: but advised him to return into his own Country, signifying thus much to him: *Severianus*, (said he) *'tis not expedient, that the Dioceſs you are intrusted with should for so long a time continue unlook'd-after, and destitute of the presence of its Bishop. Wherefore, hasten your return to your Churches, and neglect not the Gift [which God hath bestowed] upon you.* When *Severianus* had begun his Journey, the Empress *Eudoxia*, informed hereof, reproves *Johannes*, and causes *Severianus* to be forthwith recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He came back immediately. But *Johannes* declined a Friendship with him, and could by no persons entreaty be prevailed upon: till such time as the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church called the *Apostles*, cast her Son *Theodosius Junior*, then a very young Child, before *Johannes's* knees, and having conjured him frequently by her Son, with much a-do perswaded him to admit of a Friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore, || &c.

*Arcadius and Honorius.*

† Or, was not obedient to what, &c.

|| See chap. 11. at the latter end of it.

# THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## CHAP. I.

That after the Emperor *Arcadius's* Death, (who left his Son *Theodosius*, then eight years old;) *Anthemius* the Præfect had the chief management of affairs in the Empire.

THE Emperor *Arcadius* having ended his Life on the First of May, in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Philippus*; *Honorius* his Brother [still] govern'd the Western Empire: the Eastern was under the Government of \* his Son *Theodosius Junior*, at

that time eight years of age. *Anthemius* the Præfectus Prætorio had the chief management of the publick affairs. He was Grandchild to that *Philippus*, \* who in *Constantius's* Reign e-

jected *Paulus* the Bishop, and introduced *Macedonius* into his See. (a) He encompassed *Constantinus* (Book 14. chap. 1.) relates that this *Anthemius* enlarged the *Pomerium*, [that is, a space about the Walls of a City or Town. as well within as without, which was not to be built upon] of the City *Constantinople*; demolished the old Walls, and built new ones towards the Continent, which (says he) are now standing: and that he finished the work with incredible swiftness, to wit, within the space of two months. For so I render *χερσὶν αἰχμῶν*, that is, Walls to the Landward, and not as *Langus* does, Brick-walls. But *Nicephorus* seems to be mistaken, who attributes that to *Anthemius*, which was done long after

\* See *Socrates* Book 2. chap. 16.

(a) *Nicephorus*



After by *Cyrus* *Præfett* of *Constantinople*, (as *Cedrenus* relates in his *Chronicon*;) on the 26th year of *Theodosius Junior*. Further, I would very willingly expunge this whole Clause in our *Socrates*. For it disturbs the sense, and seems to have crept from the Margin into the Text. *Valef.*

*Honorius* and *Theod. Jun.* *tinople* with a great wall. Of all the men of his own times, he was accounted, and in reality was the most prudent person. He never did any thing without advice, but consulted with many of his acquaintance concerning what ought to be done; chiefly, with (b) *Troilus* the *Sophista*, who, besides the (c) wisdom that was in him, was *Anthemius's* equal in political knowledge. Wherefore, almost all things were done with *Troilus's* advice.

(b) This *Troilus* the *Sophista* was one of *Anthemius's* chief friends, as (besides *Socrates*) *Synesius* informs us in his *Epistle to Troilus*. *Socrates* mentions the same *Troilus*, at Chap. 6. Book 6. where he speaks concerning *Eusebius Scholasticus*, who wrote *Gaima's War in Verse*. *Suidas* has mentioned the same Person, in the Word *Τρωίλος*, where he affirms that he wrote *Politick Orations*, and *Books of Epistles*. *Valef.*

(c) Instead of [*αιλίας*, friendship] the reading in the *Florentine M.S.* is truer, thus, [*σοφίας*, wisdom.] Which Emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. *Valef.* *Valesius* (in his account of the Life and Writings of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*) reads *φιλοσοφίας*, Philosophy; which alteration in the reading he makes in his *Appendix to his Notes on Socrates* and *Sozomen*.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, what manner of person he was as to his Temper and Disposition.

**D**URING therefore the Emperors being in the eighth year of his age, *Atticus* was in the third year of his Episcopate over *Constantinople*, and was highly eminent. He was a person (as we have said \* before) besides his great Learning, pious and prudent. Wherefore, he much augmented the Churches under his jurisdiction. For he did not only defended those of his own Creed, but caused the Hereticks also to admire his prudence. He was in no wise vexatious to them; but when he had attempted to terrifie them, afterwards he shewed himself mild towards them. Nor was he careless about his studies: For he bestowed much pains in reading ancient Writers, spending whole nights in perusing them. Wherefore he was not unacquainted with the Discourses of the Philosophers and Sophists. Moreover, to those that addrest to him, he was pleasant and delectable: He groaned with such as were sorrowful; and, that I may speak summarily, according to the Apostle's [example,] \* he was made all things to all men. Formerly, during his being a Presbyter, he made Sermons, gat them by heart, and preacht them in the Church. But afterwards, by his assiduity, he procured such a readiness of expression, as to be able to speak † extempore, and followed a Panegyric way of preaching. Notwithstanding, his Sermons were not such, as were either received by his Hearers with applause, or committed to writing. But, concerning his Temper, Morals, and Learning, let this suffice. I will now relate those memorable passages which hapned in his times.

## CHAP. III.

Concerning *Theodosius* and *Agapetus* Bishops of *Synnada*.

**I**N (a) *Synnada* a City of *Phrygia Pacatiana*, one (a) *Theodosius* was Bishop, who severely persecuted the Hereticks in that City, wherein there were many of the Sect of the *Macedonians*: he drove them not only out of the City, but from the [adjacent] Villages also. Which practice of his was not (b) agreeable to that of the Orthodox Church, which does not use to persecute; nor was [he incited hereto] by a zeal for the true Faith; but being a perfect slave to the love of money, he made it his business to amass riches together, [by taking them] from the Hereticks. Wherefore, he made all imaginable attempts against those that embraced the Sect of the *Macedonians*, putting the Clergy that was under him in arms; and practised a thousand stratagemis against them: nor did he forbear (c) binding them [over] to the Courts of Judicature. This inscription, *Συνναδῆα* [*Synnadean*.] Yet 'tis sometimes written with a single *n*. So it is in an old *Coyne* of the Emperor *Nerva's*, in the reverse whereof *Jupiter* is engraven with this Inscription,

### ΔΙΑΠΑΝΔΙΜΟΝ CYNACIS.

This *Coyne* was in the Archives of that illustrious personage the Lord *Bryennius*, concerning the meaning whereof when I was asked by the Learned *Franciscus Ogerius*, (to whom *Patinus* had communicated that *Coyne*;) my answer was; It was to be read thus, *Διαπανησιν συνναδῆα*. For the *Synnadenians* worshipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Pandemos*, because having heretofore been gathered together out of many sorts of people in *Greece*, by *Acamas*, *Theseus's* son, they inhabited the City *Synnada*. Whence says *Stephanus*, the City was so named, *ὅτι οὗτοι συννῶντο*, from their dwelling together. Further, those people out of whom the Colony of the *Synnadenians* was first collected, were of two sorts; to wit, the *Macedonians*, and the *Athenians*, or *Ionians*, who were in *Asia*; as the same *Stephanus* relates. Whence we understand, why (in the Emperor *Caracalla's* *Coyne*, which *Johannes Trifanus* has set forth,) the *Synnadenians*, are termed *Dorieneses* and *Ionians*. For, this is the inscription, *ὁ νόμος δὲ αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὸς*. For the *Macedonians*, a Colony whereof *Acamas* brought thither, were originally *Dorieneses*. But the *Athenians* who went thither with *Acamas Theseus's* son, and the Colonies which *Acamas* is reported to have gathered out of *Asia*, were *Ionians*, so termed from *Ion* the *Athenian*. *Valef.*

(b) It is a famous question, and usually disputed on both sides, whether it be lawful for Catholicks, especially Bishops, to persecute Hereticks. In the determination whereof, I am of opinion, that a distinction is requisite. For 'tis certain, that on account of amassing Money together it is not lawful for Catholicks to molest and vex Hereticks; which thing *Theodosius* Bishop of *Synnada* at that time did. Also, to persecute them by criminal sentences, and to thirst after their blood, is in like manner unlawful; as *Idatius* and some other Prelates of *Spain* did in their persecution of the *Priscilianists*. To whose communion when *St. Martin* had for some time joyned himself, he acknowledged that great detriment befel him from that thing, as *Sulpicius Severus* does relate in his Life. Notwithstanding, it is and always was lawful for Catholicks, to implore the aid of Princes and Magistrates against Hereticks, that they be restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty; lest they should behave themselves insolently over the Catholicks, or lest they should insult over and scoff at the Catholick Religion. *St. Augustine* confesses indeed, that heretofore this was his Sentiment, to wit, that Hereticks were not to be molested and vexed by Catholicks, but that they were to be invited by all instances of mansuetude and mildness. But afterwards he altered his opinion, being most certainly informed, that the Laws of Princes made against Hereticks, are useful to Hereticks themselves in order to their Conversion. And he says this was acknowledged by the *Donatists* themselves, who had afterwards returned to the Catholick Church. For they affirmed, that they had never returned to the Church, but had always continued in their error, had they not been provoked and drawn as it were by those Penalties and Molests [contained in] the Imperial Laws. There is a most elegant passage of *Augustine's* [about this matter] in his 48th Epistle to *Vincentius*; to which is to be added another passage of the same Author, in his first Book against *Gaudentius*, chap. 23. *Valef.*

(c) *Δικασθε οὓς αὐτὸς ἀποδεδόκει*. That is, he drew and bound them as it were to Judges Tribunals. Translators thought these Words were spoken concerning Bonds, as if *Theodosius* the Bishop had brought the Hereticks bound before the Judges. In which sense *Nicephorus* also took this passage. But *Socrates's* words will not bear this meaning *Valef.*



Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

(d) In-  
stead of  
[ἀποβολῆς  
madness]  
Nicepho-  
rus and  
Christo-  
phorson,  
read [ἐπι-  
ροῖαν,  
Course, de-  
vice, or  
purpose :]  
with  
which  
reading I  
am best  
pleased.  
Valef.  
\*Or, when  
he had ce-  
lebrated a  
Prayer.

(e) We  
read [τα-  
ραχῆς,  
unjustly,  
agreeable  
to the  
reading in  
Epiphani-  
Scholasti-  
cus, and  
Nicepho-  
rus. The  
other  
reading is  
πενόλος,  
contrary to  
reason, or  
unexpected-  
ly. Valef.

\* Troubled  
with the  
Palse.

ture. More especially, he did several ways disquiet their Bishop, whose name was *Agape-tus*. But in regard the Governours of Provinces in no wife had (as he supposes) a sufficient power to punish [Hereticks,] he ran to *Constantinople*, and petition'd for Edicts from the *Præfetti Prætorio*. In the interim therefore that *Theodosius* staid at *Constantinople* on this account, *Agapetus*, who, as I have told you, presided over the Sect of the *Macedoniani*, betook himself to a [prudent and] good (d) course. For, having communicated the affair to his whole Clergy, and called together the people under him, he perswades them to embrace the *Homoousian* Faith. Having effected this, he went directly into the Church, accompanied with a great multitude, or rather with the whole body of the People in general. Where \* when he had solemnized the Prayers, he took possession of the Chair, wherein *Theodosius* was wont to sit. And having united the people, and professing in future the *Homoousian* Creed, he became possessor of the Churches belonging to *Synada*. These things having been after this manner transacted, *Theodosius* arrives within a short time, and brings along with him a *Præfecturian* assistance; and being ignorant of what had been done, goes immediately to the Church. From whence he was driven by all persons unanimously, and went again to *Constantinople*. Being arrived there, he made complaint before *Atticus* the Bishop, of what had been done against him, to wit, that he had been (e) unjustly ejected out of his Bishoprick. *Atticus* knowing that this accident was advantageous to the Church, gave *Theodosius* comfortable words, perswading him with patience to embrace a quiet course of life, and informing him that he ought to prefer the good of the publick before his own private concern. But he wrote to *Agapetus*, [ordering him] to continue in possession of the Bishoprick, and [bidding] him not to be suspicious of any molestation from *Theodosius's* displeasure

#### CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Paralytical Jew, who was cured by Atticus the Bishop in Divine Baptism.

THIS was one useful accident which befel the Church in the times of *Atticus*. Nor was the state of these times without Miracles, or Cures. For a Jew, who had been a \* Paralytick for many years, was confined to his Bed. And when all medicinal Remedies had been applied to him, and no prayers of the Jews could do him any good; at length he betook himself to *Christian* Baptism, hoping that this would be his only true and salutary Physician. *Atticus* the Bishop was soon acquainted herewith. Having therefore instructed him in the Rudiments of Christianity, and declared to him the hope in *Christ*, he ordered him to be carried in his Bed to the Font. The Paralytical Jew receiving Baptism with a sincere Faith, immediately upon his being taken out of the Water in the Font, was freed from his Disease, and continued sound and healthy in future. This [admirable] Cure, the power of *Christ* vouchsafed to shew to men even in our times: by reason whereof many Heathens believed and were baptized. But the Jews, although they seek after Signs, notwithstanding could not be induced [to believe,] by present Miracles. Such benefits as these were conferred upon men by *Christ*.

#### CHAP. V.

Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

How Sabbatius, who from being a Jew had been made a Presbyter of the Novatianists, deserted those of his own Opinion.

BUT many persons flighting these things, persisted in their Impiety. For the Jews did not only disbelieve these Miracles which happened; but such persons also as were studious followers of them, were found to hold the same Sentiments they did. For *Sabbatius*, of whom we have made mention a little \* before, not willing to continue in the degree of a Presbyter to which he had been promoted, but being from the beginning ambitious of a Bishoprick, in these times separated from the Church of the *Novatianists*, making the observation of the Jewish Passover his pretence. Holding therefore Assemblies that were schismatical and separate from his own Bishop *Sisinnius*, in a place of the City which is termed *Xerolophus*, where *Arcadius's* Forum now is, he attempted an audacious fact \* that deserved many punishments. For, on one of his Meeting-days, he read a passage in the Gospel, whereat these words occur, † Now it was a feast called the Passover of the Jews; to which he made an addition of his own, that was never written, nor ever heard of before; to wit, these words, Cursed (says he) be that person who celebrates the Passover (a) not on the days of unleavened bread. These words of his being heard, spread immediately. And the simpler sort of the *Novatian* Laity, circumvented by this artifice, betook themselves to him. But his fraud proved unsuccessful to himself: and his forgery had an unhappy event: for not long after (b) he celebrated the Festival by way of Anticipation, when many persons flock'd to him. And whilst they were keeping the (c) Solemn Vigils by watching all night in the Church, a *Demoniacal* terror seized them; as if *Sisinnius* their Bishop was come with a great multitude, [to fall] upon them. Hereupon a disturbance was raised, as it usually happens, and they being shut by night in a strait place, trod upon one another: in so much that above seventy persons of them lost their lives. For this reason many deserted *Sabbatius*. Notwithstanding, some persisted with a \* rude anticipate opinion, continued with him. But how *Sabbatius* violated his Oath, and got into a Bishoprick, we will declare by and by.

For in the Greek it is not ἀνδρῶν or ἡμερῶν, that is, without: but ἔξω, which imports beyond; out of, or, saving on. Valef.

(b) Τὴν ἐκ προλήψεως ἐπιτελεῖ. Which *Langus* and *Christophorson* render thus: Cum ex anticipata opinione Festum Paschæ celebraret, when he celebrated the Paschal Festival by an anticipated opinion. I like *Musculus's* Version better, who translates it thus: per anticipationem celebraret, he celebrated [the Festival] by way of anticipation. For *Sabbatius* celebrating the Paschal solemnity after the Jewish manner, prevented the Christians, and kept that Festival before the Sunday. If these Words are thus to be understood; it must be written, τὴν ἐκτελεῖ ἐκ προλήψεως. *Socrates* uses the same term a little lower in this Chapter; where speaking concerning the same thing, his words are: τὴν ἀγροικίᾳ προλήψεται καὶ ἡμερῶν, possess with a rude anticipate opinion. Where notwithstanding, προλήψεται seems to be taken for an anticipate opinion. Valef.

(c) I understand The Vigil of the Paschal Festival. Nor can ἡ ἐξ ἑβδῶν παρασκευὴ be any other than the Vigil of the Paschal Festival. For *Sabbatius* (although he anticipated Easter, and celebrated it with the Jews yet) kept the Vigils on the Paschal Sabbath with the rest of the Christians; with whom also he celebrated Easter-day in a dissimbling and negligent manner, as *Socrates* has related before, in Book 5. chap. 21. And thus this passage in *Socrates* was understood by *Nicephorus*, whose Words his Translator hath not rendered well. *Nicephorus's* words.

\* Book. 5.  
chap. 21.

† Πονῶν  
καὶ δούλων  
ἀξίον, wor-  
thy of many  
dangers.  
† See Luke  
22. 1.

(a) Ἐξω  
ἀξίον. I  
like not  
the Ver-  
sion of  
*Langus*  
and *Chri-  
stophorson*,  
who have  
rendred  
this place  
thus: ma-  
ledictus  
qui absq[ue]  
azimis  
pascha ce-  
lebrat; cur-  
sed is he  
who cele-  
brates the  
Passover  
without  
unleaven-  
ed Bread.  
In my  
judgment  
it must be  
rendred  
thus, be-

\* Or, Ru-  
stick, or,  
Clownish.



words are these : τῇ δὲ εἰσόδῳ πανυχίδι τὸ προσήκον γέρας ἀποσιν-  
 ῶσαν, &c. Which are to be translated thus, But in regard they cele-  
 brated the solemn Vigil with a congruous worship meely for fashions-  
 sake, &c. Moreover, why Sabbatius (although he followed the Jews  
 in the observation of Easter, notwithstanding) would feign a cele-  
 bration of Easter with the Christians, this in my judgment is the rea-  
 son ; because he feared the Laws of the Emperors who had made a  
 Sanction that they should be accounted Hereticks, who kept not Ea-  
 ster on one and the same day with all other Christians. This was the  
 command of the Emperor Theodosius, in the ninth Law of the Theodo-  
 sian Code de Hæreticis. Valef.

Honorius  
 and  
 Theod. Jun.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning those who at that time were the Ring-  
 leaders of the Arian Opinion.

**D**orotheus Bishop of the Arian Heresie (who  
 had been translated by the Arians from  
 Antioch to Constantinople, as we have related  
 \* before,) having lived an hundred and nine-  
 teen years, died in Honorius's seventh and Theodo-  
 sius Augustus's second Consulate, on the sixth  
 of November. After this person Barba presided  
 over the Arian Sect : In whose time the Arian  
 Heresie was very happy in having two eloquent  
 Men, both whom were dignified with a Presby-  
 terate. The name of the one was Timotheus ; the  
 other was called Georgius. Georgius was furnish'd  
 with more of Grecian Literature : but Timotheus  
 had bestow'd greater pains about the Sacred  
 Scriptures. Moreover, Georgius had Aristotle's  
 and Plato's Books always in his hands ; but Ti-  
 motheus was † an admirer of Origen : And in his  
 Expositions of the Sacred Scriptures in pub-  
 lick, he [shewed himself] not to be unskilled  
 in the Hebrew Tongue. Timotheus had former-  
 ly been an Adherent to the Sect of the || Psathy-  
 riani. But Georgius had been ordained by Barba.  
 I my self discoursed with this Timotheus, and  
 evidently perceived how ready and expedite he  
 was in returning answers to those who questio-  
 ned him, and in explaining the most obscure  
 places which occur in the Sacred Scriptures.  
 He always quoted Origen as a most evident Wit-  
 ness of what he asserted. I cannot therefore  
 but wonder, how these two persons should per-  
 sist [in their adherence] to Arianism ; the one  
 of whom had Plato always in his hand ; and the  
 other had Origen in his mouth. For neither  
 does Plato assert, that the second and third Cause  
 (as he usually terms them) took a beginning of  
 Existence. And Origen every where acknow-  
 ledges the Son to be co-eternal with the Fa-  
 ther. But, tho' they continued in their own  
 Church, yet the Arian Heresie was by them re-  
 duced to a better and more moderate temper.  
 For by their own Doctrine they banished ma-  
 ny of Arius's Blasphemies. But thus far con-  
 cerning these persons. Not long after this,  
 Sisinnius Bishop of the Novatianists died, in the  
 same Consulate, and Chrysanthus is ordained,  
 concerning whom we shall speak hereafter.

C H A P. VII.

How Cyrillus succeeded Theophilus Bishop of A-  
 lexandria.

**S**ome little time after this, Theophilus Bishop of  
 Alexandria fell into a \* Lethargick distemper,  
 and died in Honorius's ninth and Theodosius's fifth  
 Consulate, on the fifteenth of the month October.  
 And a contention being raised there also about  
 the Bishoprick, some endeavoured to place Timo-

\* Or, a  
 drouse  
 disease.

theus the Arch-deacon in the Episcopal Chair ; Honorius  
 others Cyrillus, (a) who was Theophilus's Sister's and  
 Son. When a Sedition arose hereupon amongst Theod. Jun.  
 the People, Abundatius Commander of the Mi- (a) Or, the  
 lice [in Egypt] favoured Timotheus's Party. Where- deap. d. 2.  
 fore, on the third day after Theophilus's death, Musculus  
 Cyrillus was placed in the Chair, and came to renders it,  
 the Bishoprick with a greater power than Theo- who was  
 philus had done. For from that time, lus's Ne-  
 the || Bishops of Alexandria (b) surpas- phew by  
 sing the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, of Alexan- his Sister.  
 exercised a Principality, and took up- dria. Christo-  
 on them the [Secular] Government phorson  
 of Affairs. Cyrillus therefore forthwith shut up it, the Son  
 the Churches of the Novatianists at Alexandria ; of his Bro-  
 and in the first place he took away all their fa- ther. Ni-  
 cred Vessels and Ornaments ; after which he cephorus  
 deprived their Bishop Theopemptus of all he had. (Book 14.  
 chap. 25.)

philus was Cyrillus's Uncle by the Father's side ; his Words are, θεῖον  
 πρὸς πατέρα : Theodoret terms him only θεῖον, Uncle. Wherefore I  
 rather believe he was Cyrillus's mother's brother. In Sozomen there is  
 mention of Theophilus's Sister. Facundus Hermianensis and Epiphanius  
 Scholasticus term Theophilus Cyrillus's Cousin-german ; which is ill done :  
 But from thence 'tis clearly intimated, that Cyrillus was related to  
 Theophilus by his Sister. Valef.

(b) Instead of [πρὸς τῷ ἱερωτικῷ τὰς ἐξουσίαις, from the Sacerdotal de-  
 gree and order] it must doubtless be [πρὸς τῷ, &c. surpassing [or  
 beyond] the Sacerdotal, &c.] according as Sir Henry Savill had noted  
 at the margin of his Copy from Christophorson's Book. Notwithstanding  
 both Translators have followed the common reading, which is not  
 to be endured. Socrates, 'tis certain, speaking concerning the same  
 thing at chap. 11. of this Book, uses the Word πρὸς there : τῷ ἱερωτικῷ  
 ἐπισκοπῆς (says he) ὁ οὐκ ἔστι τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρὸς τῷ ἱερωτικῷ,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ δυνάμει ἢ τῇ πάλαι παρελθόντι ; that is, The Roman Bishoprick,  
 having (like that of Alexandria) surpassed the Sacerdotal degree  
 and bounds, and degenerated long before into a secular principali-  
 ty. Valef.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning Maruthas Bishop of Mesopotamia, and  
 how the Christian Religion was by him propaga-  
 ted in Persia.

**A**Bout the very same time the Christian Re-  
 ligion hapned to be propagated in Persia,  
 upon this account. Between the Romans and  
 Persians frequent Embassies are continually sent :

(a) for there are several rea- (a) Instead of [ἡ δὲ ἀποστολὴ δὲ,  
 sons, why they should fre- but there are several] it is bet-  
 quently send Embassies to ter thus, ἡ δὲ ἀποστολὴ δὲ, For there  
 one another. There hap- are several, &c. Valef.

ned therefore to be a neces-  
 sity at that time, that Maruthas Bishop of Meso-  
 potamia (whom we have mentioned a little \* be-  
 fore) should be sent by the Roman Emperor to  
 the King of the Persians. The Persian King ha-  
 ving found that this person was endowed with  
 an eminency of Piety, honoured him highly,  
 and gave him attention, as being really and  
 truly a Friend of God. The

Magi, (b) whose interest  
 is great with the Persian  
 King, were incensed here-  
 at. For they were afraid lest  
 he should perswade the  
 King to turn Christian. For

Maruthas by his Prayers had cured the King  
 of a Pain in his Head, wherewith he had been a  
 long while troubled, which the Magi could not  
 cure him of. Wherefore, the Magi betake  
 themselves to the inventing of a fraudulent de-  
 sign. And whereas the Persians worship Fire,  
 and the King was wont to adore a Fire which was  
 always burning in a certain House ; they hid a  
 Man under Ground, whom (at such time as the  
 King

(b) Instead of [ἡ δὲ πολλὰ, &c. who are numerous, &c.] it must  
 undoubtedly be [ἡ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς  
 τῷ πρὸς τῷ, &c. whose interest is  
 great with the Persian King.]  
 Thus Nicephorus reads. Valef.

\* Book 6.  
 chap. 15.  
 and 19.



*Honorius and Theod. Jun.* King usually \* worshipped) they ordered to speak [to this effect,] *that the King ought to be thrust out of doors; for he had done impiously, because he supposed a Priest of the Christians to be dear to God.* *Isdigerdes* (for that was the Persian King's name,) having heard these Words, altho' he revered *Maruthas*, notwithstanding had thoughts of sending him away. But *Maruthas*, a Man truly acceptable to God, was very earnest in putting up his prayers, whereby he detected the fraud which the *Magi* had framed.] He addressed himself ] therefore to the King in these words, *Be not deluded, O King! But go into [the house,] and when you shall hear the voice, dig up the ground, and you will discover the Fraud. For the fire speaks not, but the invention of men does this.* The King of the Persians is perswaded by *Maruthas*, and goes into the little house again, \* where fire is kept always burning. And when he had heard the same voice again, he order'd the place to be dug up where he that utter'd the words, which were supposed to be God's, was found. Therefore, the King was highly incensed, and gave order that the \* *Tribe of the Magi* should be || decimated. After this was done, he spoke to *Maruthas* to build Churches wheresoever he pleased. From that time the Christian Religion was propagated amongst the Persians. Moreover, *Maruthas* having then left Persia, return'd to Constantinople. But, not long after he was sent Embassador again to the Persians. And the *Magi* betook themselves to the invention of Plots and Intrigues again, to hinder his being admitted by the King. (c) For by a device they raised a most horrid stink in that place, (d) into which the King usually came; and the calumniously accused the Christians, as if they had caused it. But when the King, in regard he already had a suspicion of the *Magi*, made a more exact scrutiny about the occasioners [of this stink,] the *Magi* were found again to be the causes of this ill smell. Wherefore he punished many of them again: but he had a greater honour and esteem for *Maruthas*. And he loved the Romans, with whom he embraced a friendship. Yea, the King himself wanted but little of turning Christian, after *Maruthas*, together with (e) *Abdas* the Bishop of Persia, had shewed another \* Miracle. For both these Persons, when they had fasted long, and been earnest in prayers, cast out a devil that vexed the King's Son. But *Isdigerdes*, before he became a perfect Christian, was prevented by Death. His Kingdom devolved to his Son *Varraanes*: in whose time the League between the Romans and Persians was broken, as we shall declare hereafter.

*\* Tryal, or, Experiment.*

*(c) We read [ἐπενοήσαντες,] for by a device they raised, &c.] not [ἐπενοήσαντες,] And by a device, &c.] Other-wise, a repetition of the same particle would be odious and unpleasant. Many errors in these particles are usually committed by Transcribers of Books, whilst they write too hastily. Valef.*

*(d) Here we read περὶ ἐσχάτου, instead of περὶ ἐσχάτου. Valef.*

*(e) Epiphanius Scholasticus calls this Bishop of Persia Ablaates. Nicephorus terms him Abdas. In the Sfortian M.S. he is stiled Anldas. Valef.*

years, was succeeded by *Siricius*. After *Siricius* *Honorius* had presided there fifteen years, *Anastasius* governed that Church three years; and after *Anastasius*, *Innocentius*. He was the first that began to persecute the *Novatianists* at Rome, whom he deprived of many Churches.

C H A P. X.

*That Rome became subject to the Barbarians at that time, and was destroyed by Alarichus.*

AT that very time Rome hapned to be taken by the Barbarians. For one *Alarichus* a Barbarian, (who had been an Allie of the Romans, and had assisted the Emperor *Theodosius* in the War against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, on which account he was honoured with (a) Roman dignities,) could not bear his fortunate success. (a) *Or, Roman dignity. Zosimus* (Book 5.) relates, that *Alarichus*, after the expedition against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, wherein he had done excellent service, was Commander of no Roman Forces, but returned into Thracia, and kept with him those Barbarians only, whom he had commanded. But, a little afterwards, when being sent for by *Rufinus*, he had ruined *Græcia* and *Epirus*, he was created Master of the Milice throughout *Illyricum*; as *Claudian* informs us in his second Book against *Eutropius*.

*Vastator Achivæ  
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,  
Præsides Illyricis. Jam quos obsedit, amicus  
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,  
Quorum conjugibus positur, natosque peremit.  
Sic hostes pensare solent. — Valef.*

He presumed not indeed to seize the Empire; but retired from Constantinople, and went into the Western parts. Being arriv'd in *Illyricum*, he laid all places desolate immediately. The *Thessalians* resisted him in his march, about the mouths of the River *Peneus*, from whence there is a pass \* over the mountain *Pindus* to *Nicopolis* [a City] of *Epirus*. And coming to an engagement, the *Thessalians* killed about three thousand [of his Forces.] After this the Barbarians that were with him, burnt and ruined whatever was in their way, and in fine took Rome it self. Which City they destroyed, and burnt the greatest part (b) of the admirable works and structures therein: but they made plunder of the mony, and divided it [amongst themselves.] They also forced many of the Senatorian Order to undergo various punishments, and [afterwards] slew them. [Alarichus] likewise, in contempt to Empire, proclaimed one *Attalus* Emperor. Whom he ordered to go guarded like an Emperor one day; and the next made him appear in a servile habit. After he had done all this, he fled, being terrified with a Rumor, as if the Emperor *Theodosius* had sent an Army to fight him. Nor was this Rumor false; For an Army did really come. And he was unable to bear the fame thereof; but, as I have said, fled away. 'Tis reported, that as he went to Rome, he was met by a pious Person that led a monastick life, who advised him not to rejoyce in [perpetrating] so great and notorious mischiefs, nor to delight in slaughter and blood: To whom *Alarichus* made this return, *I go not thither of my own accord. But some \* thing does every day vex and disquiet me, \* Or, some saying, go to Rome, and ruin that City.* Thus body. much concerning this Person.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

*Who were Bishops of Antioch, and Rome at this time.*

ABOUT the very same times, *Flavianus* died at Antioch, and was succeeded in that Bishoprick by *Porphyrius*. After *Porphyrius*, *Alexander* Presided over that Church. At Rome, *Damasus* having held that Bishoprick eighteen



## CHAPTER XI.

*Concerning the Bishop of Rome.*

**A**fter *Innocentius*, *Zosimus* was posselt of the Churches at *Rome*, for the space of two years. After whom, *Bonifacius* presided over that Church three years, who was succeeded by *Celestinus*. And this *Celestinus* deprived the *Novatianists* also at *Rome* of their Churches, and forced their Bishop *Rusticula* to hold his Meetings in private and obscure Houses. For till this time the *Novatianists* flourished mightily at *Rome*, had many Churches, and assembled numerous Congregations therein. But envy\* impaired them also ; the *Roman* Bishoprick, having (like that of *Alexandria*) surpassed the Sacerdotal Degree and Bounds, and degenerated long before into a Secular Principality. And for this reason the [*Roman*] Bishops would not permit, even those who agreed with them in the Faith, peaceably and quietly to celebrate their Meetings , but took from them all they had ; only they praised them for their agreement in the Faith. Notwithstanding, the *Constantinopolitan* Bishops were not thus affected : for they not only permitted [the *Novatianists*] to have their Meetings within the City, but had a singular love and affection for them also, as I have sufficiently declared already.

\* Or, seized, or, devoured.

## CHAPTER. XII.

*Concerning Chrysanthus Bishop of the Novatianists  
at Constantinople.*

**A**fter *Sisinnius's* death, *Chrysanthus* was by force made Bishop. He was the Son of that \**Marcianus*, who had been Bishop of the *Novatians* before *Sisinnius*. From his younger years he had had a military Employ in the Palace; afterwards, in the Reign of *Theodosius the Great*, he was made *Consularis* of *Italy*, and after that *Vicarius* of the *Britannick* Islands; for his management of both which Charges he was much admired. Being grown elderly, he return'd to *Constantinople*; and desiring to be made *Præfect* of that City, he was against his will compelled to take the Bishoprick. For *Sisinnius* having mention'd him at the time of his death, as a fit person for the Bishoprick, the *Novatian* People, with whom *Sisinnius's* Words were a Law, attempted to draw him by force, even against his will. But when *Chrysanthus* fled, *Sabbatius* supposing an opportune season was offer'd him, wherein he might be made Possessor of the Churches, gets himself ordain'd Bishop by some obscure [ Prelates ] and flights the Oath which he had bound himself in. Amongst those who ordain'd *Sabbatius* Bishop, *Hermogenes* was one, who had been excommunicated and cursed by *Sabbatius*, for his blasphemous Books. But *Sabbatius's* design proved unsuccessful to him: for the People hating \*his unreasonable ambition, (because (a) he did all things with a design of getting into the Bishoprick,) made it their whole business to find out *Chrysan-*

\* Or, his  
immorali-

ty.  
(a) Πάντα  
σκοπὸν τὸ  
παρεσθῆ-

να εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔπειθε. This expression is not in my judgment good Greek. Nicephorus in regard he lik'd it not, altered it thus: πάντα κάλων εἰσφέρει τῇ Ἐπισκοπῇ παρεισδύναι, he moved every rope to get into the Bishoprick. But in my mind, this place in Socrates is to be thus restored: ὅτι πάντα σκοπῶ τῷ παρεισδύναι εἰς τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν ἔπειθε, because he did all things with a design of getting into the Bishoprick. Valef.

thus, Whom they found absconding in *Bithynia*, whence they brought him by force, and preferr'd him to the Bishoprick. He was a person of as great prudence and modesty, as any man was : and by his means the Church of the *Novatianists* at *Constantinople* was preserved and increased. He was the first person who distributed Gold \* of his own to the Poor. He received nothing from the Churches, save only (b) two Loaves of the *Blessed Bread* every Sunday. Moreover, he was so careful about his Church, that he took (c) *Ablabius* the eloquentest Orator of his own time, from *Troilus* the *Sophista's* School, and ordain'd him *Presbyter* : Whose elegant and accurate *Sermons* are now extant. But *Ablabius* was afterwards constituted Bishop of the *Novatianists* Church at *Nicaea*, in which City he taught *Rhetorick* at the same time also.

*propria pecunia, of his own money.* (b) The Loaves which the Faithful offered for a sacrifice, were termed the *Loaves of Benediction*. For so *Dionysius Exiguus* renders the 59th Canon of the *Laodicean Council*; ὅτι ὁ δὲ τῇ τεσσαρεσσῶν ἁγίων προσέπειν, ἐν μὴ ἐν σάββατο καὶ νυκτὶ μόνον, *That the Bread of Benediction ought not to be offered in Lent, except on the Sabbath and on Sunday only.* Of these Loaves some were taken for the *Eucharist*: the rest were allotted for the food of the Clergy by the Bishop; who also took some of them himself, as much as he would, as we are informed from this place. You must note further, that *Socrates* says τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκκαθίστατο, *from the Churches*. For the Bishop, according to his own arbitrement, disposed of the Oblations of all the Churches, which were under his own jurisdiction. See *Gelasius's Decretals*, cap. 27. *Valef.*

(c) Ἀβλαδίον τὸν ἐαυτῆ. Sir Henry Savil from Christophorson's Book, at the Margin of his own Copy, hath mended it thus, ἦν ἐαυτῆ. Which reading Christophorson has followed. But in my judgment, it must be thus written, ἦν ἐν ἐαυτῆ, &c. The best Orator of his own time, &c. The Scholars of the Sophists, who learned Rhetorick, were heretofore termed Rhetoricians. Notwithstanding, all the Sophist Scholars had not that appellation, but the eminentest of them only, who being initiated by a certain Rite, wore a Rhetorician's Pallium which was red or scarlet-coloured. We are informed hereof by Crisostomus in his Lexicon: τείβωνες, περιβλήματά τινα. Τῶν μὲν ἑπὶ τοῦτον ἐρυθροὶ τε καὶ ποικίλοι· παῖσι δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφων· παρὰ τοὺς μὲν δὲ οὗτοι ἦν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην φορέμενον; that is, Pallium's were certain Cloaks. Some [were worn] by Rhetoricians, which were red and scarlet-coloured: others, by Philosophers, which were of a dark-colour. This was the Badge, worn by them daily. But by what Rite Rhetoricians were wont to be made at Athens, Olympiodorus (in excerptis Historiarum apud Photium,) Gregory Nazianzen, and Eunapius do declare. Valef.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Concerning the Fight which hapned at Alexandria  
between the Christians and Jews, and concern-  
ing Cyrillus the Bishop's Difference with Orestes  
the Præfect.*

**A**Bout the same time the *Jewish* Nation were driven out of *Alexandria* by *Cyrillus* the Bishop, for this reason: The *Alexandrians* are more seditious and tumultuous than any other people; and if at any time they get an occasion, they [usually] break out into intolerable mischiefs: For their rage is not appeased without blood. It hapned at that time, that the Populace of that City were tumultuous amongst themselves, not upon any weighty or necessary occasion, but by reason of that mischief which abounds in all Cities, I mean an earnest desire of looking upon Dancers. For in regard a Dancer gathered great multitudes together on the Sabbath-day, because the *Jews* work not on that day, nor are busied in hearing their Law, but [spend their time in seeing] *Theatrical Shows*, that day usually occasion'd mutual Factions and Divisions among the People. And although this was in some measure regulated and repressed by the *Præfekt* of *Alexandria*, nevertheless the *Jews* conti-



<sup>Honorius and Theod. Jun.</sup> continued enraged against those of the contrary Faction: and besides their being always enemies to the Christians, they were much more incensed (a) against them on account of the Dancers. Therefore, when Orestes, Præfect of Alexandria (b) made a Police (so the Alexandrians do usually term publick Orders,) in the Theatre; some of Bishop Cyrillus's Favourers were present there also, being desirous to know the Orders that were made by the Præfect. Amongst whom was a person, by name Hierax, a teacher of the (c) meaner sort of Learning.

<sup>reading I like better.</sup> Notwithstanding Nicephorus retains the common reading. Valef.  
<sup>(b) Πολιτεία ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ποταμῷ.</sup> Epiphanius Scholasticus was mistaken in thinking there was a Festival which the Alexandrians called Politia. Nor was Christophorson less out, in supposing the publick Edicts of the Imperial Præfects to be so termed by the Alexandrians, which Orestes published then in the Theatre. In which he is doubly mistaken. First, because he thought that all the Imperial Edicts were by the Alexandrians called Politia; whereas, those Edicts only had that name, which belonged to the quiet and profit of the City. Agreeable whereto, those Orders made in respect to the prices of Corn and other vendible Commodities; usually exposed to sale in the Market, at Paris we now term in French a Police, and the Orders of Police. Secondly, Christophorson mistakes in supposing that these Edicts were published by Orestes in the Theatre. For Socrates does not say so, but only that Orestes made, (that is, dictated, or rehearsed to his Officers) these Orders in the Theatre. For the Roman Magistrates were wont to sit in Judgment and decide Matters in the Law, in the Theatre, Circus, or in any other place they had a mind to. So Amm. Marcellinus relates (Book 15.) concerning Leonius Præfect of the City. Moreover, the Orders then made by Orestes, respected the Theatre, and the publick Shows. Valef.  
<sup>(c) Πρώτα γυμνάσια</sup> (which are the terms here used,) do import the first Rudiments which Children learn. The teachers hereof are by the Greeks termed Grammatistæ, and by the Latines Literatores. Valef.

He was a zealous hearer of Cyrillus the Bishop, and always mighty diligent about raising the  
<sup>\* Κόρυς, Plausus, clapping of Hands; such as is now used at Plays; then be like usual at Sermons.</sup> \* Clappings at his Sermons. The Jewish multitude spying this Hierax in the Theatre, cried out immediately, that he came into the Theatre for nothing else, but to raise a sedition amongst the people. Moreover, Orestes had long before conceived an hatred against the Secular Government of Bishops, because it diminished much of their power who had been appointed Governours of Provinces by the Emperor; and also more especially, because Cyrillus was desirous of prying into his Acts and Orders. Having seized Hierax therefore, he made him undergo tortures publickly in the Theatre. With which Cyrillus being acquainted, sends for the chief of the Jews, and threatened them with condign punishment, unless they desisted from being tumultuous against the Christians. Of which menaces after the Jewish multitude were made sensible, they became more pertinacious; and contrived Plots to damnific the Christians. The chiefest of which designs of theirs, and which occasion'd their expulsion out of Alexandria, I will relate here. Having † agreed upon a Sign amongst themselves, [which was,] that every one of them should wear a Ring on their fingers made of the bark of a Palm-tree-branch, they took a resolution of making an attack upon the Christians by a night-fight. One night therefore they sent some persons provided for that purpose, who cried out in all the || streets of the City, that Alexander's Church was on fire. The Christians hearing this, ran some one way, others another, that they might preserve the Church. Then the Jews set upon them immediately, and slew them: they abstained from killing those of their own party, by shewing their Rings; but they murder'd all the Christians they hapned to meet with. When it was

day, the Authors of this nefarious fact were not concealed. Cyrillus highly incensed hereat, went accompanied with a great multitude to the Jews Synagogues (so they term their Houses of Prayer) which he took from them: He also expelled the Jews out of the City, and permitted the multitude to make plunder of their Goods. The Jews therefore, who had inhabited that City from the days of Alexander the Macedonian, were all forced to remove naked from thence at that time, and were dispersed some in one place, others in another. Adamantius, [one of them] (d) a Professor of Physick, went to Constantino-<sup>(d) Ἰατρί- πλε, and fled to Atticus the Bishop; and having κῶν ἀβγῶν</sup> turn'd a Professor of Christianity, returned afterwards to Alexandria again, and fix'd his residence there. But Orestes Præfect of Alexandria the Greeks was highly incensed at what was done; being exceedingly troubled, because so great a City was on such a sudden emptied of so numerous a company of Inhabitants. Wherefore he acquainted the Emperor with what had been done. Cyrillus himself likewise made known the Jews Wickednesses to the Emperor; nevertheless he sent Messengers to Orestes; on account of procuring a Reconciliation. For the People of Alexandria compelled him to do this. And when Orestes would not admit of any conferences about a Reconciliation, Cyrillus (e) held forth the Book of the Gospels to him, thinking he should by that strike a Reverence into Orestes. But when he would not be mollified even by this means, but continued an irreconcilable War between himself and Cyrillus; this accident hapned afterwards.

<sup>in his Book De Vitis Sophistarum.</sup> Such a one also was Gesius the Physician in the times of the Emperor Zeno; concerning whom see Stephanus Byzantius, in the word γᾱ. Damascius (in the Life of Isidorus) spends a great many words about this Gesius; and from him Suidas, in the word γᾱσι. Where he divides Physick into two parts, Theory and Practice. Valef.  
<sup>(e) Cyrillus therefore held forth the Book of the Gospels, that there- by he might conjure and earnestly beseech Orestes Præfect of Egypt, to be reconciled with him. We have remarked already (see Book 6. chap. 11. note b.) that the Ancients did usually conjure and earnestly beseech, by those things which they used to swear by. The Christians usage was to swear by the Gospels, laying their Hands on those sacred Books, as 'tis evidently known. Valef.</sup>

C H A P. XIV.

That the Monks of Nitria came down to Alexandria in defence of Cyrillus, and raised a Sedition against Orestes the Præfect.

SOME of the Monks who inhabited the mountains of Nitria, retaining an heat of mind from Theophilus's times, who had armed them unjustly against Dioscorus and his Brethren; were incensed with a Zeal then also, and took a resolution of fighting courageously in defence of Cyrillus. About five hundred persons therefore of them went out of their Monasteries, came down to the City, and observe the Præfect going forth in his Chariot. They came to him, and called him Sacrificer and Pagan, and gave him many other reproachful terms. The Præfect having a suspicion that a Plot was framed against him by Cyrillus, cried out that he was a Christian, and had been baptized by Atticus the Bishop at Constantinople. But when the Monks heeded not what he said, one of them, by name Ammonius, flings a stone and strikes Orestes on the head: by which wound he was all over besmear'd with blood: and his  
<sup>\* Appa-ritors' faces.</sup>



(e) Καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τὸ δέκατον, and Theodosius's Tenth, &c. Christophersen



phorson has done ill to mend it thus, *Theodosius's seventh Consulate*; whose Version led *Baronius* into a mistake, as you may see at the year of Christ 415. From the incomparable *Florentine* and *Sforzian MSS.* I have mended this place thus; *Theodosius's sixth Consulate*; which Emendation is confirmed by the *Fasti Consulares.* Valef.

Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

C H A P. XVI.

*That the Jews, entering upon another War against the Christians, were punished.*

S Ometime after this, the *Jews* renewed their absurd and impious practises against the *Christians*, and were punish'd [again for them.] At a place named *Innesfar*, which is situate between *Chalcis* and *Antioch* of *Syria*, the *Jews* (as 'twas their usage) exhibited some Sports. During their Sports they perform'd many mad actions, excited thereto by their drunkenness; and in their Recreations reproach'd not only the *Christians*, but even *Christ* himself. And in derision to the Cross, and to them who put their trust in Him that was crucified, they attempted this villainous fact. Having seized a *Christian* Boy, they bound him to a Cross, and hung him up. At first they laugh'd at and jeer'd him: But becoming afterwards enraged, they scourged the Boy till he died. For this reason there hapned a sharp conflict betwixt them and the *Christians*. And after the Emperors were acquainted with this fact, an Order was issued out to the Governours of the Province, to find out and punish the Authors thereof. Thus the *Jews*, who inhabited that place, were punish'd for the Wickedness they had committed in their Sports.

C H A P. XVII.

*Concerning Paulus Bishop of the Novatianists, and concerning the Miracle done by him, when he was about to have baptized a Jewish Impostor.*

\* Or, under him.

A T the same time, *Chrysanthus* also Bishop of the *Novatianists*, having presided seven years over the Churches \* of his own Sect, ended his life in the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha*, on the twenty sixth of *August*. He was succeeded in the Bishoprick by *Paulus*: who before had been a Teacher of *Roman* Eloquence: but afterwards bad adieu to the *Roman* Tongue, and betook himself to an *Ascetick* course of life: And having gather'd together a Monastery of Religious Men, he followed a way of living not unlike that led by the Monks in the Desert. For I found him to be really such a Person, as *Evagrius* says the Monks who live in the Solitudes ought to be. For he imitated them exactly in all things, in continued fasts, in speaking little, and in abstaining from eating Creatures that have life. Moreover, for the most part he abstain'd from Oyl and Wine. Besides, his care and solicitude about the Poor was eminent and extraordinary. He was very diligent in his visits to the imprison'd; he interceded likewise for many Persons with the Judges, who readily hearkned to him on account of his eminent Piety. What need I be large in my relation concerning him? I will mention one action of his, highly worthy to be recorded in writing. A *Jewish* Impostor pretending himself converted to the *Christian* Religion, had been frequently baptized, and by that device

had gather'd much money. When he had deceived many Sects [of the *Christians*] by this fraud: (for he had received Baptism from the *Arians* and *Macedonians*;) having no more Persons whom he might put tricks upon, at length he came to *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists*; and affirming that he earnestly desired Baptism, requested he might obtain it from his hand. He approved of the *Jews's* desire; but said he would not give him Baptism, before he had been instructed in the Grounds and Principles of the Faith, and had exercised himself with fastings several days. The *Jew* therefore having contrary to his own mind, been compelled to fast, was so much the more urgent in his Intreaties for Baptism. Wherefore *Paulus*, because he would not offend him, now grown importunate, by any longer delays, makes provision for his Baptism. And having bought him a white Vestment, and order'd the \* Font to be filled with Water, he brought the *Jew* to it with a design to baptize him. But † an invisible act of Divine Power caused the Water to vanish [on a sudden.] In regard the Bishop and those that were present, (having not the least suspicion of any such thing as had hapned) supposed the Water to have run out by the passage underneath, whereby it was usually let out; they filled the Font again, having with great accuracy stopp'd up its passages every where. And when the *Jew* was brought the second time to the Font, all the Water disappeared again. Then *Paulus* spake these words; *Either you are an Impostor, O Man, or else, being ignorant, you have been baptized already.* A great multitude of People therefore running together to see this Miracle, one of 'em knew the *Jew*, and was certain that it was the same person who had been baptiz'd before by *Atticus* the Bishop. This Miracle was perform'd by the hands of [*Paulus*] Bishop of the *Novatianists*.

Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

Or, the  
belly of the  
Font.  
† Or, ascertain  
invisi-  
ble power  
of God.

C H A P. XVIII.

*How, after the Death of Isdigerdes the Persian King, the League between the Romans and Persians was broken, and a bloody War hapned, wherein the Persians were worsted.*

A Fter the Death of *Isdigerdes* King of *Persia*, by whom the *Christians* in that Country were not persecuted in the least, his Son, by name *Vararanes* succeeded in that Kingdom; and being induced thereto by the *Magi*, he vexed the *Christians* severely, inflicting on them various Punishments and *Persian* Tortures. The *Christians* therefore in *Persia*, constrained thereto by necessity, fly to the *Romans*, entreating them not to neglect, and see them wholly destroyed. *Atticus* the Bishop receives the Suppliants kindly; and made it his business to assist them to the utmost of his power. Likewise, he acquainted the Emperor *Theodosius* with what had hapned. It fell out at the very same time, that the *Romans* were offended with the *Persians* upon another account: because the *Persians* would not restore the Miners of Gold, whom they had hired of the *Romans*; and in regard they had deprived the *Roman* Merchants of their † effects. To this occasion of difference, the flight of the *Christians* in *Persia* to the *Romans* Wares, or, made an accession. For the *Persian* King dispatch'd away an Embassie immediately, to demand the Fugitives. But the *Romans* would in

† Or,  
Wares, or,  
Merchan-  
dizes.



Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

no wife deliver up those who had fled to them, not only because they were desirous of preserving them as being Suppliants, but in regard likewise of their readiness to do any thing in defence of the *Christian* Religion. Wherefore they chose rather to have a War with the *Per- sians*, than permit the *Christians* to be miserably destroyed. Hereupon the League was broken, and a fierce War broke out, concerning which I judge it not inopportune to give a short Nar- rative. The *Roman* Emperor sent part of an Army first, which was commanded by *Ardaburius*. He made an irruption into *Persia* through *Armenia*, and ruined one of the *Per- sian* Provinces termed *Azazene*. *Narsæus* the *Persian* King's General marched out to oppose him at the head of a great *Persian* Army. And coming to an Engagement, was worsted, and fled. [Afterwards] he judged it advanta- gious to make a sudden irruption through *Me- sopotamia* into the *Roman* Territories, being un- guarded, [thinking] by this means to be re- venged on the *Romans*. But this Design of *Nar- sæus*'s was not unknown to the General of the *Romans*. Having therefore in a short time laid *Azazene* desolate, he likewise marched into *Mesopotamia*. Wherefore *Narsæus* (notwith- standing he was furnished with a numerous Army, yet) could not invade the *Roman* Pro- vinces. But, coming to *Nisibis*, (which is a City situate in the Confines [of both Em- pires] and belongs to the *Persians*,) he sent a Message from thence to *Ardaburius*, desiring they might come to an agreement between themselves about the management of the War, and that a place and day for an Engagement might be set. *Ardaburius* gave the Messengers this answer: Tell *Narsæus* [thus,] the *Roman* Emperors will not fight when you have a mind they should. Moreover, the \* Emperor perceiving that the *Persian* muster'd up the whole force of his Kingdom for the carrying on of this War, placed all his hopes of Victory in God, and be- sides sent vast supplies of Forces. Now, that the Emperor (in regard he put his whole con- fidence in God,) received benefit from him im- mediately, 'twas from hence evident. The *Con- stantinopolitans* being very anxious, and doubtful about the event of the War, the Angels of God appeared in *Bithynia* to some Persons going to *Constantinople* about their private concerns, and bad them tell [the *Constantinopolitans*,] that they should be of good courage, and pray to God, and be confident that the *Romans* would be Conquerors. For they said, that they them- selves were sent from God to be the Managers of the War. At the hearing hereof, the City was not only encouraged, but the Soldiers also became more bold and valiant. Whereas there- fore (as I have said,) the War had been remo- ved from *Armenia* into *Mesopotamia*, the *Romans* shut up the *Persians* in the City *Nisibis*, to which they laid siege. And having made wooden Towers, which moved upon Engines, they brought them to the Walls, wherewith they kil- led many of those who fought from the Walls, and [of them] who ran to their assistance. *Va- raranes* King of *Persia* hearing that his Country *Azazene* was laid desolate, and his Army be- sieged within the City *Nisibis*, resolved to go in person with all his Forces against the *Ro- mans*: But, being afraid of the *Roman* Army, he called the *Saracens* to his assistance, who were then governed by *Alamundarus*, a valiant and

warlike Man. He brought a numerous multi- tude of *Saracens* with him, and spake to the King of *Persia* to be confident and couragious, he likewise promised, that he would quickly make the *Romans* his Prisoners, and deliver *Antioch* in *Syria* to him. But the event succeeded not according to his promise. For God possess the *Saracens* with a vain and irrational terror. Who supposing the *Roman* Forces to be falling upon them, became terrified, and not finding how they might make their escape, cast them- selves armed as they were into the River *Eu- phrates*, wherein about an hundred thousand Men were drown'd. These things fell out af- ter this manner. But the *Romans* who laid siege to *Nisibis*, being informed that the King of *Per- sia* was bringing many Elephants along with him were terrified, and having burnt all their En- gines which they had made use of in the Siege, (a) retreated into their own Country. But, what Engagements hapned afterwards; and how *Areobindus*, another *Roman* General, killed the valiantest Person amongst the *Persians* in a single Duel; and how *Ardaburius* destroyed seven valiant *Persian* Commanders in an Ambus- cade; or after what manner (b) *Vitianus* ano- ther *Roman* General vanquished the Remains of the *Saracen* Forces, I think fit to omit, lest I should seem to digress too far from my Subject.

cus rendred into Latin, this *Roman* Commander is termed *Beasianus*. Which name I like best. This Victory of the *Romans* over the *Per- sians* hapned in the Consulate of *Eustatius* and *Agricola*, on the year of *Christ* 401, as *Marcellinus* informs us in his *Chronicon*; the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says the same; who relates, that the Emperor *Theodosius* had news of that Victory, in the month *Gorpheus*, on the eighth of the Ides of September, on the third *Feria*. This was the fourteenth year of *Theodosius Junior*'s Reign. Where- fore *Theophanes* is mistaken in his *Chronicle*, who places this Victory of the *Romans* over the *Persians* on the eighteenth year of *Theodosi- us*. Valef.

## C H A P. XIX.

### Concerning Palladius the Courier.

Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* was in a very short time acquainted with the Actions [of his Forces.] After what manner the Emperor had so sudden an account of what was done in places at so great a distance, I will relate. It was his good fortune to have a \* Servant of a vigorous Mind and strong Body, his name was *Palladius*. This Person could ride on Horse-back at such a rate, that in three days space he could go to those places which are the Boundaries of the *Roman* and *Persian* Territories, and again in as many days return to *Constantinople*. The same Man passed through all other parts of the World with an incredible swiftness, whithersoever the Em- peror sent him. Wherefore, an eloquent Per- son utter'd this Saying on a time concerning him: This Man by his swiftness makes the *Roman* Empire, which in it self is large, seem to be little. Moreover, the King of the *Persians* was amazed when he heard these things of this Man. But, let thus much be said concerning *Palladius*.



Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

C H A P. XX.

How the Persians had another severe Overthrow given them by the Romans.

**T**He Roman Emperor residing at Constantinople, and being informed of a Victory apparently given him (a) by God, was so good, that altho' his Forces had managed the War very fortunately, nevertheless he embraced a Peace. He sends Helion therefore (a person whom he had a mighty esteem for) with Orders to make up a Peace with the Persians. Helion arriving in Mesopotamia, [at that place] where the Ro-

mans had made a great Ditch for their own security, sends one Maximinus (an eloquent person, who was (b) Assessor to Ardaburius the General) Ambassador about a Peace. When this Persian King, he acquaints him with his being sent about a Peace, not from the Roman Emperors, (for he affirmed that the Emperor as yet was wholly ignorant of that War: and when he knew of it, he would look upon it as contemptible:) but from his chief Commanders. When the Persian King was resolved readily to embrace the Embassy: (for his Army was in great distress, by reason it wanted provisions;) those Soldiers, who amongst the Persians are termed the

Immortals, (their number is ten thousand [and they are] valiant Men,) came to the Emperor. and said, that a Peace was not to be admitted of before (c) they had made an attack upon the Romans, then careless and negligent. The King is perswaded by them, shuts up the Ambassador in prison, and sends the Immortals to put their design upon the Romans in execution. Being come [to the place appointed,] they divided themselves into two parties, and took a resolution of surrounding part of the Romans Army. The Romans seeing but one party of the Persians, made provision to receive their attack. The other party was not seen by them: For they rushed forth to fight on a sudden. But when the Engagement was just beginning, the Army Roman under the command of (d) Pro-

copius Master of the Milice (Divine Providence so ordering the matter,) appears from an eminence. Procopius seeing his Fellow-Soldiers in danger, attacks the Persians in the Rear; and so they who a little before had surrounded the Romans, were themselves encompassed. After the Romans had in a short time slain every man of these, they set upon those who issued forth upon them from the Ambuscade, every man of whom likewise they dispatch with their Darts. Thus, those termed the Immortals amongst the Persians, were all

of them manifestly proved to be Mortals; Christ inflicting this punishment upon the Persians, because they had murder'd many pious persons that were his worshippers. The Persian King, inform'd of this overthrow, pretended himself wholly ignorant of the action: and having given admision to the Embassy, he spake to the Embassador in this manner: We embrace a Peace, not that We yield to the Romans: but We [do it to] gratifie You, because We have found You to be the prudentest Person of all the Romans. (e) Thus the War which had been undertaken upon the account of those Christians who lived in Persia, was concluded. Which thing happened in the Consulate of the Two Augusti, Honorius being the thirteenth, and Theodosius the tenth time Consul, on the fourth year of the three hundredth Olympiad. The persecution [which had been raised] against the Christians in Persia ceased at the same time also.

καί ἐπειτα ὁ γέγονεν ἐν ἰσακείᾳ δύο ἀνθρώπων, Thus the war which had been undertaken upon the account of those Christians who liv'd in Persia, was concluded. Which thing [that is, which conclusion of the War] hapned in the Consulate of the two Augusti. So Epiphanius Scholasticus read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: Et hoc modo bellum propter Christianos exortum de Parthorum regione cessavit. Conigit autem Consulatu Honorii XIII. & Theodosii X. 'Tis certain, in this Consulate the Persian War was not waged, but concluded. For it had been begun on the foregoing year, when Eustathius and Agricola were Consuls, as I have remark'd before; see chap. 18. note (b). This is confirmed by Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon, in these Words: Honorio XIII. & Theodosio X. Coss. Persæ cum Romanis pacem pepigere, in Honorii's thirteenth and Theodosius's tenth Consulate, the Persians made a Peace with the Romans. Valef.

C H A P. XXI.

After what manner Acacius Bishop of Amida, behaved himself towards the Persian Captives.

**M**oreover, the good Action of Acacius Bishop of Amida, rendred him much more eminent at that time amongst all Men [than he had been before.] For, when the Roman Soldiers would by no means restore the Persian Captives (whom they had taken when they ruin'd (a) Araxene,) to the King of Persia; and the Captives, in number about seven thousand, were in the interim destroyed by famine; (which thing was the occasion of no small grief to the King of Persia) Acacius thought that business was in no wise to be then neglected. (b) Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: Men [and Brethren,] said he, Our God stands not in need of Dishes or Cups: For he neither eats nor drinks, in regard he wants nothing. Whereas therefore the Church is possess of many Vessels of Gold and Silver by the Beneficence and Liberality of those who belong to it, 'tis agreeable that by a sale of these Vessels we should both (c) redeem the Captives from the Soldiers, and also provide them Food.

Amm. Marcellinus attests, Book 25. which is sometimes termed Araxene, and Araxiane, and Araxene, as I have remarked at the aforesaid Book of Amm. Marcellinus. Valef.

(b) Instead of [συγκαλέσας δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ κληρικὴν ἀνδρῶν, ἔφη. But having called together the Clergymen under himself, he said,] this place would be written more elegantly, thus [συγκαλέσας τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ κληρικὴν ἀνδρῶν, ἔφη, &c. Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: Men [and Brethren] said he, &c.] And so Epiphanius Scholasticus read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Our Emendation is plainly confirmed also by Nicephorus. Valef.

(c) Πύσαι δὲ τῶν σκευῶν τὰς ἀρχμαλώτους. Christopherson renders it ill, to redeem the Captive Soldiers: for those who had been taken Prisoners by the Romans in Araxene, were unarmed; most of them



them being Boors, who inhabited that Country. Besides, the Romans are termed Soldiers by way of Emphasis, to distinguish them from the Barbarians, as I have noted at *Ann. Marcellinus*. So our *Socrates* calls the Romans, Soldiers, almost in the next words after these. *Valef.*

*Honorius*  
and  
*Theod. Jun.*

Having discours'd of these and many other such like things as these to them, he order'd the vessels to be melted down, and having paid the Soldiers a ransom for the Captives, and fed the Captives [for some time,] he afterwards gave them money to bear their charges, and sent them home to their King. This action of the admirable *Acacius* highly astonish'd the King of *Persia*, because the Romans made it their business to conquer their Enemies both ways, as well by War, as by Beneficence. And 'tis said, that the *Persian* King was very desirous that *Acacius* should come into his presence, to the end he might enjoy a sight of the Man; and that that was effected by the Emperor *Theodosius's* order. When therefore God had given so eminent a Victory to the Romans, many Persons who excelled for their eloquence, wrote \* *Panegyrics* in praise of the Emperor, and recited them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor's Wife wrote a Poem in *Heroick Verse*: for she was a woman of a great eloquence. For, being the Daughter of (d) *Leontius* the *Athenian Sophist*, she had been instructed by her Father, and cultivated with all manner of Literature. When the Emperor was about marrying of this Woman, *Atticus* the Bishop made her a *Christian*, and at her Baptism, instead of *Athanasia*, named her *Eudocia*. Many persons therefore, as I have said, recited *Panegyrics*; some with a design to make themselves taken notice of by the Emperor; others endeavouring to publish the powerfulness of their own eloquence; being altogether unwilling, that that Learning they had gotten by much labour, should lie concealed.

\* Or, *Panegyric*  
*Orations.*

(d) This is the *Leontius* (if I mistake not) whom *Olympiodorus* relates by his own care and industry to have been promoted to the *Sophistick Chair* at *Athens*; when as he himself

as yet declined it; as *Photius* declares in his *Bibliotheca*. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXII.

Concerning the Excellencies, wherewith the Emperor *Theodosius Junior* was endow'd.

BUT I, who am neither studious about being taken notice of by the Emperor, nor desirous of making a shew of eloquence, have taken a resolution of setting forth those Excellencies wherewith the Emperor is endow'd, sincerely and without any Rhetorical flourishes. For, in regard his Vertues are so singularly useful, my sentiment is, that to pass them over in silence would be loss to Posterity, which would be defrauded of the knowledge thereof. In the first place therefore, although he was born and educated in the \* *Imperial Pallace*, yet he contracted nothing of an Effeminacy or Stupidity from that Education. But was [always] so prudent, as to be reputed by those who addressed to him, to have attained a knowledge and experience in most affairs. His patience in undergoing hardships was such, that he could endure heat and cold courageously; and would fast frequently, especially on those days term'd *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. And this he did, out of an earnest endeavour of observing the Rites of

\* Or, in the  
*Empire.*

the *Christian Religion* with an accuracy. He govern'd his Pallace so, that it differed not much from a Monastery. Wherefore he, (a) together with his Sisters, rose early in the Morning, and recited *alternative Hymns* in praise of God. Moreover, he could say the Sacred Scriptures by heart. And with the Bishops who conferred with him, he discoursed out of the Scriptures, as if he had been an *Ecclesiastick* of a long standing. He was much more diligent in making a Collection of the Sacred Books, and of the *Expositions* which had been written thereon, than *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* had been heretofore. For

Clemency and Humanity he excelled all Men by far. The Emperor *Julianus*, altho' he was a profest Philosopher, yet could not moderate his rage and anger towards the *Antiochians* who had \* derided him; but inflicted most acute tortures upon † *Theodorus*. But *Theodosius* bad farewell to *Aristotle's Syllogisms*, and exercised Philosophy in deeds, getting the mastery over Anger, Grief, and Pleasure. He never revenged himself upon any one who had been injurious to him. Yea, no Man ever saw him angry. Being on a time asked by one with whom he was pleased to be familiar, why he never put to death any person who had injured him? his answer was, *Would to God it were possible for me to restore to life those that are dead!* To another questioning him about the same thing,

(b) 'Tis no great or difficult thing (said he) for him that is a Man, to die: but 'tis God's property only by repentance to restore to life him that is once dead.

Further, his practise of this Virtue was so constant and earnest, that if any person had happened to commit a crime which deserved a capital punishment, he was never led so far as the City-gates onwards on, his way to the place of Execution, before a pardon was granted, whereby he was immediately recalled.

When on a time he exhibited a *Show of hunting Wild Beasts* in the *Amphitheatre* at *Constantinople*, the people cried out, *Let one of the boldest* (c) *Bestiarii* encounter the enraged *Wild Beast*.

It is not, saith he, a great nor difficult thing for a Man to die, because neither [is it a great or difficult thing] to God alone, by repentance to raise a Man once dead. For you must understand [is it a great or difficult thing] to be used in common to both clauses. *Nicephorus Callistus* has worded this passage thus: ἐάν τις, καὶ ὃν ἀνθρώπον ὄντα σποδίσῃ. Θεὸς δὲ ἀντὶ μόνου, τὸν ἀταξὶ θανάτῳ τῇ μετάνοιᾳ ἀνακαλέσασθαι. Which words *Langus* has rendred thus: *Nihil est novi, dixit, si quis homo quum sit, è vitâ excedat: unius autem Dei esse, eum qui semel mortuus sit, per penitentiam ad vitam revocare.* It is no new thing, said he, that he who is a Man should depart out of this life: but 'tis God's property only, by Repentance to recal to life him who is once dead. But I like not *Nicephorus's* using τῇ μετάνοιᾳ instead of ἐν μετάνοιᾳ. For, the discourse here is not concerning the life of the soul, but that of the body. Wherefore, I approve rather of *Mucianus's* Version, who has rendred it thus: *Ex penitentia verò revocare eum qui semel mortuus est, non est nisi soli Deo possibile.* But by repentance to recal him who is once dead, is a thing possible only to God. Notwithstanding this Version pleased not *Christophorus*, because it may seem to attribute repentance to God. But this expression may be born with, in regard God in the sacred Scriptures is now and then said to repent himself of some fact. *Valef.*

(c) *Scaliger* in his *Notes* on the fourth Book of *Manilius*, and (after him) *Salmasius* in his *Notes* on *Capitolinus*, pag. 258, have long since observed, that the Greeks called those *παρὰβόλους* (which is the term here used,) who let themselves out to fight with wild Beasts. But I approve not of their confounding the *Confessores* with these *παρὰβόλους*. For the *Confessores* were another sort of Persons, as I have remarked on *Eusebius*, (Book 4. chap. 15. note n.) who fought not with the wild Beasts, but dispatcht them at a distance. *Valef.* See *Eusebius Pamphilus's* Book concerning the *Martyrs* of *Palestine*, chap. 3. note (b).

To



*Honorius and Theod. Jun.* To whom he gave this answer, *You know not that We are wont to be Spectators at Shows with clemency and humanity.* With which saying he instructed the People, to be in future delighted with Shows, wherein there was less of cruelty. Further, his Piety was such, that he honoured all God's Priests; but most especially those whom he knew to be more eminent for Sanctity of life. 'Tis reported, that when the Bishop

(d) This City, and the name of this Bishop, are equally unknown to me. *Vales.*  
\* *Σαγιον*; all Translators (whom I have seen) except *Valesius*, renders it *his Sack-cloth*; the Greek term comprehends both significations.

of (d) *Chebron* had ended his life at *Constantinople*, he desired to have his \**Hair-cloth-Cassock*, which (although it was very foul and nasty) he wore instead of a Cloak, believing he should thereby partake something of the

dead Bishop's Sanctity. There hapning tempestuous weather one year, he was forced to exhibit the usual and set Shows in the *Cirque*; in regard the people were extremely earnest for them. But when the *Cirque* was filled with Spectators, the Storm increased, and there was a vast fall of Snow; at which time the Emperor gave an evident demonstration, how he was affected towards God; [for] he made proclamation by the Cryer to the People, in these words: *'Tis much better, that we should omit the Show, and all joyn in prayer to God, that we may be preserved unburnt from the imminent Storm.* The Cryer had scarce made an end of proclaiming these words, when all the People began to supplicate God in the *Cirque* with the greatest joy imaginable, and with a general consent sang Hymns to him: and the whole City became one Congregation. The Emperor himself went in the midst [of the multitude] in a private habit, and began the Hymns: nor was he frustrated of his hope [at that time.] For the air returned to its former serenity; and instead of a scarcity of Bread-corn the Divine Benevolence bestow'd a plentiful crop upon all Persons. If at any time a War was raised, in imitation of *David*, he fled to God, knowing him to be the Disposer of Wars; and by his prayers he managed them successfully. I will here relate therefore, how, a litte after the *Per-*

*rianus*, (e) on the fifteenth of the month *August* by putting his confidence in God, he vanquished the Tyrant *Johannes*. For, 'tis my sentiment, that the actions which hapned at that time are worthy to be recorded: because what befel the *Hebrews* (who were led by *Moses*) in their passage over the *Red-Sea*, the same [almost] hapned to the Emperor's Commanders, at such time as he sent them against that Tyrant. Which actions I will relate in short, leaving the ampleness of them, which does require a peculiar work, [to be set forth at large] by others.

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning *Johannes*, who tyranniz'd at Rome after *Honorius* the Emperor's death. And how God \**mollified*, by *Theodosius's* prayers, delivered him into the hands of the Roman Army.

\* Or, bowed, or, inclined.

*Theod. Jun.* **H**onorius Augustus therefore being dead, the Emperor *Theodosius* informed thereof, conceals it, and deceives the Populace [by feigning] sometimes one thing, at others ano-

ther. But he sends his Military Forces secretly to *Salonæ*; which is a City of *Dalmatia*; to the end that if any † Rebellion should happen in the western parts, a force to resist it might not be far off. Having made provision after this manner before-hand, he then publish'd the death of his † Uncle.

But in the interim, (a) *Johannes* the chief of the Emperor's *Notaries*, unable to bear the || greatness of his own preferment, seizes the Empire, and sends an Embassy to the Emperor *Theodosius*, requiring to be admitted Colleague in the

Empire. *Theodosius* imprison'd his Embassadors, dispatches away *Ardaburius*, Master of the *Milice*, who had done excellent service in the *Perſian* War. He being arrived at *Salonæ*, sail'd from thence to *Aquileia*, and had ill success as he then thought; (but 'twas afterwards demonstrated to be prosperous.) For, an unlucky wind blew, which drove him into the Tyrant's hands. Who having taken *Ardaburius*, hoped *Theodosius* would be necessitated to elect and proclaim him Emperor, if he were desirous of preserving the life of his Master of the *Milice*. And the Emperor, when inform'd hereof, was really in an agony, as was also the Army which had been sent against the Tyrant, lest *Ardaburius* should suffer any mischief from the Tyrant. Moreover, *Aspar*, *Ardaburius's* Son, when he understood that his Father was taken by the Tyrant, and knew that many *Myriads* of *Barbarians* were come to the Tyrant's assistance, knew not what course to take. But, the prayer of the Emperor, beloved by God, at that time prevailed again: For an Angel of God in the habit of a Shepherd, became a Guide to *Aspar* and the Forces with him, and leads them through the Lake, which lies near to *Ravenna*. For in that City the Tyrant resided, where he detained the

\* Master of the *Milice* Prisoner. No Person was ever known to have passed through this Lake. *Ardaburius*. But God rendred that passable at that time, which before had been impassable.

(b) When therefore they had passed the Waters of the Lake [as if it had been] over dry Ground, they found the Gates of the City open, and seized the Tyrant. At which time the most pious Emperor gave a demonstration of his religious affection towards God. For whilst he was exhibiting the *Cirque-Sports*, news was brought him that the Tyrant was destroy'd. Whereupon he speaks to the People: Come, said he, if you please, let us rather leave our Recreation, and go into the Church, and put up our Thanksgivings to God, in regard his Hand hath destroyed the Tyrant. These were his words; and the Shows ceased immediately, and were neglected: And all Persons went through the midst of the *Cirque*, singing praises together with him with one consent of mind and voice, and went into God's Church. And the whole City became one Congregation. Being come into the place of Prayer, they continued there all day.

Particle is to be added, after this manner, *σταδόντες ὡς εἰς ξηρὰν γῆν, &c.* When therefore they had passed the Waters of the Lake as if it had been over dry Ground. *Vales.*

† That is, *Honorius*.

(a) This is the *Johannes*, *Primicerius* [or, Chief] of the *Notaries*, who when *Rome* was besieged, had been sent Embassador to *Alarichus* King of the *Goths*, whose Friend and Guest he had been, as *Zosimus* relates, Book 5. *Vales.*

|| Or, *Fortunate*ness.



## C H A P. XXIV.

That, after the Slaughter of Johannes the Tyrant, Theodosius the Emperor proclaimed Valentinianus (the Son of Constantius, and of his Aunt Placidia,) Emperor of Rome.

**M**oreover, after the Tyrant's death, the Emperor Theodosius (a) became very solicitous, whom he should proclaim Emperor of the Western parts. He had a Cousin-German very young, by name Valentinianus, the Son of his Aunt Placidia. She was daughter to the Emperor Theodosius the Great; and Sister to the two Augusti, Arcadius and Honorius. Valentinianus had a Father, by name Constantius, who having been proclaimed Emperor by Honorius, and reign'd with him a short time, died soon after. This Cousin-German of his he created Cæsar, and sent him into the Western parts, committing the chief management of affairs to his Mother Placidia. Moreover, Theodosius himself hastned into Italy, that he might both proclaim his Cousin-German Emperor, and also (by being present there himself) instruct the Italians by his own prudent advice, not easily to yield subjection to Tyrants. Being gone as far as Thessalonica, he was hindered from proceeding on his journey by a Sickness. Having therefore sent the Imperial Diadem to his Cousin-German, by Helion the Patricius, he himself returned to the City Constantinople. But, I think this Narrative which I have given concerning these transactions, to be sufficient

## C H A P. XXV.

Concerning Atticus's Government of the Churches; and that he ordered Johannes's name to be written into the Dypticks of the Church; and that he foreknew his own death.

**I**N the interim] Atticus the Bishop in a wonderful manner enlarged the affairs of the Church; administering all things with a singular prudence, and by his Sermons inciting the People to Virtue. Perceiving that the Church was divided, in regard the \*Johannitæ held separate †Assemblies, he ordered, that mention should be made of Johannes in the Prayers, according as it was usual for other Bishops who were dead, to be mention'd; on which account he hoped many would return to the Church. Moreover, he was so liberal, that he made provision not only for the Poor of his own Churches, but sent money also to the neighbouring Cities towards the relief and comfort of the Neecessitous. For he sent three hundred Crowns to Calliopius a Presbyter of the Church of Nicæa, to whom he wrote this Letter.

Atticus to Calliopius, health in the Lord.

**I**Understand, that in your City there are an infinite company of Persons oppressed with hunger, who stand in need of the compassion of pious Men. By terming them an infinite company, I mean a multitude, not an accurate and determinate number. In regard therefore I have received a sum of Money from him who with a liberal hand giveth to good Stewards; and [whereas] it happens that

some are oppressed with want, to the end that those who have wherewithal might be tried, but do not give to the Indigent; take, (dear Friend!) these three hundred Crowns, and bestow them as you shall think good: but give them to those who are wholly ashamed to beg, not to them that throughout their whole lives have declared their Belly to be their Trade. Moreover, when you give, have no respect to any Sect or Religion whatever in this particular act; mind this one thing only, to feed the hungry, but not to difference or distinguish those who embrace not our Religion.

After this manner Atticus took care even of the Indigent that were at a distance from him(a). Moreover, he made

it his business to extirpate the Superstitions of some Men. For having one time received information, that those who separated from the Novatianists on account of the Jewish Passover, had translated the Body of Sabbatius from Rhodes, (for he had been banished into that Island, where he ended his life) and buried it, and did usually pray at his Grave: he sent some Persons by Night, to whom he gave order to [dig up] Sabbatius's Body, and \*bury it in some other Sepulchre.

But the Persons who usually went thither, when they found the Grave dug up, in future left off worshipping that †place. Besides, he was very elegant and happy in imposing names [upon places.] A || Sea-port situate in the mouth of the Euxine-Sea (which had anciently been called \*Pharmaceus, he named †Therapeia, left at his holding religious assemblies there, he should call that place by an infamous name. Another place near adjacent to Constantinople he named ||Argyropolis, for this reason. \*Chrysolopolis is an ancient Sea-port situate in the Head of the Bosphorus: many of the ancient Writers make mention of it, especially Strabo, Nicolaus Damascenus, and the admirably eloquent Xenophon in his Sixth Book concerning the Expedition of Cyrus; and the same Author in his First Book concerning the Grecian Affairs, speaks to this effect concerning this City, [viz.] that Alcibiades, when he had built a Wall round it, set up a Toll therein, which consisted of a payment of the tenth penny. For those who sail out of Pontus were compelled to pay the tenth penny there. Atticus therefore perceiving this place, which was situate over against Chrysolopolis, to be pleasant and delightful, said it was fit and agreeable it should be termed Argyropolis. Which saying of his †put that name upon the place immediately. When some Persons spoke to him that the Novatianists ought not to hold their Assemblies within the Cities; his answer was, You know not how much they suffered together with us when we were persecuted in the Reigns of Constantius and Valens. And besides (said he) they have been \*Assertors of our Faith. For though they made a Separation long since from the Church, yet no Innovation about the Faith hath been introduced by them. Being arrived on a time at Nicæa upon account of an Ordination, and seeing Asclepiades, a very aged Perion

(a) After these Words, there was a whole line and something more wanting; which we have made up from the incomparable Florent. and Sfortian M. SS. after this manner: ἔτι καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν τὰς δεισιδαιμονίας τινῶν ἐκκόπῃν ἐστὶν ἀρῶν, Moreover, he made it his business to extirpate the Superstitions of some Men. Which words were in that Copy also, which E. piph. Scholasticus made use of, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: Sed & superstitionem quorundam studebat abscindere, moreover he endeavored to cut off the superstition of some Men. But, that Christopherson had consulted no M. S. Copies of Socrates, 'tis evident both from this place and also from many others. Vales.

\* Or, Hide it.

† Or, That Sepulchre.

|| Or, A Station for Ships.

\* That is, Venomous, or: full of poison.

† That is, A medicine, or, cure.

|| That is, The Silver City.

\* The Golden City.

\* See Book 6. chap. 18. † Or, assemblies without the Church.

† Or, Confirm'd that name to the place.

\* Or, With necessity.



(b) ὁμοῦς  
καὶ πρὸς  
τὴν λαο-  
κρατίαν. The  
preposition  
πρὸς must  
be expun-  
ged;  
which nei-  
ther Ni-

(c) *Atticus* did not only foreknow the day of his own death, but long before his death, he built himself a Sepulchre, as I am inform'd from an old Epigram; which because 'tis not yet extant in Print, I will here annex:

Ἀττικὸς ἐς ξυῶν με παναγρῆ· ἐλπίδα μοίρης  
 θυγῶ θαρσαλέω ζῶν, ἐλάχινε τάφον.  
 Παίζων ὅς ἀρετῆς θανάτου φόβον· ἀλλ' ἐπίδησεν  
 ἥελις, σφίγης μιμνέτω ἥελιω. i. e.

Atticus, whilst he was living, (in whose mind  
a Fortitude not to be daunted shind,)  
Dug me his Grave, in common hope of Fate  
untractable and uncompassionate.

This Epigram is extant in *Constantinus Cephalas's Anthologia*, not yet Printed. 'Tis my sentiment, that *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople* is meant hereby. For I know no other *Atticus*, to whom this Elogy of Wisdom and Virtue can be agreeable. Notwithstanding, this is contradicted by *Paulus Silentarius's* being inscribed the Author of this Epigram, who (as 'tis manifest from *Agathias's* Testimony,) flourished long after *Atticus*, in *Fustinian's* times. Wherefore, either the Inscription of the Epigram, or our Conjecture, must of necessity be false. *Valeſ.*

*Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.*

(d) *The Author of the  
Alexan-  
drian  
Chronicle*

in



Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

in that [voluminous work, termed the] *Chri-  
stian History*, which he wrote; wherein he ca-  
lumniates both the person ordain'd, and also  
those who had ordain'd him; but more especi-  
ally the Laity. And his expressions are such,  
that I am unwilling to record them; for I can  
in no wise approve of his rashness, in having  
been so audacious, as to commit such things  
to writing. But, I judge it not inopportune  
to say something in short concerning him.

## C H A P. XXVII.

Concerning Philippus the Presbyter, who was born  
at Side.

**P**hilippus was by Country a *Sidenfian*. *Side*  
is a City of *Pamphylia*, at which *Troilus*  
the *Sophista* had his original Extract; of his  
own relation to whom *Philippus* boasted. Whilst  
he was a Deacon, he had had frequent con-  
verse with \* Bishop *Johannes*. He was a very  
laborious and painful Student, and had made  
a Collection of many Books, and those of all  
sorts. He imitated the *Asian* Style, and wrote  
many Books. [For, he confuted the Emperor  
*Julian's* Pieces, and compiled a *Christian History*,  
which he divided into six and thirty Books.  
Each Book contained many Tomes, in so much  
that in all they were near a thousand. The  
Contents of each Tome equall'd the Tome it  
self in bigness. This work he entitled not an  
*Ecclesiastick*, but a *Christian History*. In it he  
heaped together variety of Learning, being de-  
sirous to shew, that he was not unskilled in Phi-  
losophick Literature. For which reason, he  
makes frequent mention therein of *Geometrical*,  
*Astronomical*, *Arithmetical*, and *Musical* \* *Theo-  
rems*. He also describes Islands, Mountains,  
Trees, and several other things not very mo-  
mentous. Upon which account he has made  
it a loose work: and therefore hath (in my  
judgment) rendred it useless both to the Igno-  
rant, and to the Learned also. For, the Ig-  
norant are unable to inspect the height and  
grandeur of his Style. And those that are well  
versed in Learning nauseate his insipid repeti-  
tion of words. But let every one pass a judg-  
ment upon those Books according to his own  
liking. I only say this, that the times where-  
in affairs have been transacted are confounded  
by him. For when he has mentioned the  
Times of the Emperor *Theodosius*, he runs back  
to those of *Athanasius* the Bishop. And this he  
does very frequently. Thus much concerning  
*Philippus*. 'Tis requisite that we should now de-  
clare what hapned in *Sisinnius's* Time.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

That *Sisinnius* ordained *Proclus* Bishop of *Cyzi-  
cum*: but the Inhabitants of that City would not  
admit him [to be their Bishop.]

**T**he Bishop of *Cyzicum* being dead, *Sis-  
innius* ordained *Proclus* Bishop of that City.  
When therefore he was about going thither, the  
Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* prevent him, and ordain  
(a) What Law this a person that was an *Ascetick*, his name *Dalma-  
tius*. And this they did in contempt to a (a) Law  
by whom made 'tis by which 'twas established, that the Ordination  
uncertain. of a Bishop [there] should not be made con-  
My Senti-

trary to the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop's mind. But they disregarded this Law, as being [said they] a personal Prerogative granted only to *Atticus*. *Proclus* therefore continued destitute indeed of the Precedency over his own Church, but he flourished and grew famous for his Sermons [preach'd] in the Churches of *Constantinople*. But we shall speak concerning this person in due place. *Sisinnius* having survived his being made Bishop not full out two years, ended his life in the Consulate of *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, on the twenty fourth of the month *December*. He was a person, for his temperance, good life, and love to the poor, highly eminent. As to his Temper, he was a person to whom access might easily be had, and of a disposi-  
tion plain and without falsehood; therefore no lover of business. For which reason busie men were offended at him; amongst whom he had the character of a slothful person.

made in a Council of Bishops, *Socrates* would have used the term *Ca-  
non*, rather than have called it a Law. After *Atticus's* death, the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* disregarded this Law. For they said, that that privilege had in an especial manner been granted to *Atticus*, and belonged not to his Successors. But, they were mistaken. For long before *Atticus*, the *Constantinopolitan* Prelates had given Bishops to the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*. For, in *Constantinus's* time, *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople* ordained *Eunomius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*. See *Liberatus's* *Breviarium*, chap. 7. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XXIX.

That after *Sisinnius's* death, [the Emperors] sent for *Nestorius* from *Antioch*, and made him Bishop of *Constantinople*; who quickly discover'd his own Temper and Disposition.

**A**fter *Sisinnius's* death, the Emperors were pleas'd not to prefer any person of the *Constantinopolitan* Church to that See, because they were men studious of vain-glory: altho' many were very earnest to have *Philippus*, others not fewer in number [strove to get] *Proclus*, ordained. But they resolved to send for a For-  
reigner from *Antioch*. For there was a man there, by name *Nestorius*, born at the City *Germanicia*, who had a good voice, and a readi-  
ness of expression. Wherefore they determined to send for him, as being a fit person to teach the people. After an interval of three months therefore, *Nestorius* is brought from *Antioch*: Who was cried up indeed for his temperance amongst many persons; but what a temper'd man he was as to other things, the more prudent discover'd from (a) his first Sermon. For, being ordained on the tenth of *April*, in the Consulate of *Felix* and *Taurus*; addressing himself to the Emperor, he forthwith utter'd that famous ex-  
pression in the presence of all the people. Give me (said he,) O Emperor! the Earth cleared from Hereticks, and in recompence thereof I will give you Heaven. Assist me in destroying Hereticks, and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians. Although these words were extremely plea-  
sing to some of the Vulgar, who had concei-  
ved an hatred against Hereticks; yet to those  
(a) A-  
mongst the Anci-  
ents it was wont  
to be ve-  
ry care-  
fully ob-  
served,  
what the  
Bishops  
(especial-  
ly the Pre-  
lates of the grea-  
ter Chur-  
ches) said in their first Sermon to the People. For from that Ser-  
mon a conjecture was made of the Faith, Doctrine, and Temper, of  
every Bishop. Wherefore they were wont to take particular notice  
of, and remember their sayings. A remark of this nature *Socrates*  
has made before, at Book 2. chap. 43. concerning the first Sermon  
of *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, And *Theodoret* and *Epiphanius*  
declare the same concerning *Meletius Antiochenus's* first Sermon to  
the people. *Vales.*

(who



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* (who, as I have said, had skill in giving a conjecture of his sentiments from his expressions) neither the levity of his mind, nor his inclination to anger and violence joyn'd with his vain-gloriousness were concealed: in regard he contained not himself during the smallest space of time, but broke out into such expressions as these; and (if I may use the Proverb) *before he had tasted the Water of the City*, shewed himself an enraged Persecutor. On the fifth day therefore after his Ordination, he takes a resolution to demolish the *Arian's* Oratory, in which they performed their Devotions secretly; whereby he drove those Hereticks to a desperation. For when they saw their place of Prayer pulling down, they threw fire into it and burnt it. Moreover, the fire spread further, and consumed the adjacent buildings. Whereupon a tumult was raised all over the City, and the *Arians* made preparations to revenge themselves. But God the keeper of the City, permitted not the mischief to gather to an head. However, *Nestorius* was in future termed an (b) *Incendiary*, not only by the Hereticks, but by those also of his own Faith. For he desisted not, but framed intrigues against the Hereticks, and did his utmost to subvert the City. For he attempted to molest the *Novatianists* also, his envy spurring him on, because *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists* was famous in all places for his piety. But the Emperors by their admonition repressed his fury. Now what mischiefs he did to the *Quartodecimani* throughout *Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and how numerous the multitudes were that came to their deaths by his means at *Miletum* and *Sardis* in a tumult there raised, I think fit not to mention. But, what manner of punishment he underwent, as well for these [wickednesses,] as for his unbridled \* tongue, I will declare hereafter

(b) *Πυρναῖος*. I chose to render it an *Incendiary* (as *Epiphanius* does,) rather than *Incendium*, a Fire, though, 'tis confessed, this is the true import of the word. *Valef.*

\* Or, open tongue.

## C H A P. XXX.

*After what manner the Burgundions embraced the Christian Religion, in the Reign of Theodosius Junior.*

I Will now relate a thing worthy to be recorded, which hapned about this very time. There is a barbarous Nation, which has its habitation beyond the River *Rhine*, they are called the *Burgundions*. These persons lead a \* quiet life. For they are almost all Carpenters; by which [trade] they earn wages, and get a livelihood. The Nation of the *Hunni* by making continual Inroads upon this people, depopulated their Country, and frequently destroyed many of them. The *Burgundions* therefore, reduced to a great strait, fly for refuge to no man; but resolved to commit themselves to some God. And having seriously considered with themselves, that the God of the *Romans* did vigorously assist and defend those that feared him; by a general consent they all came over to the Faith of *Christ*. Going therefore to one of the Cities of *Gallia*, they made a request to the Bishop, that they might receive *Christian* Baptism. The Bishop order'd them to fast seven days, in which interval he instructed them in the grounds of Faith; and on the eighth day

\* Or, un-buffed.

baptized and dismissed them. Being encouraged therefore [hereby,] they marched out (a) against the *Hunni*, and were not frustrated of their expectation: For the King of the *Hunni* (whose name was (b) *Optar*;) having burst himself in the night by eating too much; the *Burgundions* fell upon the *Hunni* then destitute of a Commander in chief, and a few engaged very many, and conquered them. For the *Burgundions* being in number only three thousand, destroyed about ten thousand of the *Hunni*. And from that time the Nation of the *Burgundions* became zealous Professors of Christianity. About the same time, *Barba* Bishop of the *Arians* died, in *Theodosius's* thirteenth and *Valentinianus's* third Consulate, on the twenty fourth of *June*, and *Sabbatius* is constituted Bishop in his stead. But, let thus much be said concerning these things.

(b) This person (as I suppose,) is *Optar* King of the *Hunni*; whom *Jordanes* (in his *History of the Goths*, chap. 35.) relates to have been the Brother of *Roa*, and *Mundiuchus Attila's* Father. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXXI.

*With what Miseries the Macedoniani were afflicted by Nestorius.*

Moreover, *Nestorius* behaved himself contrary to the usage of the Church, (a) and caused others to imitate himself in such things, as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Bishop. For, one *Antonius* Bishop of *Germa* a City in the *Hellepont*, imitated *Nestorius's* rage towards the Hereticks, and made it his business to persecute the *Macedoniani*, taking the *Patriarch's* order as a pretext for his Apology. The *Macedoniani* for some time endured his vexatiousness. But after *Antonius* began to disquiet them more vehemently; being unable to undergo his molestation any longer, they [grew desperate, and] brake out into a cruel madness; and having privately sent some men who preferred what is pleasant before that which is good, they murder him. The *Macedoniani* having perpetrated this villanous fact, *Nestorius* took hold of what had been done as an occasion of his own rage. And he perswades the Emperors to deprive them of their Churches. As well those Churches therefore which they had before the old walls of *Constantinople*, as [they were possessors of] in *Cyzicum*, were taken from them; as were likewise many others, which they had in the Villages of the *Hellepont*. Some of them came over to the [Catholick] Church, and embraced the *Homousian* Faith. But, as 'tis proverbially spoken, *Drunkards never want Wine, nor contentious persons strife*. It hapned therefore, that *Nestorius*, who busied himself in expelling other persons, was himself turned out of the Church, for this reason [following.]

*such things*. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* left it thus written. Otherwise, what he adds concerning *Antonius* Bishop of *Germa*, would in no wise agree with that which goes before. At the next Words, instead of [ὡς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γυνώσκοντες δέχοντο, as 'tis apparent from what hapned from him,] I read [ὡς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γινώσκοντες δέχοντο, as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Bishop.] Which Emendation seems to me altogether necessary. For, that which follows concerning *Antonius* the Bishop, was in no wise done by *Nestorius*. *Valef.*



Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

## C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning the Presbyter Anastasius, by whom Nestorius was perverted to Impiety.

**A** Anastasius the Presbyter, who had come from Antioch with Nestorius, was his intimate Acquaintance. Nestorius had an high esteem for him, and made use of his advice in the management of business. This Anastasius being preaching one time in the Church, utter'd these words, *Let no man stile Mary \* Theotocos; For Mary was a woman. But 'tis impossible for God to be born of a woman.* The hearing hereof disturbed many persons, as well of the

\* That is, *The Mother of God, or, the Virgin that bore God:* A term that made a great disturbance in the Christian World, as the Reader will see hereafter.

Clergy as Laity. For they had been heretofore taught to confess Christ to be God, and in no wise to separate him as man from the Divinity on account of his Incarnation; whereto they were induced by the Apostle's words, who saith, *Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh;*

(a) Nicephorus, when he wrote out this passage of Socrates, added the word [again,] shewing thereby, that the following words were taken out of St. Paul's Epistle. Indeed, the Words immediately preceding occur at 2 Cor. 5. 16; but whence these are quoted, I cannot yet find. *Valef.*

yet now henceforth know we him no more. (a) And [again,] wherefore leaving the discourse concerning Christ, let us press forwards to perfection. A disturbance therefore having been raised in the Church (as I have said) [about this matter;] Nestorius endeavoured to confirm Anastasius's expression; (for he was unwilling, that the man for whom he had so great an esteem, should be reprov'd as having spoken blasphemy;) and made frequent discourses concerning it in the Church, in which he propos'd contentious questions concerning this thing, and every where rejected this term *Theotocos*. This question therefore being entertained in one manner by some, and in another by others; on this account a dissention arose in the Church. And being engaged in an encounter by night as it were, sometimes they asserted these things, at others those, affirming and in like manner denying one and the same thing. But Nestorius was supposed by most men to entertain such sentiments, as to assert the Lord [Christ] to be a meer man, and to introduce the opinion of Paul of Samosata and Photinus into the Church. Now, so great a controversy and disturbance was raised about this matter, that 'twas thought necessary a General Council [should be convened.] But I my self, after my reading the

(b) Sir Henry Savill, had remarked at the margin of his Copy, that in his judgment, instead of [δοθεῖσιν proposed,] it should be [ἐκδοθεῖσιν, published.] And a little after, where the reading is [φυσικὸς ὃ εὐλαλὸς ὢν; for being a natural eloquent man] that Learned Knight had written in the margin *forte φυσικὸς, perhaps it should be [φυσικὸς, naturally;] to which emendation we agree, as by our Version appears.* For Nicephorus, who has extracted this passage out of Socrates, words it thus. *Valef.*

to assert the Lord [Christ] to be a meer man. But he was put into a fright by this term [*Theo-*

*tocos*] only, as if it had been a Bugbear. And this befel him meerly by reason of his great Illiterateness. For being naturally endowed with eloquence, he was supposed to be a man of learning; but in reality was unlearned and ignorant. He likewise scorn'd to read the Books of

ancient (c) Expositors. For being puffed up with pride by reason of his ability to speak well, he minded not reading the Ancients with any thing of accuracy; but thought himself better than any man else. To begin therefore from hence, he was wholly ignorant, that in the Catholick Epistle of St. John (to wit, in the ancient Copies thereof,) it was thus written; (d) *every spirit which separates Jesus [from God] is not of God.* first Epist.

(c) Instead of [ἐκδοθεῖσιν] it must undoubtedly be [ἐκδοθεῖσιν, or ἐκδοθεῖσιν, Expositors,] though the same error be in Nicephorus also. But Socrates himself does a little after this, shew it should be ἐκδοθεῖσιν; For, his Words are διὰ παλαιὰ ἐκδοθεῖσιν, The Ancient Expositors. *Valef.*

(d) In the chap. 4. vers. 2, 3; the words in the Greek Copies now extant are these: Πάν πνεῦμα ὁ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστι· ὃ πᾶν πνεῦμα δὲ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκ ἐστιν. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. In the Latin Copies 'tis thus worded: Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, ex Deo est: Et omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est; every Spirit which confesses Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and every Spirit which separates Jesus, is not of God. In that Greek Copy therefore, which the old Latine Translator made use of, it was written thus: Πάν πνεῦμα ὁ λέγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκ ἐστιν, every Spirit which separates Jesus from God is not; as Socrates attests it to have been written in the ancient Copies. Notwithstanding Socrates seems to have read, Πάν πνεῦμα ὁ λέγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ἐστιν; which words we have express'd in our Version. For Socrates's following Words are, ὡς τινες ἐν παρρησίᾳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, &c. that some persons have deprav'd [or, corrupted] this Epistle, being desirous to separate the Manhood of Christ from his Deity [or, Man from God.] In the Alexandrian Copy (the various readings whereof the English have given us,) this place in John is thus written; Καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκ ἐστιν, And every Spirit which confesses not Jesus, is not of God. Which comes nearer to the vulgar reading. *Valef.*

For, this sentence has been expunged out of the ancient Copies by those, whose desire is to separate the Divine Nature from the \* Human Oeconomy. Wherefore, the ancient Expositors have made this very remark, to wit, that some persons have deprav'd this Epistle, being desirous † to separate the Manhood of Christ from the Deity. For the Humanity is joyn'd God.

to the Divinity. (e) Nor are they any more two, but one. The Ancients embolden'd by this testimony, scrupled not to stile Mary *Theotocos*: For Eusebius Pamphilus (in his third Book concerning the Life of Constantine,) has these express words. For \* Emanuel endured to be born for us. And the place of his Nativity is amongst the Hebrews termed Bethlehem. Upon which

(e) Socrates mistakes here; and whilst he reproves Nestorius, falls into the Error of Eutyches, who though, that after the Union, there was not two, but only one nature in Christ. Unless we should say, that Socrates speaks concerning the Persons, not the Natures. By this means Socrates might be excused, if his Words would admit of this sense. 'Tis certain, ἀνθρώπος, and εἰς τὸν (concerning which terms these Words are spoken) do altogether signifie Natures, not Persons. *Valef.*

\* That is, God with us.

account the Empress Helena most dear to God, adorned the place, where the † God-bearing Virgin † was delivered, with admirable Monuments, and illustrated that sacred Cave with all manner of Ornaments. And Origen (in the first Tome of his [Comments] upon the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans,) expounding in what manner [Mary] may be termed *Theotocos*, handles that Question largely. 'Tis apparent therefore, that Nestorius was wholly ignorant in the Writings of the Ancients. For which reason, as I have said, he opposes this only term [*Theotocos*]. For, that he



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* he asserts not Christ to be a meer man; as Photinus and Paul of Samosata did, we are evidently informed even from his own discourses which he hath publish'd. Wherein he does in no place destroy the *Hypostasis* of the Word of God; but every where professes him to have a proper, real and peculiar Person and Existence: nor does he deprive him of a subsistence, as did Photinus and Paul of Samosata. Which Tenet the Manichæans and Montanus's followers have been so audacious as to assert. That this was Nestorius's opinion, I my self have found, partly by reading his own works, and partly from the discourses of his Admirers. Further, this frigid and empty discourse of Nestorius has raised no small disturbance in the World.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Concerning the horrid Wickedness committed upon the Altar of the Great Church, by the Fugitive Servants.

These things having been transacted [after this manner,] there hapned a most detestable fact, perpetrated in the Church. For, the Servants of one of the Great Men, Fellows that were Barbarians, having by experience found their Master to be cruel, fled to the Church, and with their swords drawn leapt upon the Altar. Being intreated to go out, they could by no means be prevailed upon; but hindred the Divine Services. And holding their naked swords in their hands for [the space of] many days, they stood in a posture to make resistance against any one that approached them. Moreover, when they had killed one of the Ecclesiasticks, and wounded another, at last they flew themselves. Whereupon, one of those then present said, that the prophanation of the Church was no good sign, [in proof whereof] he added two *Iambicks* of a certain old Poet:

(a) Nicephorus quotes these two Verses, thus:  
Σημῖα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι φίλων.  
Ὅταν τὴ ναοῖς ἐκκατασκήψῃ μύσθ.  
But the latter Verse would be written better thus:  
Ὅταν τὴ μύσθ' ἐκκατασκήψῃ ναοῖς. Valef.

(a) For such Prognosticks happen in that while, When horrid Crimes the Churches do defile.

Nor was he who spake these words, mistaken in his Sentiment: For (as it was conjectured,) a Division amongst the people, and his Deposition who had been the Occasioner of this Division, was hereby portended.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning the former Synod at Ephesus convened against Nestorius.

For within a small interval of time, the Bishops in all places were by the Emperor's Edict order'd to meet together at Ephesus. Immediately after the Feast of Easter therefore, Nestorius went to Ephesus, accompanied with a great and promiscuous multitude, where he finds many Bishops met together. But Cyrillus [Bishop] of Alexandria made some delays, and came not till about Pentecost. On the fifth day after Pentecost, Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusalem arriv'd. Whilst Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch

was slow in coming, the [Prelates] that were present began to debate the Question. And Cyrillus of Alexandria made some onsets [of dispute,] being desirous to disturb and terrifie Nestorius; for he had conceived an hatred against him. Moreover, when many asserted the Deity of Christ, Nestorius exprest himself thus, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old. And therefore I am clear from your bloud; nor will I in future come to you any more.* Having said this, he afterwards held Conventions with the other Bishops, who were Followers of his Opinion. So that the persons present were divided into two Factions. Those of Cyrillus's party \* staid in the Council, and cited in Nestorius. But he refused to come in, and defer'd his appearance till the arrival of Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch. Whereupon those of Cyrillus's party, (after they had several times read over Nestorius's Discourses about this Question, which he had made to the people; and from the reading thereof had given in their judgment, that he had constantly spoken blasphemy against the Son of God) deposed him. When this was done, (a) Nestorius's party made up another Synod apart by themselves, and depose Cyrillus, and together with him Memnon Bp. of Ephesus. Not long after these transactions, Johannes Bishop of Antioch arrived: and being informed of what had been done, was highly displeased with Cyrillus, as being the Occasioner of the disturbance which had hapned, in regard he had with so much rashness and precipitancy proceeded to the deposition of Nestorius. But Cyrillus, and together with him Juvenalis, to revenge themselves upon Johannes, depose him also. These affairs being after this manner confused and disturb'd, Nestorius perceiving this contention had arrived to such a height as to ruin communion, retracted, and termed Mary Theotocos, saying, *Let Mary be stiled Theotocos, and let all animosities cease.* But tho' he made this retraction, yet no body admitted of it. For at this present he continues deposed, and lives in exile at Oissis. And this was the conclusion of the Synod held at that time. These things were done in the Consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, on the twenty eighth of June. But Johannes after his return to Antioch, assembled many Bishops, and deposed Cyrillus, who was then gone home to Alexandria. However, they laid aside their enmity soon after, came to a reconciliation, and restored one another to their Episcopal Chairs. But after Nestorius's deposition, a most violent disturbance seized the Churches of Constantinople: For the people were divided by reason of his frigid and empty babbling, as I have said already. But all the Clergy by a general consent Anathematiz'd him. (For so we Christians do usually term the sentence against a Blasphemer, when we propose it to publick view on a pillar as it were, and render it visible to all persons.)

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.*

\* Or, made up the Synod.

(a) Socrates mistakes at this place, in attributing that to Nestorius which was done by John Bp. of Antioch. Therefore Evagrius and (who has followed him) Nicephorus do deservedly reprehend our Socrates. Now, the business, as we are informed from the Acts of the Ephesine Synod, was transacted in this manner. When Nestorius had been condemned and deposed by the holy Synod, and the Letters of Deposition had been sent to him, he sent forth with a relation to the Emperor Theodosius, wherein he complained of his Adversaries violence, and that they would not expect the coming of the Eastern Bishops, who, 'twas said, would quickly be there. This relation was subscribed by ten Bishops of Nestorius's Party. On the fifth day after, comes John Bishop of Antioch, with the Eastern Bishops. Who having understood what had been done, assembled together the Bishops (as well as the Eastern Prelates whom he had brought with him, as those ten, which (as we have said) had subscribed Nestorius's Relation,) and deposed the Bishops Cyrillus and Memnon. At this Little Council of Johannes's, Nestorius himself was not present, because having been condemned by an Episcopal sentence, he had not been restored by the determination of a Synod. But the Bishops of his party, whom the sentence of the Synod had in no wise touch'd, were present.



present. Wherefore Socrates may be excused, if we say that these words [*ὁ δὲ νεστορίου*] do not denote Nestorius himself, but the Bishops who were of his party, and had subscribed his Relation. But in the other particulars Socrates is not to be excused. Vales.

Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

### C H A P. XXXV.

How, after Nestorius's Deposition, when some were desirous of placing Proclus in the Episcopal Chair, other Bishops elected Maximianus Bishop of Constantinople.

[A]fter this there was another debate about the Election of a Bishop: And many were for choosing Philippus, whom we have mention'd a little \* before; but more † nominated Proclus. And the opinion of those [who voted] for Proclus had carried it, had not some of the most powerful persons hinder'd it, who said 'twas forbidden by the Ecclesiastick Canon, that he who had been nominated Bishop of any City, should be translated to another || See. This having been said and believed, compelled the people to be quiet. After an interval therefore of four months from Nestorius's Deposition, a person by name Maximianus, is elected to the Bishoprick: As to his course of life he was an Ascetick; but had himself also been made one of the Presbyters. He had long before gotten the repute of a pious and holy person, because at his own charge he had built Monuments, wherein Religious Persons might be buried after their decease. He was a man of mean accomplishments in speaking, and desirous of leading a life void of business.

\* See chap.  
26, and 27.  
† Or, E-  
lected.

|| Or, City.

### C H A P. XXXVI.

Instances, whereby this Writer does (as he supposes) evince, that a Translation from one See to another is not prohibited.

BUT in regard some Persons, by alledging the Ecclesiastical Canon, have hindred Proclus, who had then been nominated Bishop of Cyzicum, from being seated [in the Episcopal Chair of Constantinople;] my desire is to say something briefly concerning this matter. Those Persons who undertook to speak these things at that time, in my judgment spake not true; but either feign'd them out of an Odium [they had conceived] against Proclus, or else were wholly ignorant of the Canons, and of several other things of great use to, and frequently practised in the Churches. For, Eusebius Pamphilus, in the sixth \* Book of his Ecclesiastical History, relates, that Alexander Bishop of one of the Cities in Cappadocia, coming to Jerusalem on account of Prayer, was detained by the Inhabitants of that City, and consecrated Bishop in the room of Narcissus, and in future presided over the Churches there as long as he lived. So indifferent a thing it was amongst our Ancestors, for a Bishop to be translated from one City to another, as often as necessity requir'd. And if it be requisite to annex the Canon to this our History, it will be demonstrated in what a manner they have bely'd that Canon, [who have quoted it] in order to their hindring Proclus's Ordination. The (a) Canon therefore runs thus. If any person who has been ordained Bishop of a Church, goes not to that Church over which he has been ordained [Bishop,]

not by reason of his own Faults, but either because of the People's refusal [of him,] or for any other necessary cause [not proceeding from himself;] this Person shall be partaker of the Honour and Ministration, provided he molests not the affairs of that Church wherein he shall celebrate Assemblies. But he ought to embrace whatever the Synod of the Province, (b) having had Cognizance of his Case, shall think good to determine.

veridge.] But Socrates is mistaken, in thinking that the Bishops relied upon this Canon, that they might exclude Proclus from the Constantinopolitan See. 'Tis true indeed, that Proclus was one of their number who are meant in the aforesaid Canon. For after he had been ordained Bishop of Cyzicum by Sisinnius Patriarch of Constantinople, he was not admitted by the Inhabitants of Cyzicum, as Socrates has related before. But the Bishops who were against Proclus's Election, relied not upon this Canon, but quoted the twenty first Canon [which occurs at pag. 450. Tom. I. Edit. Bever.] of the same Synod in confirmation of their own opinion; the Contents whereof are these: *Ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ πατριᾶς ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν, &c.* A Bishop ought not in any wise to remove from one See to another, neither rushing into it wholly on his own accord, nor forcibly compell'd by the People, nor yet necessarily constrain'd by the Bishops: but let him continue in that Church, which God has at first allotted to him, nor let him remove from thence, agreeable to the Pristine determination made concerning this matter. Our Socrates is therefore mistaken, who has put the eighteenth Canon of the Antiochian Synod, instead of the one and twentieth. He is out in this also, to wit, in supposing, that these Words in the close of the eighteenth Canon [*ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς, ὁπρὸς αὐτὸν, &c.*] do favour his own opinion. Those Words we have rendered thus: *Suscipere autem debet quicquid Provincia Synodus de ejus negotio judicans constituerit*, But he ought to embrace whatever a Synod of the Province, having had Cognizance of his Case, shall think good to determine. Socrates thought this to be the consequence of these Words, viz. That if a Synod of the Province should think fit to translate the aforesaid Bishop to some other See, that Bishop ought to obey that determination. But 'tis plain that he is out, in regard Translations of Bishops are expressly forbidden in the twenty first Canon. Vales.

(b) *Κεῖναι τὸ παρὰ τοὺς ὁρίωνας δεῖν.* Which Words Dionysius Exiguus renders thus, *Quod visum fuerit judicando Deceverit*, shall by judging Decree what shall seem good. The old Translator also (whose Version was heretofore in Henricus Memmius's Library, and has lately been published at Paris) renders it after this manner: *Sed spectare eum oportere, quousque Provincia Synodus de eo quæ eis videntur ordinet*, But he ought to expect, till such time as a Synod of the Province shall determine concerning him what they think good. Where you may remark by the by, that the old Translator in his Copy, read not the Word [*τελευτῶν, perfectly*]; as neither did Socrates. The same Phrase occurs above in the Appendix to the sixth Book, where Johannes speaks to the Bishops thus: *Τὸ παρὰ τοὺς ὁρίωνας ὑμῶν κατὰ κρίσιν αὐτῶν διαλαβόντες καὶ κελεύοντες ἐῖναι.* Which we have thus rendered into Latin, *Causam ad vos delatam perpendentes ipsi ac dijudicantes definite*. But 'tis better to translate it thus, *quodcumque vobis visum fuerit, &c.* Vales. Our English Rendition of that place is this, *Do you inquire into the Cause, and make such a definitive determination as you shall think fit.*

This is the Canon. Now, to make it evident, that many Bishops have been translated from some Cities to others, by reason of the Churches necessities now and then [intervening;] I will [here] annex the Names of such [Bishops] as have been translated.

(c) Perigenes had been ordain'd Bishop of Patra. (c) Perigenes had been born and baptized at Corinth the Metropolis of Achaia: having afterwards been made a Clergy-man, he continued Presbyter of the same Church a long while with great Integrity. Afterwards when he had been promoted to the Bishoprick of Patra by the Bishop of Corinth, and the Inhabitants of Patra had refused to receive him, he was forced to return to Corinth. The Bishop of which City dying not long after, the Corinthians requested he might be their Bishop; which request of theirs they made known to Bonifatius Bishop of Rome. But Bonifatius would do nothing in that Affair, before he had received the Letters of Rufus Bishop of Thessalonica, who was deputed the Vicegerent of the Apostolick See throughout Achaia and Macedonia. He wrote therefore two Letters to him concerning this business, to which was annexed the Corinthians Request. These Letters bore date in the Consulate of Monaxius and Plintha. Afterwards, when Bonifatius had received Rufus's Letters, he approv'd of Perigenes's Election, and wrote a Letter to him and the Corinthians. I have Collected these things from two Letters of Bonifatius to Rufus, which Letters were lately published at Rome by Lucas Holstenius a Learned Person, and one that has deserved well of Ecclesiastick Antiquity. Further, this Perigenes was present at the Ephesine Synod convened against Nestorius. For in the First Action thereof occur these Words, *περί τῆς κείνου τῆς ἐκείνου, &c.* of Perigenes [Bishop] of Corinth in Greece. Vales.

But

(a) This is the eighteenth Canon of the Synod at



Concerning Silvanus, who was translated from Philippopolis to Troas.

Silvanus had formerly been a Rhetorician [in the School of] Troilus the Sophista. But in regard he proposed to himself an accuracy in the profession of the Christian Religion as his chief design, and exercised himself in the severities of an Ascetick life, [on account hereof] he refused to (a) wear the Rhetoricians Pallium. But afterwards (a) Teles Atticus the Bishop (b) laid hold of him, and ordained him Bishop of Philippopolis. After he had lived three years in Thracia, and found himself unable to endure the cold (for he had a very thin, lean, and infirm body;) he entreated Atticus, that he would ordain another in his stead, affirming that he refused to live in Thracia upon no other account, than because of the cold. Another person therefore having for this very reason been ordain'd in his room, Silvanus continued at Constantinople, and with a most exquisite diligence followed an Ascetick course of life. He was so great a stranger to delicateness and fineness, that he would frequently appear in publick amongst so numerous a concourse of people as were in that populous City, shod only with Sandals made of (c) Spartum. After some interval of time the Bishop of the Church but concerning

that of the Rhetoricians. For he says, that Silvanus had before been a Rhetorician, that is, an Advocate out of Troilus the Sophist's School: but afterwards left off his Pallium, and embraced a Monastick life. Concerning the Rhetoricians Pallium, see what we have remarked before at Book 7. chap. 12. Note (c.) To which may be added this passage out of Theophylactus Simocatta's Menodia, which he spoke in praise of the Emperor Mauricius, after Phaulcas's death: *σπουδαίως δὲ λόγοι καὶ καὶ τὴν εὐφροσύνην αἱ μῦσαι. τὸ ἄδον αὐτῶν τριβώνιον.* Which words Theophylactus himself cites in the Eighth Book of his History, chap. 12. Whence it may gathered, that the Rhetoricians Pallium was white, not red, or scarlet coloured, as we have noted before from Cyrillus and Basilus Grammaticus. Gregorius Nazianzenus speaks also concerning the Rhetoricians Pallium, in his twentieth Oration concerning the praises of Basilus, pag. 328. Edit. Paris, 1609. where Basilus (by the same mistake) has rendred it Pallia Philosophica, the Philosophic Palliums. Valef.

(b) I agree not with Christopherson, who has rendred this place so, as if Atticus had sent for Silvanus to come to him. What need was there of sending for him, who was present at Constantinople, to wit, a Rhetorician in the School of Troilus the Sophist, who taught Rhetorick at Constantinople. The word *συνάγειν* signifies something more, to wit, to lay hold of, and use force toward any person. By this term therefore Socrates shews, that Silvanus was against his own will, and with a reluctancy, made Bishop of Philippopolis by Atticus. Philippopolis is the Metropolis of that Country, strictly and properly called Thracia. You must know further, that the Ordination of the Metropolitan of Thracia, belonged then to the Bishop of Constantinople. For the Patriarchs by a certain singular priviledge ordained Metropolitans, as I have observed at large in my Dissertation on the sixth Canon of the Nicene Council. [The Learned Reader will meet with this Dissertation of Valefius's at pag. 188. of his Notes on Socrates and Sozomen, Edit. Paris, 1668.] Hence 'tis, that the same Atticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, ordained the said Silvanus Bishop of Troas, upon the request of the Inhabitants of that City. For Alexandria Troas [or, Alexander's Troas,] was the Metropolis of Phrygia. This is in express words establish'd by the twenty eighth Canon of the Chalcedon Council, [which occurs at Tom. 1. pag. 145. Edit. Beverdg.] which treats concerning the priviledges of the Constantinopolitane See: to wit, that the Metropolitans only of the Thracian, Pontick, and Asian Diocesis, should be ordained by the most holy Constantinopolitane See: the Decrees being (as usually) first made by the common consent of the Clergy and Laity, and directed to the Patriarch of Constantinople. For thus the aforesaid Canon does determine, *Ἀπορισματῶν συμφώνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γινωσκῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνατεταγμένων*, The Decrees made as usually, being agreed upon and transmitted to him. The Canon means the Decree of Request, such a one as the Corinthians sent to Bonifatius, desiring they might have Perigenes for their Bishop; as we have observed before at Chap. 36, Note (c.) Valef.

(c) *Ἀπὸ χορτίνων σανδαλίων.* Christopherson renders it, Sandaliis indutus feno confectis, shod with Sandals made of Hay. Epiphanius Scholasticus (who is followed by Langus, Nicephorus's Translator, Book 14. Chap. 39.) translates it *soleas de sparto*, Sandals of Spartum.

But in regard the Inhabitants of the foresaid City refused to admit him, the Bishop of Rome ordered he should be constituted Bishop in the Metropolitan See of Corinth; the Bishop of that Church being dead. Over which Church Perigenes presided as long as he liv'd. Gregorius of Nazianzum was first of all Bishop of Sasimi one of the Cities in Cappadocia: Afterwards he was made [Bishop] of Nazianzum. Melitius had formerly presided over the Church in Sebastia; and afterwards he Govern'd that in Antioch. Alexander Bishop of Antioch translated Dositheus Bishop of Seleusia to Tarsus in Cilicia.

(d) Reverentius [was removed] from Arci [a City] of Phænice, and afterwards translated to Tyre. Johannes was translated from (e) Gordum [a City] of Lydia to (f) Proconnesus, and presided over the Church there. Palladius was translated from Helenopolis to Aspuna. Alexander was translated from Helenopolis to Adriani. (g) Theophilus was translated from Apamea [a City] of Asia, to Eudoxiopolis anciently termed (h) Salambria. Polycarpus was translated from Saxantaprissi [a City] of Mysia.

\* Or, \* Masia, to Nicopolis of Thracia. Hierophilus was translated from Trapezopolis [a City] of Phrygia to Plotinopolis in Thracia. (i) Optimus was removed from Agdamia in Phrygia to Antioch [a City] of Pisidia. Silvanus was translated from Philippopolis in Thracia, to Troas. Let thus many be sufficient to have been named at present, who were removed from their own Cities to other [Sees.] But I judge it useful to speak something in short concerning Silvanus, who was translated from Philippopolis in Thracia to Troas.

(e) Nicephorus makes Gordum a City of Lycia, not Lydia: but all other [Writers] assign it to Lydia. Further, this Johannes Bishop of Proconnesus was present at the Ephesine Synod, as 'tis recorded in the first Action of that Council. Valef.

(f) In the Florentine Manuscript 'tis Proconnesus. In Nicephorus, in the Jus Græco-Romanum, and in the Acts of the Ephesine Council, 'tis written Proconnesus. The Author of the Etymologicon in the word *προκόννησος* defends both readings. And deduces the original of this name (which has the Letter (i) added) from hence, either because this Island furnishes the other Islands with marmour, *περίνα*, that is Gratis, freely, or for nothing; or else from the Word *περίη*, which signifies Hinnuleum, a little Hind. But Dionysius Atheniensis (in his Book [entitled] *κλίμας*, which he wrote concerning the building of Cities,) says 'twas call'd Proconnesus from the multitude of Harts there, which they term *περίη*. Others will have its name derived from a Vessel which the Greeks call *περίη*, because when the Milesi at first brought a Colony thither, they were met by a Virgin carrying such a Vessel. Valef. In Robert Stephens's Edit. 'tis termed Preconesus.

(g) In the fourth Book of the Jus Græco-Romanum, pag. 93; he is termed Theosebius. And so he is called in the Tripartite History (which Epiphanius Scholasticus translated;) and in Ivo Carnotensis (in Prologo Decreti.) But Nicephorus terms him Philippus, which I wonder at. Valef.

(h) From the Florentine and Sfortian Manuscripts, and from Nicephorus and Epiphanius Scholasticus, instead of Salambria, we have made it Salambria. 'Tis a City of Thracia, which the Greeks heretofore termed Selymbria, as Strabo and Stephanus do attest: But afterwards 'twas called Salambria. So in the Itinerarium Burdigalense: Mansio Salamembra [is mentioned which was] 44 Miles distant from Constantinople. Valef.

(i) This is the Optimus Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, of whom the Emperor Theodosius makes mention in the third Law of the Theodosian Code, de Fide catholica; to whom (together with Amphilocheus of Iconium,) the Charge and Administration of the Churches of Asia is committed. Valef.



*Spartum* is a kind of Shrub like our Broom, of which they made Bonds to tie their Vines, Ropes for Ships, and (as it seems) Sandals also. Such Sandals as these were those termed *Carbatina*; concerning which see *Julius Pollux Onomast.* Book 7. chap. 22. *Hesychius* (in the word *καρβανιον*, says they were mean shoes worn by the Peasants; and exp. unds that term thus, *καρβανιον*, a shoe with one sole.

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* of *Troas* departed this life. On which account the Inhabitants of *Troas* came [to *Constantinople*] to desire a Bishop. Whilst *Atticus* was considering whom he should ordain, it happened that *Silvanus* came to give him a visit. As

(d) Instead of [*Ἐπὶ θέρῳ*, laid upon] we read [*Ἀπὸ θέρῳ*, he laid aside] agreeable to *Chrysostom's* and *Sir Henry Savil's* reading. *Valef.*

soon as *Atticus* saw him, he (d) laid aside his care [about that affair] immediately, and spoke to *Silvanus* [on this wise,] You

have no further excuse for your avoiding the Care and Government of [this] Church. For *Troas* is not a cold place. Behold, God has provided you a convenient place for the infirmness of your Body. Delay not therefore, Brother, but go to *Troas*. Wherefore *Silvanus* removed to that City: where he did a Miracle, which I will now relate. A vast Ship for carrying of burthens, made for the conveyance of great pillars, (such a vessel they term *Plate*;) had been newly built on the shore of *Troas*. This Vessel was to be launched. But tho' many ropes [were fastned to the Ship,] and a great number of persons [did their utmost] to hale it [Seaward,] yet it was not in any wise to be moved. After this had been done for many days, then they thought that a Devil detain'd the Vessel. Wherefore, they went to Bishop *Silvanus*, and entreated him to make a Prayer in that place. For they believed, that by that means only the Ship was to be drawn into the Sea. But he entertaining modest thoughts of himself, stiled himself a Sinner, and said, That was a work to be done by some righteous person, not by him. When they continued their suit with a greater earnestness, he went to the shore: Where after he had pray'd, he \* took hold of one of the ropes, and bad them set close to the business. And when they had haled the Ship on a little, she ran swiftly into the Sea. This Miracle perform'd by *Silvanus's* hands, stirred up those of that Province to piety. But *Silvanus* was a good Man as to other things also: For perceiving that the Ecclesiasticks made a gain of their Contentions who were engag'd in Suits at Law, he would never make any one of the Clergy a Judge: but receiv'd the Libels of the Litigants himself, and called one of the faithful Laicks to him, whom he knew to be a lover of justice; to whom he committed the hearing of the cause,

(e) In *Robert Stephens's Edition* the reading is [*ἀπὸ λύσεως*, he drove.] In the *Florent. MS.* 'tis *ἀπὸ λύσεως*. Wherefore, I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [*ἀπὸ λύσεως*, he freed, or released.] For the common reading, in my judgment, is not to be born; although *Nicephorus* confirms it. *Valef.*

\* Or, Has not been unfruitful.

us return to that place, from whence we have digressed. After *Maximianus* therefore was ordain'd Bishop of [*Constantinople*] in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Antiochus*, about the twenty fifth of October, the affairs of the Church were in a sedate and quiet posture.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Jews in \* *Crete*, how many of them turned Christians at that time.

ABOUT the same time, many of the Jews [who dwelt in *Crete*, turn'd Christians, on account of this calamitous accident. A certain Jew, who was an Impostor, feign'd himself to be *Moses*; and affirm'd himself to have been sent from Heaven, that he might (a) lead out the Jews who inhabited that Island, and conduct them through the Sea. For he was (as he said) the same person who preserved the Israelites heretofore [by leading them] through the Red-Sea. For the space of one whole year therefore he travelled about to all the Cities of that Island, and persuaded the Jews who inhabited therein, to believe these things. And he exhorted them to leave their money and possessions: for he promised, that he would lead them through a dry Sea into the Land of Promise. They, deceived by such hopes as these, neglected all employments; and moreover despised the things they possessed, permitting any persons they met with to take them. When the day was come which had been set by this Jewish Impostor, he himself went before, and they all followed with their Wives and little Children. He leads them therefore to a Promontory which \* ran out into the Sea, and order'd them to cast themselves from thence into the Ocean. They who came first to the precipice, did so, and lost their lives immediately, part of them being dash'd [in pieces] against the rocks, and part drowned in the waters: And many more of them had perish'd, had not some Fishermen and Merchants (who were Christians,) by the disposal of Divine Providence hapned to be present. These persons drew out and saved some of them who were almost choaked with the waters; who having been in so imminent danger, were then sensible of their own madness. They kept the others also from casting themselves into the Sea, by telling them that those were destroyed who had thrown themselves in first. The Jews therefore, having at length understood the Imposture, blamed their own indiscretion in believing. But when they endeavoured to [seize] the † *Pseudo-Moses* and kill him, they could not apprehend him: For he disappeared [on a sudden;] and this made most men suspect that he was a destructive Devil, who had cloathed himself with an human shape, that he might destroy their Nation in that Country. By reason of this calamitous accident, many of the Jews then in *Crete*, bade adieu to Judaism, and embraced the Faith of the Christian Religion.

(a) In some Copies the reading is: [*ἐκ τῆς*] at which word *Euphrianius Scholasticus* and *Nicephorus* with good reason were displeased; and therefore both of them omitted it. In my judgment it should be [*ἐκ τῆς*, might lead out.] *Valef.*

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.*

\* This Island is now termed *Candia*.

\* Or, hung over into, &c.

† Or, false *Moses*.

|| Or, be- took themselves so.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning the Fire which hapned in the Church of the Novatianists.

NOT long after this time, *Paulus* Bishop of the Novatianists gat the repute of a person truly beloved by God, and indeed rendred [his own reputation] far greater than what it had been before. For, there hapned a most furious



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* rious fire [at Constantinople,] such a one as had never † been known before. For a great part of the City was destroyed by this Fire: In so much that the (a) greatest Granaries, and that termed the (b) Achillean Bath, were burnt down. At length the Fire, consuming [all things in its way,] approach'd the Novatianists Church, which stands near Pelargus.

*ἀσπίον* with an aspirate. And Langus translates it Burns, or Granaries. Musculus renders it *Maxima ædificia*, the greatest Edifices. Christopherson, *fortissimæ munimenta*, the strongest Fortresses. I had rather follow Langus. For ἀσπίον is a barbarous Greek Word, which signifies a Barn or Granary; as Meursius has long since observed in his Glossary. In the Kings Copy I found it written ἀσπίον at this place. Further, there were five publick Barns or Granaries at Constantinople; to wit, four in the fifth Ward. Valef.

(b) In the Alexandrian Chronicle (pag. 728. Edit. Monach. 1615,) the Word is these: On Theodosius Augustus's fourteenth Consulate which he bore with Maximus, there arose a great fire from the Neorium, which burnt down the Granaries and the Achillean Bath, in the month Leds, &c. Epiphanius Scholasticus renders it, *Thermæ quæ vocantur Achilleæ*, that termed the Achillean Bath. Which Rendition is confirmed by Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicle, (pag. 26. Edit. Paris, 1619;) at the Consulate of Maximus and Paterius, which was the year of Christ 443. His Coss. (says he) *Thermarum quæ Achilleæ dicuntur, Enœnia facta*, in their Consulate, that termed the Achillean Bath was [after it had been rebuilt] dedicated. And the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle affirm. the same (pag. 730. Edit. ut prius,) in these Words ἐπι-  
*τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως*, &c. In the same Persons [that is, Maximus's and Paterius's] Consulate, the publick Bath termed Achilles was dedicated, in the month Audunæus, before the third of the Ides of January. The Achillean Bath therefore (after it had been consumed by fire, in the fourteenth Consulate of Theodosius which he bore with Maximus, on the year of Christ 433,) was rebuilt and dedicated on the tenth Year after. Valef.

When therefore Paulus the Bishop saw his Church in danger, he rush'd into it [and ran] as far as the Altar, where he \* commended the Preservation of the Church and the things therein to God; nor did he omit the pouring forth his Prayers both for the City and for the Church. † And God heard his Prayer, as 'twas demonstrated by the event. For tho' the Fire brake into the Church through all the Doors and Windows, yet it did no harm. It wholly consumed many adjacent Edifices on every side of it: but you might have seen the Church it self in the midst of the whole Fire, triumphing over its raging Flames. And when this Fire had continued two whole days and as many nights, it was wholly extinguished, after it had burnt down a great part of the City. But the Church appear'd entire and untouch'd. And (which is more to be admired) there was not the least \* appearance of Smoak to be seen on its Timber or Walls. This hapned about the sixteenth of August, in Theodosius's fourteenth Consulate which he bore with Maximus. Since which time the Novatianists do celebrate [the Memory of] their Church its having been preserved, every year about the sixteenth of August; on which day they put up their Thanksgivings to God: And all Persons in a manner, not only Christians but very many Pagans also, since that time honour that place, by reason of the Miracle which hapned therein; and have a veneration for it as being truly holy. But thus far concerning these things.

C H A P. XL.

That Proclus succeeded Maximianus the Bishop.

**M**aximianus having quietly govern'd the Churches two years and five months, died in the Consulate of Areobindus and Aspar,

on the twelfth of April. That day hapned to Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus. fall on the Week of Fasts, [to wit] the Week which immediately precedes the Feast of Easter: and it was the \* fifth day of that Week. \* That is, At which time the Emperor Theodosius made a prudent provision for this affair. For lest a debate should arise again about the Election of a Bishop, which might raise a disturbance in the Church; he delay'd not, but whilst Maximianus's Body lay as yet unburied, ordered the Bishops that were present [in the City] to place Proclus in the Episcopal Chair. For the Letters of Cælestinus Bishop of Rome, wherein he approved of (a) this [Election,] were then come; (a) Instead which Letters he had sent to Cyrillus [Bishop] of Alexandria, to Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch, and to (b) Rufus [Bishop] of Thessalonica; informing them, that nothing hindred Sir Henry and him (who had been nominated and actually was Bishop of one City) from being translated to another. Therefore after Proclus was placed in the Episcopal Chair, he made a Funeral for the Body of Maximianus. But we have now an opportunity of speaking something in short concerning Proclus.

434,) has truly remarked, that these Letters of Cælestine Bishop of Rome were not written on this year, but two years before; to wit, when (after Nestorius's Deposition,) they were bulie about Electing a Bishop of Constantinople. 'Tis certain on this year (when Areobindus and Aspar were Consuls) Cælestine was dead, and Xystus had succeeded him in the Bishoprick of Rome. Valef.

(b) Valefius has told us before (at note (c.) on chap. 36,) that Rufus Bishop of Thessalonica was deputed the Vice-gerent of the Apostolick See [that is, Rome] throughout Achaia and Macedonia. He adds here, that he had the same Vice-gerency throughout Illyricum, as the Epistles of Innocentius and Bonifatius Bishops of Rome do declare, which are to be seen in Lucas Holstenius's Roman Collection. For (continues Valefius) the Bishops of Thessalonica had that privilege from the times of Pope Damasus, as we learn from the same Collection. Balsamo (in his Comments on the Synod in Trullo, pag. 359 Edit. Paris, 1620.) affirms, that the Bishops of Thessalonica were heretofore the Legates of the Roman Bishop; and that the Bishop of Rome has a power of constituting Legates in the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate; but denies that he has a power of ordaining Bishops; wherein Balsamo is much mistaken. For these Provinces, which then when Balsamo wrote, were under the Constantinopolitane Prelate, had heretofore been under the Bishop of Rome. Further, the Nicene Synod has determined, that the ancient usages should be observed. Thus far Valefius. But, as you see, he gives no reason to confute what Balsamo has said, to wit, that the Bishop of Rome has no power to ordain Bishops within the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate. And therefore I will (and so may the Reader too, if he pleases) suspend my belief, till some reasons are assigned. This passage in Balsamo (here quoted by Valefius) occurs in Dr. Beveridge's Synod. Tom. I, p. 154. See the Learned Doctor's Notes, pag. 126.

C H A P. XLI.

Concerning Proclus the Bishop, what manner of Man he was.

**P**roclus was from his younger years a Reader, he frequented the Schools, and imployed his time in [the study of] Rhetorick. Being come to Man's estate, he was for the most part conversant with Atticus the Bishop, and had been his Notary. When he had made a great Proficiency, Atticus promoted him to the Diaconate. Having been preferr'd to the Presbyterate, Sisinnius (as I have said \* before) ordained him Bishop of Cyzicum. These things had hapned long before this. But 'twas at this time that he obtained the Chair of the Constantinopolitane Church. He was a Person endowed with as good a Disposition and Morals, as was any Man whatsoever. For having been educated under Atticus, he studiously imitated



Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus. all that was good in him. (a) But he exercised a patience far greater than Atticus. For he, \* now and then, shew'd himself terrible to Hereticks. But Proclus was calm and mild to all persons:

(a) In Rob. Stephens's Edition, the reading is, *τὴν δὲ ἀνεξιμάκτιαν πλεονήθειαν ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχεν*. But he exercised a patience far greater than he [Atticus] had. The word *ἐχεν*, had, is wanting self.

in the Sforzian MS. Wherefore I doubt not but Socrates left it written thus, *τὴν δὲ ἀνεξιμάκτιαν πλεονήθειαν ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχοντες*. But he exercised a patience far greater than Atticus. Which Emendation is confirmed by Epiphanius Scholasticus and Nicephorus, for Nicephorus (Book 14. ch. 38.) words it thus; *ἀνεξιμάκτος δὲ καὶ πλεονήθειαν ἔχων*. Moreover, he was far more patient than they, [that is, than John Chrysostome and Atticus.] And Epiphanius Scholasticus renders it thus: *Sed in isto patientia potior apparebat, but in him a better [or more desirable] patience appeared.* Valef.

(b) We read *[τέττο δὲ]*, in regard — by this means; ] before which words we have put a Colon. Valef.

## C H A P. XLII.

That this Writer spends many words in praise of the Emperor Theodosius Junior's Probity.

ON account hereof therefore, Proclus was highly commended by the Emperor. For \* That is, \* He himself also was like to such as were true Prelates; nor did he any wise approve of those, who were desirous of persecuting others. Yea, I can speak it with confidence, that for meekness he excelled all those who were true and genuine Ecclesiasticks. (a) And what is recorded of Moses in the Book of Numbers \*; Now the Man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth; the same may

(a) The discourse will be more graceful and Emphatical, if we add a Particle thus, *καὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς*, &c. And what is recorded, &c. and so make this the beginning of a period. Thus Nicephorus reads it. Valef.

\* Numb. 12. 3.

be now said of the Emperor Theodosius, to wit, that he is very meek, above all the Men which are upon the face of the Earth. For by reason of this his meekness, God hath subdued his Enemies under him, without military Engagements, as hath been demonstrated by his Victory over the Tyrant † Johannes, and [shall be made evident] from the Destruction of the || Barbarians, which succeeded that soon after. For what manner of assistances have been given by God to Just Men heretofore, such like have even in our times been bestow'd on the most Pious Emperor, by the God of the Universe. Nor do I write this out of flattery, but I will give a Narrative of Affairs (which all Men have been thoroughly acquainted with,) as they truly are.

† See Book 7. chap. 23. || See the following chapter.

## C H A P. XLIII.

How great Calamities those Barbarians underwent who had been the Tyrant Johannes's Auxiliaries.

FOR after the Slaughter of the Tyrant, those Barbarians whom he had called to his assistance against the Romans, made preparations to over-run [and ruin] the Roman \* Provinces. When the Emperor heard of it, according as his usage was, he committed the care of this affair to God: and having been earnest in Prayers, not long after obtain'd what he desired. Further, it will be advantageous, to hear what [Calamities] befel the Barbarians. Their Commander in chief, whose name was (a) Rougas, is killed by a clap of Thunder. Then follow'd a Plague, which destroy'd most of the Men under his command. Nor was this only sufficient; but Fire also descended from Heaven, and consumed many of those who remained. And this put the Barbarians

(a) In Priscus's History of the Goths, the King of the Hunni is termed Rouas, who was succeeded by Attalus. In Jordanes he is call'd Roas, the Brother of Oetar and Munduchus, the Uncle of Attalus. Langus, Nicephorus's Translator, calls him Rouas, for what reason I know not: For in Nicephorus 'tis Rougas, as well as here in Socrates. Valef.

into the greatest terror imaginable, not so much because they had dared to take up Arms against the valiant Nation of the Romans; as in regard they found them assisted by a powerful God. Moreover, Proclus the Bishop preach'd a Sermon at that time in the Church, wherein he applied a Procephy [taken] out of Ezechiel to the deliverance effected by God at that juncture; [for which discourse] he was greatly admired. The Prophecy runs thus: And thou son of man, prophesie against (b) Prince Gog, Rhos, Misoch and Thobell. For I will judge him with death, and with bloud, and with an overflowing rain, and with stones of hail. And I will rain Fire and Brimstone upon him, and upon all those with him, and upon many Nations [which are] with him. And I will be magnified and glorified, and I will be known in the eyes of many Nations. And they shall know that I am the Lord. On account thereof therefore, as I have said, Proclus was much admired. But on the Emperor, because of his meekness, many other [Blessings] were conferred by Divine Providence. Amongst which this was one, [which I will now relate.]

whereof Hieronymus has rendred it thus, *Principem capitū Misoch, Prince of the chief of Misoch*. Wherefore, what Langus remarks here concerning the Ruffi, is in my Judgment foreign to this place. Valef. In the Hebrew, the Words of this Text are *וְיָשִׁיב מִשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן*, which in the margin of our English Version is render'd exactly, thus, *Prince of the chief of Meshech*. Socrates quotes this whole Text out of Ezechiel, in the Words of the Septuagint Version, and we have translated them accordingly. The difference between the Greek Version and Original Hebrew at this Text is great. Our English Translators (as they generally do, so here) follow the Hebrew.

## C H A P. XLIV.

That the Emperor Valentinianus Junior married Eudoxia the Daughter of Theodosius.

HE had a Daughter by his Wife Eudocia, her name Eudoxia. His \* Cousin Germane Valentinianus, whom he had made Emperor of the Western Parts, desired he might marry this [Princess.] To which when the Empe-

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

\* See Book 7. chap. 24.



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* Emperor *Theodosius* had given his consent, and both the *Augusti* (after they had deliberated about celebrating the marriage at some place on the Frontiers of both Empires,) had resolved each to make a journey half way, and do it at *Theffalonica*: *Valentinianus* sends *Theodosius* intimation by Letter, that he should not give himself that trouble: for, that he would come in person to *Constantinople*. Having therefore secured the Western parts [with a sufficient guard,] he comes to *Constantinople* on account of the marriage. Which having been

(a) These persons were Consul on the year of Christ 436. celebrated in the Consulate of (a) *Isidorus* and *Senator*, he took his Wife, and returned into the western parts. Such a felicity as this befel the Emperor at that time.

But *Prosper*, *Marcellinus Comes* in his *Chronicon*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, disagree from *Socrates*. For those Authors relate, that this marriage was celebrated on the year following, whereon *Aetius* bore his second Consulate with *Sigisvultus*, in the month of November. The same is confirmed by *Jordanes* in his *Book de successione Regnorum*; where, after he has spoken concerning the Whoredom committed by *Honorius* with her Procurator *Eugenius*, which was done in the Consulate of *Areobindus* and *Aspar*, on the year of Christ 434. He adds these words; *Post hæc tertio anno Valentinianus, Sc. On the third year after this the Emperor Valentinianus comes from Rome to Constantinople, in order to his marrying Eudoxia daughter to the Emperor Theodosius: and having given all Illyria as a Gratuity to his Father-in-law, after the Celebration of the Marriage, he returned with his Wife to his own Kingdoms.* *Cassiodorus Senator* attests the same concerning the Donation of the Western Illyricum (Book 11. *variarum*, Epist. 1. pag. 684. *Elit. Aurel. Allobrog.* 1622.) in these words: *Placidiam mundi opinione celebratam, avorum [or, principum, or, aliquorum, as 'tis in some Copies,] Prosapia gloriosam purpurato filio studuisse percepimus; cujus dum remisse administrat Imperium, indecenter cognoscitur imminutum. Nunc denique sibi amissione Illyrici comparavit, factaque est conjunctio regnantium, divisio dolenda provinciis.* Valef.

## C H A P. XLV.

That *Proclus* the Bishop perswaded the Emperor to translate the Body of *Johannes* from the place of his Exile [where he had been buried,] to *Constantinople*, and to deposite it in the Church of The Apostles.

*He means those termed the Johannita.* See Book 6. ch. 18. † Or, by prudence. **N**OT long after this time, *Proclus* the Bishop reduc'd \* those [to the Church] who had made a separation [from it] on account of Bishop *Johannes's* deposition; having mitigated their disgust by a † prudent expedient. What that was, we must now relate. After he had perswaded the Emperor [to give his consent thereto,] he brought the body of *Johannes*, which had been buried at *Comani*, to *Constantinople*, on the thirty fifth year after his deposition. And when he had carried it through the City publicly, in great pomp and state, he deposited it with much honour and solemnity in that termed the Church of The Apostles. Those persons therefore who had made a separation on *Johannes's* account, were by this means prevailed upon, and became united to the Church. And this hapned in the sixteenth Consulate of the Emperor *Theodosius*, about the twenty seventh of January. But I cannot forbear wondring here, how [it came to pass,] that Envy should assail and corrode *Origen* after he was dead, and yet spare *Johannes*. For *Origen* was excommunicated by *Theophilus* about two hundred years after his death. But *Johannes* was admitted to communion by *Proclus*, on the thirty fifth year after he died. So great was the difference between *Proclus's* disposition, and that of *Theophi-*

*lus*. But prudent Men are not ignorant, (a) in what manner these things have been, and daily are, done.

(a) By these words *Socrates* does plainly discover his Opinion. For he would say, that these things are usually done through envy, or out of favour. For because *Origen* was condemned by *Theophilus*, so many years after his death; that *Socrates* ascribes to *Theophilus's* envy towards *Origen* himself, or against those termed the Long Monks. And whereas *John Chrysostome* was brought back with honour into his own Country, on the thirty fifth year after his death; that *Socrates* attributes to the love and benevolence of *Proclus* and the people of *Constantinople*. But I am not of *Socrates's* opinion: For although in affairs of this nature, the affections of Men have some effect; yet Divine Justice and Providence, whereby the Church is governed, does always over-rule. *Origen* therefore was condemned for his heterodox Opinions; and *John Chrysostome*, being consecrated for his Integrity of Life and Doctrine, continues in the Church to this very day. *Valefius*.

## C H A P. XLVI.

Concerning the Death of *Paulus* Bishop of the Novatianists, and concerning *Marcianus* who was his Successor.

**S**OME little time after the removal of *Johannes's* body, died *Paulus* also, Bishop of the Novatianists, in the same Consulate, about the twenty first day of July: Who at his own Funeral reduced all the disagreeing Heresies into one Church in a manner: For they all accompanied his body to the \* Grave with singing of Psalms: because whilst he lived, all [Sects] loved him exceedingly for his † Sanctity of life. But because the same *Paulus* performed a memorable action just before his death, I judge it useful to insert it into this History, for their advantage who shall peruse this Work. For, that during his sickness he observ'd his usual *Ascetic* [discipline as to his] diet, and transgressed not in the least [the rules] thereof; and, that he never omitted performing the [usual] prayers with a fervency; [all this] I think fit to leave unmention'd; lest by spending time in giving a narrative hereof, I should obscure that memorable and most useful action (as I have said) which he performed. What that is, must now be declared. Being near dying, he sent for all the Presbyters belonging to the Churches under him, to whom he express'd himself thus: *Take care about electing a Bishop [over your selves] whilst I am alive; lest afterwards your Churches be disturbed.* When they made answer, that the election of a Bishop was not to be left to them: for in regard [said they] some of us have one Sentiment, others another, we shall never nominate the same person: But we wish, that you your self would name that Man whom you desire [to be your Successor.] To which *Paulus* made this return: *Deliver me then this Profession of yours in writing [to wit,] that you will elect him whom I shall appoint to be chosen.* When they had done that, and confirmed it by their subscriptions, (a) he sat on his bed, and (without discovering it to those who were present, wrote *Marcianus's* name in the paper. This Person had been promoted to the Presbyterate, and likewise had been instructed in an *Ascetic* course of life under *Paulus*: but was then gone to travel. After this he sealed up

(a) Ἀνακρίσεις τῆς κλίνης. In *Nicephorus's* 'tis ὑπερεκρίσεις, he sate upon; in which Author these Words are added καὶ χάρτω λαβάν, and having taken the Paper: which seem altogether necessary. *Valef.*



Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

the Paper himself, and caused the chief of the Presbyters to seal it up also, and then deliver'd it to one *Marcus*, (who was Bishop of the Novatianists in *Scythia*, but had at that time made a journey to *Constantinople*;) to whom he spake these words: If God shall permit me to continue much longer in this life, restore this \* Depositum to me [now] committed to your trust to be kept safely. But, if it shall please him to remove me out of this World, in this Paper you will find whom I have elected to be my Successor in the Bishoprick. When he had spoken these words, he died. On the third day therefore after his death, when they had unsealed the Paper in the presence of a great multitude, and found *Marcianus's* name therein, they all cried out that he was a worthy and fit Person. And without delay they dispatch'd away some Messengers who might seize him. They took him by a pious fraud at his Residence in *Tiberiopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia*; from whence they brought him along

(b) Altho' our M.S. Copies alter not the reading here;

yet I agree with *Christopherson* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who have mended it thus. [of the month August.] Doubtless, in regard *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists* died on the twenty first of July, and the Paper wherein he had named *Marcianus* to be his Successor, was unsealed three days after his death, as *Socrates* has told us before; 'tis not to be supposed, that *Marcianus* could be ordained Bishop on the twenty first of the same month, to wit, July; in regard he absconded in *Tiberiopolis* a City of *Phrygia*: from whence he was brought to *Constantinople*, that he might be there constituted Bishop of the *Novatianists*. Valef.

#### C H A P. XLVII.

That the Emperor *Theodosius* sent his Wife *Eudocia* to Jerusalem.

Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* offer'd up his Thanksgivings to God for the Benefits which he had conferr'd upon him. And this he performed, by honouring *Christ* with singular and eminent Honours. He likewise

(a) Instead of [x] ἡ Εὐδοκία, &c. For he had obliged himself to a performance, &c.] I doubt not

but it should be [x] ἡ Εὐδοκία, for she had obliged her self; that is, *Eudocia*. Thus *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read, as appears from his Version; which is thus, *Hoc enim & ipsa votum habuerat, si filiam videret nuptam, For she her self also had [made] this vow, if she might see her Daughter married.* Valef.

#### C H A P. XLVIII.

Concerning *Thalassius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Capadocia*.

Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

About that very time, to wit, in *Theodosius's* seventeenth Consulate, *Proclus* the Bishop attempted a wonderful thing, the like to which has not been performed by any of the Ancient Bishops. For *Firmus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Capadocia* being dead, the *Cæsareans* came [to *Constantinople*,] and requested they might have a Bishop. And whilst *Proclus* was considering whom he should prefer to that See, it hapned that all the Senators came to the Church on the Sabbath, to give him a visit, amongst whom was (a) *Thalassius* also, a personage who had born a *Præfecture* over the Provinces and Cities of *Illyricum*. But [though] (as it was reported) he had been the Person pitch'd upon who was about to have the Government of the *Eastern* parts committed to his care by the Emperor; [yet] *Proclus* laid his Hands on him, and instead of his being constituted a *Præfectus Prætorio*, made him Bishop of *Cæsarea*. Thus successful and prosperous were the Affairs of the Church. But I will here close my History, with my Prayers [to God,] that the Churches in all places, the Cities, and Provinces may live in peace. For, as long as peace flourishes, those that are desirous to do it, will have no subject for their writing an History. For we ourselves (who have perform'd what you enjoyn'd us in Seven Books, O Sacred Man of God, *Theodorus*!) should have wanted matter for this our History, if the Lovers of Seditions and Tumults would have been quiet. This Seventh Book contains [an account of Affairs transacted during] the space of two and thirty years. The whole History, which is comprized in Seven Books, contains the space of an hundred and forty years. It begins from the first year of the two hundredth seventy first Olympiad, wherein *Constantine* was proclaimed Emperor; and ends at the second year of the three hundredth and fifth Olympiad, whereon the Emperor *Theodosius* bore his seventeenth Consulate.

Which action of *Proclus's* *Socrates* does not without cause wonder at, as new, and not praîs'd by former Bishops. *Nestarius* indeed, when he was *Prætor* of *Constantinople*, had been created Bishop of that City. But, the Emperor's consent had been first obtain'd, as *Socrates* has told us before. But here *Proclus*, merely by his own impulse, laid his Hands on a *Præfectus Prætorio*, who by the Emperor had been design'd to the Government of the *Oriental* *Præfecture*. Notwithstanding, it is to be understood, that the Emperor's consent was afterwards obtained, who approved of what *Proclus* had done. But, in promoting inferior Magistrates to Ecclesiastick Degrees, the Prince's consent was in no wise necessary. For the *Præfectus Prætorio's* approbation was sufficient, under whose dispose the Presidents of Provinces were. We have an eminent instance hereof in the Life of *St. Germanus Altissiodorensis*, which was written by *Constantius Presbyter*. Which *Germanus* being President of a Province, and *Amator* Bishop of *Altissiodorum* [a City in France, now call'd *Auxerre*] having a mind to appoint him his Successor; *Amator* procur'd the consent of *Julius, Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Gallia's*, before he attempted to do that; as 'tis related in Book 1. chap. 3. concerning the Life of *St. Germanus*. Further, this *Thalassius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* was present at the false Synod at *Ephesus* [convened] against *Flavianus*, as we are inform'd from the Acts of the said Synod, which are recorded in the first Action of the *Chalcedon Council*. Valef.

The End of *Socrates Scholasticus's Ecclesiastick History.*



THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY

OF  
Evagrius Scholasticus  
EPIPHANIENSIS,  
(And [One] of the EX-PRÆFECTS,)  
IN SIX BOOKS.

Translated out of the GREEK, according to that Edition set forth  
by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1673.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian ; which are done  
into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annexed an Account of the foresaid *Historian's Life*, and *Ecclesiastick  
History*, Collected by VALESIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.

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L O N D O N :

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# V A L E S I U S S A C C O U N T

OF THE

# L I F E,

AND

# Ecclesiastick History,

OF

*EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis.*

**E** *Vagrius Scholasticus* was by Nation a Syrian, as was also † *Theodoret*: Born at *Epiphania* † He was (which was a City of *Syria Secunda*;) as he himself has declared in the Title of his *Bishop of own Work*. Therefore I wonder at *Gerardus Vossius*, who (in his *Book de Historicis* *Cyrus*; and *Græcis*, pag. 498,) relates that *Evagrius* was born at *Antioch*. But *Evagrius* himself, (both in the Title of his History, and also in his *Third Book*, Chap. 34,) does expressly attest that he was born at *Epiphania*. For, speaking there concerning *Cosmas* Bishop of *Epiphania*, his Words are these; Κοσμάς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπισκοπῶν Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἢ τὸν ὀρόντην σάωμονον ἔχει, &c. *Cosmas* Bishop of our *Epiphania*, in the Vicinage whereof runs the [River] *Orontes*, &c. Besides, *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*, chap. 29,) affirms that *Evagrius* was born in *Epiphania*, a City of *Syria-Cæle*. But, which is strange, *Nicephorus Callistus* does in two places term our *Evagrius* (not *Epiphanienſis*, but) Ἐπιφανῆ, that is *Illustri-* *Ecclesiastick History*. (which *Valesius* has publish'd with the other *Greek Historians of the Church*) towards the latter end of *Theodosius Junior's* Reign, at the same time that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* wrote theirs. He began where they did, (to wit, from those times whereat *Eusebius* closed his History;) and ended with them; viz. at the latter end of *Theodosius Junior's* Empire. 'Tis more than probable, that he wrote after *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For (1) all the Ancients were of this Opinion. (2) He that reads his History, will find it nothing else but a Supplement of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* their Histories. (3) *Theodoret* himself, in the first Chapter of the first Book of his History, says these Words: τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τὰ λειπόμενα συγγράψαι προσέομαι, I will attempt to commit to writing the Remains of *Ecclesiastick History*. (4) Lastly, He published his History after the Year of Christ 448. (as *Valesius* demonstrates in his Preface before his History;) whereas *Socrates* and *Sozomen* had finished their Histories on the Seventeenth Consulate of *Theodosius Jun.* that is, in the Year of Christ 429. He is most particular in his Account of the Affairs of the Eastern Church, in regard he liv'd there. His Books of *Ecclesiastick History* are but five in number (as he himself intimates at the close of his fifth Book;) wherein he comprehends the Affairs transacted in the Church, during the space of 105 Years.

ous. For, in *Nicephorus's* First Book, chap. 1. the words are these; ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῶν Ἐυάγγελος ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς, &c. Moreover, *Evagrius the Illustrious*, &c. And, in Book 16. Chap. 31; *Nicephorus* quoting a passage of *Evagrius*, out of his *Third Book*, Chap. 34. (which passage I have just now mentioned) expresses himself thus, οἷα δὲ καὶ Ἐυάγγελος ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς περὶ σάωμονος ἰσόρησεν, Moreover, in like manner as *Evagrius the Illustrious* has related concerning *Severus*. But my Sentiment is, that Transcribers have mistook at both those places, and have written Ἐπιφανῆς [Illustrious] instead of Ἐπιφανεύς [Epiphanienſis.] Doubtless, *Nicephorus* might have been evidently inform'd, from *Evagrius's* own Words which he there produces, (which we have also quoted above,) that *Evagrius* had been born at *Epiphania*. Further, *Evagrius* was born in the Reign of *Justinianus Augustus*, on the Year of Our Lord 536, or 537, as I have demonstrated from *Evagrius's* own Testimony, in my † *Notes on Book 4. Chap. 29. of his History*. On the Year of † See *Evagrius's* *Ecclesiastick History*, Book 4. chap. 29. Note (f.) Christ 540, his Parents committed him to the care of a School-Master, that he might learn the Letters. At which time (when *Thomas* Bishop of *Apamia* had given notice to the Neighbouring Cities, that on a set Day he should show the enlivening Wood of the Cross, which was kept at *Apamia*;) *Evagrius* was lead to that City by his Parents, and with his own Eyes saw that Miracle, which was then perform'd in the Church; as himself attests



# The Life of Evagrius Scholasticus.

tests in his *Fourth Book*, Chap. 26. Now, this hapned on the Year of Christ 540; when the *Persians*, having made an irruption into *Syria*, had burnt *Antioch*: which was done in *Justinus Junior's Consulate*, as we are informed by *Marsellinus Comes*, and *Marius* in his *Chronicon*. Two

+ The years after this, when † *The Lues Inguinaria* began to rage in the *East*, *Evagrius* was as yet under a School-Master, learning the *Letters*, and was seiz'd by that *Pestilence*, as he himself attests, *Book 4.* chap. 29. Having afterwards left the *Schools* of the *Grammarians*, he betook himself to the Study of *Rhetorick*. And when he had made a great proficiency in that *Art*, he was registred \* amongst the company of *Advocates*. Whence he got the Appellation of *Scholasticus*: which term signifies

† ὁ δὲ λων μαθεῖν περὶ γμα-  
τα, ἀπέρχεται καὶ μανθάνει τὰ  
σημεῖα καὶ ὅταν γῆνηται ἐκεῖ  
πρῶτον, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν σχολὴν  
τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ λων ἐξα-  
τος. πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅταν γῆνηται  
πρῶτον, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν σχολὴν  
τῶν περὶ γματικῶν, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ λων  
πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὁ λων ἐξατος, ἀρχα-  
ει. ἔτα ὅταν γῆνηται σχολαστι-  
κός, ὁ λων τῶν δικολόγων ἀρχα-  
ει καὶ ἐξατος. ἐστὶν πάλιν ὅταν  
ἐκεῖ γῆνηται πρῶτον, τότε γίνε-  
ται ἡγεμών. Καὶ ὅταν γῆνηται  
ἀρχων, λαμβάνει αὐτὸν βουδὸν  
τὸ σωκράδεδρον.

Valesius quotes this passage out of *Macarius*, in his *Notes* on *Socrates*, book 6. chap. 6. Note (f.)

\* See Note *Evagrius*, *Book 1.* \* chap. 18. † Tis certain, he could not be an *Advocate* at *Epiphania*, (which, as we have declared already, was the place of his Nativity;) in regard that City had no *Judiciary Forum*, but brought its Causes to *Apamia*, in which City the *Consularis* of *Syria Secunda* held a Court of Judicature. But, for my believing *Evagrius* to have been an *Advocate* at *Antioch*, rather than at *Apamia*, this is my chief Reason; because he was mostly conversant in that City, where he married a Wife also, and begat Sons of her. He married a Daughter likewise in that City, as himself attests in his *Fourth Book*, chap. 29. And after she, together with her Son, had ended her Life by the Pestilential disease, on the 10th year of *Mauricius*; *Evagrius*, depriv'd of his Wife and Children, re-married, and took to Wife a young Virgin in that City, as he relates *B. 6. ch. 8*. Where he attests also, that the whole City kept holiday on that account, and celebrated a publick Festivity, \* both in *Pom-*

\* Tum in  
Pomp.,  
both in  
Pomp.

\* See note  
(b) in that  
chapter.

pous Shows, and also about his marriage-bed. Whence 'tis by the way apparent, how great his authority was at *Antioch*. Moreover, he wrote his *History* at *Antioch*, as may be Collected from the twentieth \* chapter of his *First Book*. Where speaking concerning the *Empress Eudocia's Jerusalem-journey*, he says, she came to *Antioch*: ἡ χειρὶς οὐ γέγονεν ὅτι τὴν ἀγίαν ἐπερχομένην Χερσὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πόλιν, ὅταν αὐτὴ τι γίνεταί, that is, a long time afterwards, in her journey which she made to the Holy City of Christ our God, she [*Eudocia*] comes hither, (to wit, to *Antioch*.) *Evagrius* therefore liv'd at *Antioch* when he wrote this *History*. Hence 'tis that *Evagrius* is so diligent in recounting the Works and Publick Edifices of the City *Antioch*; as may be seen in his *First Book*, chap. 18, and in his *Third Book*, chap. 28. At which places he does not obscurely intimate, that he liv'd at *Antioch*, whilest he wrote these things. Hence 'tis also, that he mentions with so much care and diligence, the Earth quakes, wherewith *Antioch* was now and then shaken: and that in the Notation of the times he always makes use of the *Antiochian Years*. Lastly, this may be Collected from the seventh chapter of his *Sixth Book*, where he relates, that *Gregorius Patriarch* of *Antioch* (having been accused of Incest, before *Johannes, Comes* of the *East*, by a Silver-smith,) appealed to the Emperor, and to a Synod. And when he went to *Constantinople*, in order to the prosecution of his Cause before the Emperor and Synod, he took *Evagrius* along with him, as his *Assessor* and Councillor, that he might make use of his advice. By which Words *Evagrius* does plainly enough declare himself to have been an *Advocate* and a Lawyer. For *Assessors* were wont to be taken out of their Body, as well by the Civil as Military Magistrates. Nor was *Evagrius* Councillor to *Gregorius* in this criminal Affair only, but in other Causes also. For in regard *Grego-*

\* Or, ought  
to have,  
&c.

† See *Eva-*  
*grius* book  
6. chap. 7.

\* See *Eva-*  
*grius* book  
6. chap. 24.

† That is,  
the Vo-  
lume of  
*Relations*,  
*Letters*,  
&c.

*rinus* was *Patriarch* of the *Oriental Church*, and \* could not but have the Examination of many Causes every Day, he must necessarily stand in need of some *Assessor*, who might suggest to him the *Forms of Right* and of the *Laws*. Indeed, *Evagrius's* Words do fully declare what I have said. For he saith; † Περὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν ἐμῷ παρεδρόμῳ καὶ παρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ γέγονε, τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν ὑφ' ἐμῶν, Having me therefore his *Assessor* and Companion, he went to the Emperor's [City, *Constantinople*,] in order to the making his defence against these [Accusations.] But let the Studios determine concerning this Matter, according to their own arbitrement. 'Tis sufficient for me, to have propos'd my Conjecture to the Readers. Further, the same *Gregorius* made use of *Evagrius's* Judgment, not only in *Judiciary proceedings*, but in writing *Letters* also, and *Relations*, which he now and then sent to the Emperor; in his *Sermons* likewise and *Orations*; as *Evagrius* attests at the \* close of his *History*. Which † Volume when *Evagrius* had published; not



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not without the consent of *Gregorius the Patriarch*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Constantinus*; he had the Dignity of a *Quæstorius* bestow'd upon him by the same Emperor. And not long after, when he had made an *Oration concerning the Praises of Mauricius Augustus, on account of the Birth of the most noble Child Theodosius*, he receiv'd the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture* from the same *Mauricius*; as he himself attests at the close of his *History*. *Evagrius's* Words there are thus translated by *Christophorson*: *Pro quibus duos honoris gradus consecuti sumus: Quæsturam à Tiberio Constantino, & munus Tabularum servandarum, in quibus Præfectorum nomina inscribebantur, à Mauricio Tiberio: For which we have obtained two Degrees of Honour: A Quæsture of Tiberius Constantinus, and the Office of keeping the Tables, wherein the Names of the Præfects were inscribed, of Mauricius Tiberius.* Which ill Rendition deceived *Gerardus Vossius* and *Philippus Labbæus*. For *Vossius* (in his \* *Book de Historicis Græcis*,) treading in *Christophorson's* steps, says thus: *Pro duobus autem hisce* \* *Pag. 274. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1651.* *Libris ait gemino se honore esse affectum. Nam à Tiberio Constantino Quæsturâ fuisse ornatum: Sed à Mauricio consecutum esse, ut Tabulis publicis præesset: Now, for these two Books, he says, he had a double Honour conferred on himself. For he was honoured [as he saith] with a Quæsture by Tiberius Constantinus: And, that he obtained of Mauricius, the having the charge of the publick Tables.* But *Philippus Labbæus* (in his *Dissertation de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,) hath † in-† *Repaired, or, put a new face upon.* *terpolated Christophorson's Version* after this manner: *Seque duos honoris gradus ait consecutum: & primum à Tiberio Constantino ad Quæsturam evectum; tum à Mauricio munus adeptum servandarum Tabularum, in quibus non tam nomina, quàm ipsa Præfectorum acta inscribebantur: And he says that he himself obtained two Degrees of Honour: And in the first place, that he was preferred to a Quæsture by Tiberius Constantinus; and secondly, That he procured of Mauricius the Office of keeping the publick Tables, wherein not only the Names, but the Acts of the Præfects were inscrib'd.* *Musculus* has done much better, who hath render'd the Passage in *Evagrius* thus: *Quarum etiam Gratiâ duas dignitates sumus consecuti: à Tiberio Constantino Quæstoratum largiente, Mauricio verò Tiberio Literas Hyparchicas mittente, on account of which [Volume of Relations, Letters, &c.] we have obtained two Dignities: [one] from Tiberius Constantinus, who gave us a Quæstorate; and [another] from Mauricius Tiberius, who sent us his Hyparchicall Letters.* He would have said, *The Codicills of a Præfecture*, which the *Latines* term \* *Letters* also, as I have long since observ'd \* *Or, Letters-Patents.* in my *Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus*. Hence 'tis, that in the Title of his *History*, *Evagrius* terms himself ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν, [one] of the *Ex-Præfects*, because he had been rewarded with the *Codicills* of an honorary *Præfecture* by the *Emperour*. After this, the same *Evagrius* published *Six Books of Ecclesiastick History*, beginning from those times wherein *Theodoret* and *Socrates* had closed their *Histories*; that is, from the *Ephesine Synod*, wherein *Nestorius* was condemned and deposed: to wit, from the Year of *Christ* 431. And he has continued his *History* to the twelfth Year of the *Emperor Mauricius*, which was the Year of our Lord 594. In his *Third Book*, at *Chap. 33*, speaking concerning *Severus Bishop of Antioch*, he says that at such time as he wrote these Things it was the *Six hundredth forty first year of the Antiochians*. In regard therefore the *Antiochian-Hera* precedes that of our *Saviour's Nativity* forty eight Years; if from the number 641 we subtract 48 Years, it will be the Year of *Christ* 594. The same may also be Collected from *Book 4. Chap. 29.* where *Evagrius* writes, that whilest he penned this *History*, that *Plague in the Groyne*, which had almost wholly destroy'd the whole World, had already rag'd two and fifty Years. Now, this *Plague* began to rage two Years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, that is, in the Year of *Christ* 542. To which number of Years if you add 52, it will be made the Year of *Christ* 594. Further, *Evagrius's* diligence is chiefly to be commended, because, undertaking to write an *Ecclesiastick History*, he made a Collection of whatever was pertinent to that Subject, out of the best Writers, to wit, *Priscus, Johannes, Zacharias, Eustathius, and Procopius* [who were all] *Rhetoricians*. His Style likewise is not to be found fault with. For it has as a Beauty and Elegancy; as *Photius* does also attest. But the chief thing commendable in *Evagrius* is, that of all the *Greek Writers of Ecclesiastick History*, he is the only Person, who has kept the Doctrine of the true Faith intire and undefiled; as (after *Photius*) *Baronius* has observ'd in his *Annals*. Notwithstanding, he deserves Reproof for this, viz. because he has not used so much diligence in searching out the Monuments of *Ecclesiastick Antiquity*, as in reading *Profane Writers*. Indeed, almost the whole *Sixth Book* is spent in a *Narrative of the Persian War*. Besides, his Style in many places is *Redundant and Luxuriant*, as *Photius* has truly remark'd in his *Bibliotheca*. An Instance of which *superfluity of Expression* you have in *Book 1. Chap. 2.* where he speaks concerning *Nestorius* after this manner: *Ἡ δέομαχὸς γλῶσσα, τὸ καὶ ἄρα δόλιπον συνέδεον, &c. that Tongue full of Hostility against God, that second Sanbedrim of Caiphas, &c.* and, in *Book 2. Chap. 3.* where he describes *S<sup>t</sup> Euphemia's Church*, which was at *Chalcedon*: The same redundancy of Style, the Studious Reader will of himself easily observe, in many other places.

Moreover, *R. Stephens* was the first Person that Printed *Evagrius's History* in *Greek*, from one only *Manuscript Copy* belonging to the *Kings Library*, which *Manuscript* is very new, and not extraordinary good. For in many places 'tis defective and imperfect. But we have mended and perfected *Evagrius's History* in so many places, from two *Manuscript Copies* of the best note, that it may seem now to have been first publish'd. The first of the *Copies* was the *Florent. Manuscript*, [taken] out of *S<sup>t</sup> Laurence's Library*, which the most famous *Michael Erminius* compared with the *Geneva Edition*, and sent me the *Various Readings* written out with his own Hand. On which account I profess my self very much



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obliged to him. This Manuscript is the best and ancientest of all the Copies of *Evagrius*. For 'tis written in Parchment, [and was transcribed] about five hundred Years since more or less, as I have been inform'd by one that saw it, viz. *Emericus Bigotius*, an excellent Scholar, and a Person who has deserved well of Learning: By whose Favour and Intervention I receiv'd the fore-mention'd *Various Readings*, sent by the most famous *Michael Erminius*. In the same *Florentine Manuscript*, some not unlearned *Scholia* were written in the Margin, which we have put into our *Annotations*, in their due places. But, the Reader is to take notice, that in this *Florentine Manuscript* is contain'd *Socrates Scholasticus's History* also, the various Readings whereof of the same *Erminius* sent me long since, written out with his own Hand; as I have attested above four Years since, in *that Preface* I prefixt before my *Edition of Socrates and Sozomen*. The *second Manuscript Copy* was taken out of the Library of that most *Illustrious Prelate* *Dionysius Tellerius*, *Arch-Bishop of Rheims*: This is no very ancient Copy; but 'tis a good One, and transcrib'd by the Hand of a Learned Man. This Copy was of great use to us in many places, as we have now and then shewn in our *Annotations*.

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THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis,  
And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

The Writers Preface [wherein he declares] on what account he betook himself to the Writing of this present History.

EUSEBIUS Surnamed PAMPHILUS, a Person both eminently Eloquent as to other things, and so powerful in his Writings also, that by his Perswasives he might be able (if not to render them (a) perfectly Orthodox, yet) to prevail upon his Readers so far as to embrace our [Sentiments:] Eusebius surnamed Pamphilus [I say,] Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates, in the best and most accurate manner have set forth in Writing, both the Advent of [our] Compassionate God amongst us, and his Ascent into the Heavens; and also those things which the Divine Apostles, and other Martyrs have courageously performed in their Combats [in defence of the Faith;] Moreover, whatever else hath been transacted by those of our Religion, whether praise-worthy, or otherwise, till some (b) part of the Emperor Theodosius's Reign. But, in regard no Person hath hitherto given an orderly Narrative of the Transactions that hapned afterwards, which [notwithstanding] are not much inferior to them; I have resolved (though I am but little versed in such things,) to undertake this Work, and to compile an History of those Affairs; being very confident, that by his assistance, who infused Wisdom into Fishermen, and made the Tongue of a Brute utter an articulate Voice; I shall raise Affairs already buried in Oblivion, give Life to them by my Discourse, and render them immortal by an [eternal] Commemoration: to the end that every one of my Readers may know, what [has been done,] when, where, how, against whom, and by whom Affairs have been transacted, until our own times: And [to the end that] nothing worthy to be remembred, may lie concealed by a remis and dissolute Sloth, and (which is its next Neighbour,) Oblivion. Divine Assistance therefore being my Guide, I will begin, where the Authors I have already mentioned, closed their History.

perly termed ἀνεῖς. Photius (in his Bibliotheca) speaks thus concerning Socrates Scholasticus, ἀνακλινόμενος τοῖς δόγμασιν ἢ λίαν ἐς τὴν ἀνεῖαν. Moreover in his Sentiments he is not very Orthodox. The meaning of this place therefore, is this: Eusebius (although he be very fit to perswade his Reader to embrace the Christian Religion, yet) is not able to make them very accurate in the Doctrine of the Christian Faith, in regard he himself seems to have inclined towards the opinion of the Arians. For, this was the Sentiment of many Persons concerning Eusebius Pamphilus; whom I have sufficiently answered, in the Preface I have written to the same Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

(b) The Word [μέγας, part] is wanting in the Kings, in the Florentine, and in the Tellerian M. SS. nor is it in Robert Stephens's Edition. The Geneva-Printers were the first that put in this Word, from Christophorson's Copy, the Various Readings whereof are extant at the end of the Cologn-Edition. Christophorson has expressed this Word in his Version. For thus he renders it: Ad aliquam partem Regni Theodosii, to some part of Theodosius's Reign. But it seems more elegant to me, to suppress, rather than add this Word. If a Word must be added, I had rather add χρόνος, time. Valef.

CHAP. I.

That, after the Destruction of the impious Julian, when the Heresies had been a little quieted, \* the Devil afterwards disturbed the Faith again.

When the impiety of Julian had now been drowned in the blood of the Martyrs, and Arius's madness bound in the Fetters made

at Nicæa; and when Eunomius and Macedonius, (a) driven away by the Holy Spirit [as it were] (a) ἐκβαλθέντων, Christophorson and Sir Henry Savil have mended it thus, ἐκβαλθέντων, compelled, or, rejected by force. But, that reading it much better, which the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. give us, to wit, ἐκβεβλήτων, driven away — as it were by an impetuous wind. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Shipwrack'd Persons who are driven away by the violence of a Storm. Evagrius compares the Holy Spirit to a wind, by the force whereof Eunomius and Macedonius being driven away, were at length Shipwrack'd at Constantinople, to wit, condemn'd in the Constantinopolitan Synod: Valef.

\* Or, the wicked Devil.



by an impetuous wind,] had been shipwreck'd about the Bosphorus, and at the sacred City Constantinople: when the Holy Church having laid aside her late filth, and recovering \* her pristine beauty and gracefulness, was clothed † in a vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours; and † See the made fit for her Lover and [Celestial] Bridegroom: the Devil, Virtue's enemy, unable to bear this, raises a new and || unusual kind of war against us; contemning the worship of || Or, mon Idols, which now lay trampled under foot, and strous. abandoning Arius's servile madness. He was indeed afraid of making an attack against [our] Faith, [openly] as an enemy, in regard it was fortified by so many and such eminent Holy Fathers; and [because] he had lost many of his Forces in the Siege thereof. But he attempts this business in such a method [rather] as thieves make use of, by inventing certain Questions and Answers, whereby he in a new manner \* perverted the erroneous to Judaism; the Wretch being insensible that he should be foil'd † even this way. For, that one (b) term, which before he had made the sharpest resistance against, he now admires and embraces: rejoicing mightily (tho' he could not wholly \* vanquish us, yet) that he was able to adulterate even but one word. Having therefore many times (c) wound up himself within his own malice, he (d) invented the change of one letter, which might indeed † lead to one and the same sense, but \* Or, notwithstanding would separate the draw. understanding from the tongue; left with both they should confess and glorify God in a concordant and agreeable manner. Further, in what manner each of these things was perform'd, and what conclusion they had, I will declare in their due places and times. Where the firmest to I will likewise add whatever else I could find worthy to be related, altho' it may seem foreign to my subject; [resolving] (e) to close my History where it shall seem good to the (c) Iau- compassionate and propitious Deity. αὐτομάτως;

a term used to denote the manner how a serpent moves; which is incomparably well express'd by Virgil, in these words,

— Sinuatque immensa volumine terga,  
And he winds up his vast Back in a Roll, or, Volume.

(d) Instead of [ἐνέχωντες] I had rather make it [ἐνέχοντες]; as it is in the Tellerian MS. Further, 'tis very intricate, what word Evagrius should mean here. The term *Homoiouios*, [that is, of like substance, or, essence] might indeed be meant. But, because in this word there is an addition (rather than a change) of one Letter, [to wit, of the Letter I;] therefore the *Præpositiones* [ἐξ, and ἐν,] that is, [of, and in] are rather to be meant: which *Præpositiones* raised great Stirrs and Commotions in the Church, on account of the Eutychian Heresie; some affirming that Christ was to be adored, [as subsisting] of two natures, others, [as subsisting] in two natures. Valef.

(e) This place wants not difficulty. *Musculus* renders it thus: *Ubi absolutum hanc historiam benigno Deo commendavero, Where I shall have commended this compleated History to the benign God.* But this rendition is not to be born with: Therefore *Christophorson* has translated it otherwise, to wit, after this manner: *Ibiq; finem scribendi faciam, ubi Deo clementi ac propitio visum fuerit, And there I will make an end of writing, where it shall seem good to the mild and propitious God.* But, neither does this translation fully satisfy me: For, first, *Evagrius* says not, ἀποτιθέμενος, in the future tense, but ἀποτιθέμενος, in the present tense. Secondly, I do not remember that I ever read this phrase [ἀποτιθέμενος τὴν ἱστορίαν] in such a sense as to import, to finish an History. ἀποτιθέμενος signifies properly recondere, to lay up: whence ἀποθήκη imports a repository, or, store-cellar for Wines. It signifies also to lay on the ground, or, depose in a monument. *Hesychius* in his *Lexicon* renders ἀποθήκη by ὁ κειμήλιος, he who lieth. The same *Hesychius* says ἀποτιθέμενος does signify ἐκτιθέμενος, to expose, or, set forth. Which signification is contrary to the former. For, to hide, and to set forth, or, promulge, are contrary the one to the other. I had rather therefore render this passage of *Evagrius* thus, *Historiam editurus, quando clementi placuerit Deo, [and] shall put forth my History, when it shall please the gracious God.* Notwithstanding, if any one shall

prefer *Christophorson's* Version, I will not much resist it. 'Tis certain, *Evagrius* (in the seventh Chapter of his first Book) uses these words, † βίον ἀπέθετο, so as to signifie, he ended his life. Nevertheless, in the thirteenth Chapter of this Book, *Evagrius* uses this word in this sense, viz. to relate, or, set forth. For thus he says, † ὡς λόγιος ἀπέθετο ἡ θεοδότητος, &c. Moreover, *Theodoret* also wrote, and elegantly set forth, [or, related,] &c. And in the 11th Chapter of this Book, ἀπετίθη is used in the same sense, instead of ἐκτίθη, he set forth. Also in the beginning of his second Book, *Evagrius* uses ἀποθήμεθα, instead of ἐκτιθέμεθα, we will set forth. Valef.

## CHAP. II.

How Nestorius was detected by his Disciple Anastasius, who in his Sermon, term'd the Holy Mother of God, not \* Theotocos, but † That is, the Woman who bore God. † Christotocos: for which reason [Nestorius] was pronounced an Heretick.

FOR as much as *Nestorius* (that tongue full of hostility against God, that second Sanhedrim of Caiphas; that shop of blasphemy, wherein Christ is again (a) bargain'd for, and sold; (a) Supposed his natures being divided and torn in sunder, of whom not one bone had been broken on the very Cross it self, according as it is written; nor had his woven-coat in any wise been rent by the murderers of God) has rejected and abandon'd the term *Theotocos*, ([a word] long since framed by many of the [most] approv'd Fathers by [the inspiration of] the Holy Spirit:) and, instead thereof, has coin'd and form'd [the term] *Christotocos*, an adulterate coin [as it were,] stamp'd by himself: and has refilled the Church with innumerable wars, making an inundation of civil blood therein: I shall not, I suppose, want matter agreeable and fit for the composition of an History, nor [shall I despair] of bringing it to a conclusion, if (by the co-operation of Christ, who is God above all) I shall begin from the blasphemy of the impious *Nestorius*. Now, the war of the Churches had its original from hence. [There was] one (b) *Anastasius* a Presbyter, (a person of a very un-sound opinion, an ardent lover of *Nestorius* and his Jewish sentiments) who had accompanied *Nestorius* in the journey he made in order to [his entering upon] the Bishoprick [of Constantinople.] In which journey (having had a conference with *Theodorus* at Mopsuestia, and heard his opinions,) *Anastasius* furnished up a shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again killed and sold. Neither of them have rendred it well: For, neither is this expression [to be called to judgment] agreeable to a shop; nor is there any such Greek word as οὐνοπώται. I wonder at Sir *Henry Savil*, who set this most ridiculous emendation of *Christophorson's*, at the margin of his Copy. It should have been rendred thus, That shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again bargain'd for, and sold at a price. For οὐνοπώται signifies properly, I make a bargain; and οὐνοπώται is a bargain, or, agreement; as it is in the old Glosses. Which term occurs frequently in the Books of the Greek Lawyers. Valef.

(b) This *Anastasius* was *Syncellus* to *Nestorius* Bishop of Constantinople. Which is attested by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, and by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. For the Patriarchs had their *Syncelli* (that is, those that kept in the same Cell with them, or those that dwell with them) whom they chose out of the Order of Presbyters. So, in the Epistle of the Constantinopolitan Synod to Hormisdas Bishop of Rome, about the Election of Epiphanius Patriarch of Constantinople: which Epistle Baronius records at the year of Christ 520. Amongst the Legates sent from the Synod, is named *Heracianus* Presbyter of the Greater Church, and Co-habitator, [that is, the person who dwelt with him] to Epiphanius the Patriarch. Epiphanius himself also had formerly been Presbyter and *Syncellus* to John, Patriarch of Constantinople, as *Dioscorus* attests in his Epistle to Pope Hormisdas. Lastly, John had also been Presbyter and *Syncellus* to Timothy, Patriarch of Constantinople; as *Victor Tunonensis* informs us in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Agapeto V. C. Cos. Timotheus C. P. Episcopus, Obtestator Synodi Chalcedonensis, quinto die Aprilis occubuit, & Johannes Cappadox in cella propria atque Presbytero Episcopatum tradidit; [on my peril, mend it thus, & Johanni Cappadoci Syncello proprio atque Presbytero*



presbytero Episcopatum tradidit; there is nothing more certain than this emendation: ] that is, in the Consulate of the most famous Agapetus Timothy Bishop of Constantinople, the Reviler of the Chalcedon Synod died on the first of April, and delivered the Bishoprick to John the Cappadocian, his own Syncellus and Presbyter. The Syncelli were chosen also out of the Order of Deacons. So, in the third Action of the Chalcedon Synod, one Agorastus a Deacon, is term'd Syncellus to Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria. Lastly, in Eunodius there is a Precept extant, whereby all Bishops are order'd to have their Cellulani, [that is, Chamber-fellows, or Persons that were to keep in the same Cell with them.] Which Precept runs thus: Nullum ergo sacerdotem antiquis & modernis legibus obsequentem, &c. Our Will is, that no Priest who is obedient to the ancient and modern Laws, and none of the Levites shall reside in any place without a Person well approved of. And if the slender-ness of any Person's Estate shall not permit him to have a Companion, he himself shall become Cell-fellow to another. The Patriarchs therefore were not the only Persons who had their Syncelli. 'Tis certain, Stephanus is recorded to have been Syncellus to Symeonicus Bishop of Tarsus, by Ephremius, in Photius. Valef. See Meursius's Glossary, in the word Συζευκτος.

(c) I have found no mention of this Theodulus any where else. For, whereas Nicephorus names him at Book 14. ch. 32. that mention of him is borrowed from our Evagrius. Notwithstanding, this person seems to have been that Theodulus a Presbyter in Ce-le-Syria, who in the reign of Zeno Augustus wrote many things; as 'tis attested by Gennadius Massiliensis, and by Marcellinus Comes, in his Chronicon. Valef.

was perverted from piety, as (c) Theodulus has related, treating hereof in one of his Epistles. [This Anastasius,] in a Sermon he preach'd to the people that lov'd Christ, in the Church of Constantinople, was so audacious as openly and plainly to speak [these words;] Let no person term Mary Theoticos; for Mary was a woman: but, 'tis impossible for God to be born of a woman. The people that loved Christ being highly offended at the hearing hereof, and [supposing,] not without reason, that this expression open'd a way to blasphemy; Nestorius, the Author of this blasphemy, did not only not curb [Anastasius,] nor undertake the patronage of such Sentiments as were orthodox and true: but also, openly and manifestly added strength to what Anastasius had said, and pertinaciously maintain'd disputes about these [points.] And sometimes he would insert and intermix his own opinions; and by belching forth the poyson of his own mind, attempted to teach such [doctrines] as were far more blasphemous. In so much that, to his own destruction, he utter'd these words, I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old; as 'tis plainly related by Socrates in his account hereof, and [in the Acts] of the former Ephesine Synod.

## C H A P. III.

What Cyrillus the Great wrote to Nestorius, and how the third Synod at Ephesus was convened, to which Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch and Theodoret came late.

WHICH [assertions] when Cyrillus Bishop of Alexandria, [a Prelate] of famous memory, had reprov'd by his own Letters; and Nestorius had defended them in his answers thereto; (a) nor could be prevail'd upon, either by those [Letters] written [to him] by Cyrillus, or them [sent him] by Celestinus Bishop of the Senior Rome; but fearlessly vomited forth his own poyson against the whole Church:

(1) We have per-fected this place from the incomparable Florentine MS. by adding some words, which had been unhappily omitted by Transcribers. For, whereas in Robert Stephens's Edition, this clause is worded thus; καὶ ἐδὲ τοῖς Κυρίλλῳ, ἐδὲ τοῖς Καλεστίνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόποις ἐπέθετο: we have alter'd it after this manner: καὶ ἐδὲ τοῖς Κυρίλλῳ, ἐδὲ τοῖς Καλεστίνῳ τῶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόπῳ γεγραμένῳ ἐπέθετο; nor could be prevail'd upon, either by those [Letters] written [to him] by Cyrillus, or them [sent him] by Celestinus Bishop of the Senior Rome. Which I therefore thought good to give an Advertisement of, that the Readers might know, that we have neither added nor diminished any thing, except by the authority of that most incomparable Manuscript. Besides, the Tel-lerian Manuscript agrees with the Florentine Copy. Valef.

[Cyrillus,] (for which he had just cause,) made his request to Theodosius Junior, who at that time sway'd the Scepter of the Eastern Empire, that by his order the first Synod at Ephesus might be convened. The (b) Imperial Letters [therefore] were dispatch'd away, both to Cyrillus, and also to the [Bishops that] presid'd over the Holy Churches in all places. [Theodosius] appointed the day of the Synod's Convention to be on the \*day of the Holy Pentecost; whereon the life-giving Spirit [of God] descended (c) upon us. Nestorius, in regard Ephesus is not far distant from Constantinople, came thither first. Also Cyrillus and the [Bishops] about him arriv'd before the day appointed. But Johannes Bishop of Antioch, together with the [Bishops] about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly, ((d) as it seems to many persons, from the Apology he made [in excuse for his not coming at the time appointed;]) but because he could not gather together the Bishops of his Province sooner. For the Cities [belonging to] the Bishops [under him,] are twelve days journey distant from that City (heretofore called Antioch, but now) term'd Theopolis, to a man that is an expedite and nimble Traveller; but, to others [who are not so good at travelling] they are more [than twelve days journey distant.] And Ephesus is at least thirty days journey distant from Antioch. Wherefore [Johannes] affirmed, that he could in no wise meet at the appointed day, [if he should set out] when the Bishops, whom he had about him, had celebrated that termed the (e) New Sunday within their own Sees.

(b) There is extant an Epistle of Theodosius Junior's, which they commonly call Sacra. For so Theodosius himself terms it, in his Epistle to the Ephesine Synod. In the Latine Version of this Epistle the title is worded thus: Sacra Imperatoria, missa Alexandriam ad Cyrillum Episcopum & Episcopos Metropolitano ejus Regionis. But the Greek words have a different import; they run thus:

Θεὸν γεγράμμενα ἀποσταλὲν ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κυρίλλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς καὶ ἡρώων καὶ μητροπόλεων ἐπισκόποις; that is, the Sacred Letters sent to Alexandria to Cyrillus, and to the Metropolitane Bishops every where: for καὶ ἡρώων has the same import with καὶ ἐκαστὴν ἡρώων, in every Region. And this is confirm'd by Theodosius himself in the same Epistle, where he says, that by the same Copy he wrote πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχῇ καὶ μητροπόλεων ἐπισκόπους, to the Bishops of Metropolis's every where. But instead hereof, our Evagrius words it thus: γραμμάτων Βασιλικῶν, &c. The Imperial Letters [therefore] were dispatch'd away, both to Cyrillus, and also to the [Bishops that] presid'd over the Holy Churches in all places. Valef.

(c) The term [ὑμῖν, upon us] displeased Nicephorus. Therefore instead thereof he substituted these words [τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀποστόλοις, on the holy Apostles.] But, this emendation was needless: for the term [ὑμῖν, upon us] is at this place put for the Church of God, which at that time resid'd in the Apostles. Indeed, the Holy Spirit had descended on Mary before, at such time as she conceived the Son of God: and afterwards upon Christ, when he had been baptized in Jordan. Which hap-ned to them by a special privilege. But the Holy Spirit descended first on the day of Pentecost upon the Church of God by the Apostles; for the Apostles deliver'd the same Spirit (which they then receiv'd,) afterwards to their Successors, by imposition of Hands. Valef.

(d) Ὡς πολλοὶ ἀπολογημένοι δοκεῖ. Nicephorus, instead of the word [δοκεῖ, as it seems] uses [ἐλέγξ, be said.] But Christophorus read thus; ὡς πολλοὶ ἀπολογημένοι δοκεῖ. For he renders this place after this manner: Johannes Praeful Antiochia, &c. John Bishop of Antioch, together with his [Bishops,] was absent at the day appointed; not willingly indeed, as it seems to many persons, who have a mind to defend this fact of his. Notwithstanding, I cannot approve of this emendation; altho' Sir Henry Savil hath set it at the margin of his Copy. Musculus renders this place thus: Verum praeter animi sui sententiam, sicut & multis moram illam excusans, ostendit. But contrary to his own mind, as he has also demonstrated to many persons, in his excusing that delay. But I am of opinion, that no alteration is to be made here, and do render the place thus: But Johannes Bishop of Antioch, together with the [Bishops] about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly, as it seems to many persons from the Apology he made, &c. doubtless, there can no other sense of these words. Valef.

(e) The Greeks heretofore termed the first Sunday after Easter καὶνὴν κυριακὴν, the New Sunday. So Gregorius Nazianzenus calls it in his nineteenth Oration, which he spake at the Funeral of his own Father Gregorius. There is extant an Oration of the same Gregorius's (to wit, his 43 Oration) upon this New Sunday: in which Oration he gives a reason, why this day should be called New Sunday. Further, the Synod in Trullo Can. 66, terms this Sunday (which we now commonly call Dominicam in Albis, the Sunday in the Albs,) καὶνὴν κυριακὴν, New Sunday. Valef. Mr. Smith (in his Account of the Greek Church,



Church, pag. 32. Edit. Lond. 1680.) tells us, that the Greeks do still term this Sunday, *ἡμέρη ὁ νέαν*, the New Sunday: and that 'tis also called *καὶ ἀνανέωσιμος*. Meursius says it should be *καὶ ἀνανέωσιμος*, that is, regenerating, or, renewing Sunday. See Meursius's Glossary, in the word *ἀνανέωσιμος*.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Nestorius was deposed by the Synod, before the arrival of [the Bishop of] Antioch.*

When therefore fifteen days were past beyond the day prefixt, the Bishops who had been called together for that reason (supposing that the Eastern [Bishops] would not come at all, or if they did, that much time would be spent before they could be got together) [meet together in one place] (a) the divine

(a) Here, *ther* [meet together in one place] (a) the divine and in *Ro-* *Cyrillus* administering, and the place of *Cælestinus*, *bert Ste-* who (as it has been said) governed the Bi-  
*phens's* shoprick of the *Elder Rome*: they summon in  
*Edit.* this *Nestorius* therefore, entreating him that he would  
passage is *Nestorius* therefore, entreating him that he would  
worded give in his answer to [the accusations] brought  
thus: *Κυ-* against him: Who on the day before promised  
*εἰλας* *τῷ*

*θεωρεῖν διέποντος, καὶ τὸν καλεῖν τὸν τῷ ἐπισκοπῇ, ὡς ἐ-*  
*ρηται, τῆς πρεσβυτέρου ῥώμης πρεσβυτέρου;* The Divine *Cyrillus*  
administering, &c. In which clause (as the Learned Doctor *Barrow*  
remarks, in his *Treat. of the Pope's Suprem.* pag. 289;) a word seemeth  
to have fallen out. *Zonaras* (on the 1 *Can. Synod. Ephes.* Tom. 1.  
*Edit. Bever.* pag. 100.) expresses this passage more plainly, in these  
words: *Προσέειπε ὁ ὁρθόδοξος πατέρας τῶν ἐν ἁγίοις κυρίων*  
*πάπα ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπὶ χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον καλεῖν, The Holy*  
*Cyril Pope of Alexandria presiding over the Orthodox Fathers, and also*  
*holding the place of Celestine.* And *Photius* thus: *τῶ ῥώμης καλεῖν*  
*ἐπὶ τῷ καθέδρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, [Cyril] supplied the seat and*  
*the person of Celestine [Bishop] of Rome.* From which Authors  
'tis plain, that *Cyrillus* had the disposal of *Celestine's* single suffrage,  
and that Pope's legal concurrence with him in his *Adings* in that  
Synod: But *Cyrillus* had no *Authoritative Precedency* from *Celestine*,  
because the Pope could by no delegation impart that, himself having  
no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by any Precedent; that  
depended on the will of the Emperors, who disposed of it according  
as they saw reason. A notable instance whereof we meet with in the  
next *Ephesine Synod* (which in design was a *General Synod*, legally  
convened, though by some miscarriages it proved abortive;) men-  
tioned by our *Evagrius* in the 10th Chapter of this Book: where, tho'  
*Julius*, (or rather *Julianus*) Pope *Leo's* Legate was present; yet  
by the Emperor's Order (see the words of his Letter, *Syn. Chalced.*  
*Act. 1.* p. 59.) *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* presided. *Nicepho-*  
*rus* (Book 14. Chap. 34.) tells us, That in regard *Celestine* Bishop  
of *Rome* could not be present at this Synod, by reason of the dangers  
of such a voyage, he made *Cyrillus* his Deputy: and that from this  
time *Cyrillus* and the succeeding Bishops of *Alexandria* challenged the  
name of Pope, &c. Doubtless *Nicephorus* is mistaken herein. For,  
*Dionysius Alexanrinus* (in his third Epist. to *Philemon*, part of which  
is quoted by *Eusebius*, *Eccles. Hist.* Book 7. c. 7.) mentioning *Herac-*  
*las*, his Predecessor in the *Alexandrian See*, says these words con-  
cerning him: *τὸν ἐγὼ τὸν καίονα καὶ τὸν τύπον παρὰ τῷ μακαρίῳ*  
*πάπα ἡμῶν ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον, I received this Rule and Canon from*  
*Heracles our Blessed Pope.* And *Athanasius* (in his second *Apologetic*,  
Tom. 1. pag. 786, *Edit. Paris, 1627.*) has recorded an Epistle writ-  
ten to him from *Ischyra*, which has this title, *Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ*  
*πάπα, To Athanasius the Blessed Pope.* Therefore these words of  
*Nicephorus's* are (as *Valesius* says truly in his Note here) inepta & fal-  
sissima, foolish and most untrue. And, that other remark of *Valesius's*  
here, which he makes from the former part of the now cited passage  
in *Nicephorus* (to wit, that as well *Nicephorus*, as those from whom  
he borrowed this, doubted not but the Bishop of *Rome* was the Sovereign  
Judge of all the Churches;) is questionless no less foolish and false.  
'Tis indeed true, that the Bishops of *Rome* have some Centuries since  
claim'd an Authority not only of presiding in, but also of indicting  
and convening General Councils. But, how unjust this Claim is,  
as well in respect of Right, as Practice, will be evident to him, who  
with attention and consideration shall peruse these *Ecclesiastick Histo-*  
*rians*. Look back to what *Socrates* says in the Proeme to his fifth  
Book: *συνεχῶς καὶ τῶ βασιλεῖς (says he) τῇ ἰστέῃ θεωμαλῶνται, &c.*  
*We do continually include the Emperors in this our History, because*  
*from such time as they began to embrace the Christian Religion, the af-*  
*fairs of the Church have depended on them; and the greatest Synods have*  
*been, and at this present are convened by their determination and appoint-*  
*ment.* But, for a most full and compleat satisfaction in these points,  
viz. concerning the Bishop of *Rome's* Sovereign Power to indict and pre-  
side in General Councils: I refer the Reader to the Learned Dr. *Bar-*  
*row's* *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, pag. 274, &c.

to come, if there should be an occasion for it; but [afterwards] neglected to fulfil his promise; and having been thrice call'd, after that he appear'd not; [whereupon] the Bishops convened undertook the examination [of the matter.] And when *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus* had reckon'd up the days which had passed after the set day, (they were in number sixteen days;) and when the Letters of the divine *Cyrillus*, which had been written by him to *Nestorius*, and also *Nestorius's* [Letters] to *Cyrillus* had been read; moreover, when that sacred Letter of the famous *Cælestinus*, which he sent to the same *Nestorius*, had been annexed: Further, when *Theodotus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, and *Acacius* who presided over the \* See of *Melitina*, \* Or, Chair, had declared those blasphemous Expressions, which *Nestorius* had manifestly and openly belch'd forth at *Ephesus*: [lastly,] when many sayings of the holy and most approved Fathers, who have expounded the right and sincere Faith, had been joyn'd together; and also, when the various Blasphemies foolishly and madly utter'd by the impious *Nestorius*, had been reduced into an Order: [I say, after all these things had been done] the Holy Synod pronounced sentence [against *Nestorius*] in these express words: Moreover, in regard the most Reverend *Nestorius* would neither obey our Summons, nor admit the most Holy and most Religious Bishops sent by Us, We have been forced to proceed to an examination of his impious expressions. And having found, both from his Letters and Writings which have been recited, and also from his own words which he hath lately spoken in this Metropolis, [which expressions of his] have been confirm'd [by the testimony of many persons,] that his Sentiments and Doctrines are impious; being necessarily induced thereto, both by the [authority of the] Canons, and also by the Letter of our most Holy Father and Fellow-Minister *Cælestinus* Bishop of the Roman Church, after many tears we have proceeded to [the pronounciation of] this sad sentence. Therefore, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, hath determined by this present Holy Synod, that the same *Nestorius* is \* divested of the Episco- \* Or, re-  
pal Dignity, and [excluded from] all manner of Sa- moved, or,  
cerdotal Convention. estranged  
from.

#### CHAP. V.

*That Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch, coming [to Ephesus] after five days, deposes Cyrillus [Bishop] of Alexandria, and Memnon [Bishop] of Ephesus; whom the Synod pronounced innocent soon after, and deposed Johannes and his Party. And how, by [the interposition of] the Emperor Theodosius, Cyrillus and Johannes were reconciled, and confirm'd Nestorius's Deposition.*

After this most legal and just Sentence, *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch* comes to *Ephesus*, together with the Prelates about him, arriving [there] five days after [*Nestorius's*] Deposition. And having convened \* those [Bi- \* Or, those  
shops] of his Party, deposes *Cyrillus* and *Mem-* [Prelates]  
*non*. But when *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* had pre- about him  
sented Libels to that Synod which had been con- + See So-  
vened with them, (although † *Socrates*, through crates  
ignorance, has related [this matter] otherwise,) Book 7.  
*Johannes* is summoned to give an account of that c. 34. and  
Depo- also note  
Chapter. (b) in that



Deposition which he had made. Who not appearing after he had been thrice call'd, *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* are absolv'd from their Deposition: but *Johannes* and the [Bishops] of his party are separated from holy Communion, and from all sacerdotal Authority. [Further] *Theodosius* at first approv'd not of *Nestorius's* Deposition; but having afterwards been inform'd of his Blasphemy, when he had written very pious Letters to the Bishops, *Cyrillus* and *Johannes*, they come to a mutual Agreement, and confirm'd *Nestorius's* Deposition.

## CHAP VI.

Concerning *Paulus* [Bishop] of *Emisa's* journey to *Alexandria*, and *Cyrillus's* commendation [of *Johannes*] on account of [his] Letter.

WHEN *Paulus* Bishop of *Emisa* was arrived at *Alexandria*, and had made a discourse, which is still extant, in the Church concerning this matter. At which time also *Cyrillus*, having highly commended *Johannes's* Letter, wrote word for word thus: † Let the Heavens rejoice, and the Earth be glad. For the partition-wall is demolished, that which caused grief and sadness is ceased, and the occasion of all manner of dissention is taken away; in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, has \* restored peace to his own Churches; and the most Religious Emperors, and most dear to God, have invited us thereto. Who having been the most incomparable Emulators of their Ancestors piety, do preserve the true Faith firm and unshaken in their own Minds: and they take an exquisite care of the Holy Churches, to the end they may obtain both a far-spread and immortal Glory, and also render their Empire most highly renowned. To whom even the Lord of Hosts himself distributes good things with a \* plentiful hand, gives them [power] to vanquish their Adversaries, and freely bestows Victory [on them.] (a) For he cannot lie who has said, As I live, faith the Lord, I will glorify them who glorify me. When therefore my Lord and most Religious Brother and Fellow-Minister *Paulus* was come to *Alexandria*, we were filled with joy, and that most deservedly, in regard so great a Person [was come to be] an Intercessor, and was willing (b) to undergo Labours above [humane] strength: That he might vanquish the Envy of the Devil, unite Divisions, and by like Acts removing Offences on both sides, crown both Our and Your Churches with Concord and Peace. And

nod, where this Epistle is recorded. (See *Binius*, as before, p. 595.) it is [διαβεύοντα, will not lie.] But the reading of the *Florent. MS.* is confirm'd by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian MS.* Valef. In *Robert Stephens*, the reading here is, διαβεύσατο, hath not lied.

(b) Τοῖς ἰσχυροῦσι δυνάμει πόνους προσομιλεῖν. *Christophorson* has rendered this place very ill, thus, Et graviore quam vires ferebant, susceperit in concionando labores; And in Preaching has undertaken far greater pains than his strength would bear. *Musculus* translates it thus: Et laboribus vires excedentibus collocationem suscepisset, And with labours exceeding his strength had undertaken a conference. Neither of them has rendered it well. Προσομιλεῖν πόνους, imports, to endure or undergo labours. So, δυνάμει ὑπέρβου, signifies, to bear the vicissitudes of fortune. *Plutarch* (in *Marius*), speaking concerning *Fugurtha*, says these words, ὅτι τὸ ἦν ποικίλος ἀνὴρ ὑπέρβου, that is, so various was that Person as to his Disposition, [which was fitted] to bear the changes of fortune. Moreover, these words [ὑπέρβου, above strength] may be understood two ways: For we may either understand ἀνθρώπου, humane, (which we have done;) or else ἰδίου, his own. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have embraced the latter sense; as did he also, who rendered the Acts of the *Ephesine Council* into Latin. Valef.

after the interposition of some words, [he adds:] Moreover, that this dissention of the Church was altogether frivolous and (c) inexcusable, we have been now fully satisfied, since my Lord the most Religious Bishop *Paulus* has brought a Paper which contains an irreprehensible Confession of Faith; and has affirmed, that it was written by Your Sanctity, and by the most Religious Bishops there. Now, the Confession runs thus, and 'tis inserted in the very same words into this our Epistle. But concerning *Theotocos*, and so forth. When We had read these (d) Your sacred words, and perceived, that We Our Selves embraced the same Sentiments; (For, there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism;) We glorified God the Saviour of all Men, rejoicing mutually, because as well Your, as Our Churches, do profess a Faith which is agreeable, both to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and also to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers. These things may be known by him who is desirous of having an accurate account of those affairs transacted at that time.

instead of [ἡμῶν, our] it is [ὑμῶν, your;] which doubtless is the truer reading, Valef.

## CHAP VII.

What the impious *Nestorius* writes concerning his own sufferings; and how his Tongue having at last been eaten out with worms, he ended his life at *Oasis*.

BUT after what manner *Nestorius* was banish'd, or what befel him after that, or in what manner he departed out of this life, and what rewards he receiv'd on account of his Blasphemy; [these particulars] have not been related by the Writers of History. All which had been forgotten, and had been wholly lost and swallowed by [length of] time, nor had been so much as heard of; had not I accidentally met with a Book of *Nestorius's*, which contains a Narrative of these things. This Father of blasphemy therefore, *Nestorius*, (who has not raised his building on that foundation which was laid, but hath built [his house] on the sand, and [therefore] it has soon fallen down, according to our Lord's parable;) making an Apology (which was his desire,) in defence of his own blasphemy, (a) against those who had accused him, (because he had introduced some innovation contrary to what was fitting, and had not rightly requested that a Synod should be convened at *Ephesus*;) amongst other things writes [to this effect:] that he, wholly compelled thereto by necessity, had betaken himself \* to [the defence of] this part, in regard the Holy Church was divided, some affirming that *Mary* was to be term'd † *Anthropotocos*, others, † *Theotocos*. That therefore (as he says) he might not offend in one of these two, [viz.] (b) lest he should either joyn things mortal with those that are immortal, or else lest (by betaking himself to the other side) he might be deprived of that other party [who defended the term *Theotocos*:] he invented the word *Christotocos*.

(a) Πεὶς τὰς ἐγκαλέσοντας. In the incomparable *Florentine MS.* I found it written [ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγκαλέσοντας οἱ, against those who had accused him;] which is doubtless the truer reading: οἱ has the same import with αὐτοῖς, him. Valef.

(b) \* Ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα. † That is, [the Virgin] who bore man. (b) The meaning of this place is very obscure; it is in my judgment, thus to be explained: After that Sermon of *Anastasia* the Presbyter, who was *Nestorius's* Synellus, (See Chap. 2. Note b.) there arose a great dissention in the *Constantinopolitan Church*:



Church: in regard some affirm'd, that *Mary* was to be termed *Theotocos*; others *Anthropotocos*. And when the Sedition increased daily, *Nestorius*, desirous to appease it, invented a certain middle term, viz. that *Mary* should in future be termed *Christotocos*, the Virgin who bore *Christ*: lest, if he should term her *Theotocos*, he might seem to joyn things mortal with those that are immortal: (which thing he [that is, *Nestorius*] look'd upon to be impious:) or lest, if he had embraced the term *Anthropotocos*, the other party (to wit, those who defended the term *Theotocos*,) should have revolted from him, and held their Assemblies apart. This is the meaning of this place; which neither *Musculus* nor *Christophorson* understood. Therefore, instead of [ἡ ἀθανάτη συμπλεκουμένη,] it must be [ἡ τὰ θνητὰ καὶ ἀθάνατα συμπλέκων.] In the Tellerian MS. I found this reading, ἡ ἀθανάτη συμπλεκουμένη. Valef.

He intimates further, that at first the Emperor *Theodosius*, out of that affection he bore towards him, confirm'd not the [sentence of] \* deposition pronounc'd against him: but afterwards, that

\* Or, c-  
jection.

(c) \* Εἶθ' ὅτε κατέθεν; that is, of both parties, as well Catholics, as Nestorians. *Musculus* has render'd it ill, thus, *ultra citroque*, to and fro. Valef.

(d) Instead of [αὐτὸς τε αὐτῷ διαθέντες,] the reading in the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. is [αὐτὸς τε αὐτῷ διαθέντος, and when he also himself requested it.] Valef.

\* That is, Antioch. See chap. 3.

(e) From the Florent. and Tellerian MS. I have mended this place thus: νῦν τὸ εὐπρεπίου μοναστηρίου, it is now termed *Euprepus's* [Monastery:] the reading before was very foolish, thus, νῦν ἵστα. Valef.

(f) To wit, in the aforesaid Monastery, which was called *Euprepus's* Monastery. Valef.

(g) I like neither *Christophorson's* nor *Musculus's* translation of this place. The latter of whom renders it thus: *Scriptit autem & alium librum more dialectico, velut ad Egyptium quendam de exilio suo compositum.* But he wrote another Book also in a Logical manner, to a certain Egyptian as it were, composed concerning his own Exile. And *Christophorson* translates it thus: *Scriptit præterea Nestorius alium Libellum acutè & subtiliter, &c.* Moreover, *Nestorius* wrote another little Book, acutely and subtilly, &c. What need was there of acuteness and Logical subtilty in a little Book, wherein *Nestorius* treated concerning his own banishment into *Oasis*? Therefore I judge it better to render these Words, [διαλεκτικῶς συγκαίωρον] thus [composed in the manner of a Dialogue.] And thus *Nicephorus* expounded these Words of *Evagrius*. For instead thereof, he makes use of the Word *διαλογικώτερον*, more by way of Dialogue. Which term *Langus* renders, *disertius*, more eloquently: As if *Nicephorus* had said, λογικώτερον. Valef.

\* Or, brought forth.

what punishments he underwent on account of the Blasphemies \* coyn'd by him (not being able to lie conceal'd from [God's] all-seeing Eye,) may be known from other Letters, sent by him to the Governour of *Thebais*. For, in those [Letters] you may find, after what manner (in regard he had not yet undergone

condign (b) punishment,) the judgment of God (b) In *Nicephorus*, seized him, and involv'd him in (i) captivity, a calamity of all [afflictions] the most miserable. But, in as much as he was to endure greater punishments, he was let go by the *Blemmyæ*, amongst whom he had been

a Captive. And removing from place to place about the utmost borders of *Thebais*, by the Edicts of *Theodosius*, who had determin'd that he should return; and being dash'd against the earth, he ended his days agreeable to his own forepast life: [like] a second *Arius*, declaring and \* foreshewing by his calamitous death what rewards are appointed for [those who utter] blasphemy against *Christ*. For both those † Persons blasphemed *Christ* in a like manner; *Arius*, by terming

him a Creature; and *Nestorius*, by thinking him to be a Man. To \* whom (because he complains, that the *Acts* at *Ephesus* were not rightly compos'd [and made up,] but were framed by fraud and an illegal artifice of *Cyrillus's*;) I would willingly say [thus much:] Why (since *Theodosius* was his favourer,) was he banish'd, and, without obtaining the least commiseration, condemn'd to so many Exiles, and concluded his life after such a manner as this? Or why (if the sentence [pronounced] against him by *Cyrillus*, and the other Prelates about him, were not divine,) both of them being now numbred amongst those departed [and dead], (at which time, as it has been said by one of the Heathen Sages, (k) that which appears not any more in sight [or, that which survives not any longer] is honoured with a Benevolence that hath no enemy;) has he himself been condemn'd as a Blasphemer and an Enemy of God; but *Cyrillus* is praised and extolled [by all Persons,] as having been a loud [and eminent] Preacher, and a great Defender of Orthodox Sentiments? but lest we should be accused for writing what is false, come on, let us bring forth *Nestorius* himself into the midst, giving a relation concerning these very things.

have fallen into various Errors. For *Langus* renders it thus: *Et ambo vos jam ex vitâ hac excessistis, &c.* And both of you have now made your departure out of this life: at which time, as one of the Heathen Sages has said, nothing hinders, but that every Person may be honoured by a free benevolence of Men, no Adversary intervening. And *Christophorson* has translated it after this manner: *Quando, ut sapienti inter Gentiles scriptori placet, &c.* At which time, as it pleases a prudent Writer amongst the Heathens, every one is usually honoured with a firm and concordant benevolence of all Men, provided there be nothing which may lawfully be an impediment. But, the term *ἐμποδῶν* does not always signify an Impediment, or Hindrance. For, the Ancients, as well Rhetoricians as Philosophers, used *ἐμποδῶν* in such a Sense as to signify the same with *πρόσθ' ὅπως* to be in sight, or, appear openly; as *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Author of the *Ethymologicon* do inform us. But, the latter Writers, and especially *Hierocles* the Philosopher, have used that Word to signify an Impediment or Hindrance. Therefore *Musculus* has rendred this Passage in *Evagrius* best of all, thus: *Quando sicut quidam exterorum Philosophorum dixit, quod non est amplius superstes, sine ullius invidia & contradictione cum benevolentia honoratur; When, as one of the foreign Philosophers has said, that which survives not any longer, is honoured with benevolence, without the Envy and Contradiction of any one.* Further, in the Margin of the Tellerian Manuscript, there is set at this place, *καὶ οὐδὲν*, that is, this sentence is taken out of *Thucydides*. 'Tis extant in *Thucydides's* second Book, pag. 128. Edit. Francofurt. 1594; in the Funeral Oration which *Pericles* made. Valef.

ture; the reading is truer, thus, ἐπεξελεύσεως, punishment. And so I found it written in the Tellerian MS. Valef.

(i) I have mended this place from the incomparable Florentine Manuscript; wherein the reading is thus [αἰχμαλωσία τῇ πάντων ἐλευνοτάτῃ συμφορᾷ, Captivity; a calamity of all [afflictions] the most miserable; than, which commendation, there is nothing more certain. The reading in *Nicephorus* is the same also. Valef. In *Robert Stephens's* Edition, 'tis thus worded: αἰχμαλώσσα τῇ πάντων ἐλευνοτάτῃ συμφορᾷ. Valef.

\* Or, ratifying, or, confirming. † That is, *Arius* and *Nestorius*.

\* That is, to *Nestorius*.

(k) Translators, in regard they had persuaded themselves, that the word *ἐμποδῶν* does always signify an hindrance;



Recite to me therefore [ONestorius!] some passages in the express words of your own Letter, which you wrote to the Governour of Thebais. Because of some [Controversies] lately agitated at Ephesus concerning the most Holy Religion; by an Imperial Order we inhabit Oäsïs otherwise [called] Ibis. And after the interposition of some Words, he adds: But after the aforesaid

[Oäsïs] was totally destroyed by (1) a Barbarick Captivity, and by fire, and sword; and we were dismissed by the Barbarians, who on a suddain, how I know not, \* were moved with a compassion towards us, and after they had terrified us with menacing Declarations, that

we should immediately go out of that Country, in regard the Mazices would suddenly take possession of it after them; we are come to Thebais together with the remainder of the Captives, whom the Barbarians (out of commiseration) brought to us, for what intent I know not. Moreover, they have been every one permitted to go whither they desired: but we by coming publicly

\* Or, do to Panopolis, \* do exhibit our selves. For we were afraid, lest any one, † by taking an occasion from our Captivity, should either frame an accusation of flight against us, or else [form] a forged invention of some other fault. For malice is productive of all manner of calumnies. Wherefore, We beseech Your \* Magnificence, to take care (according to that provision the Laws have made,) of our Captivity, and not to deliver a

Captive, who is subject to mischief, to the evil Arts of Men; lest all Generations should from hence forth cry out, That 'tis better to be the Barbarians Captive, than to fly for refuge to the Roman Empire. Then, having added an Oath, he made his request [to the Governour] thus: [That You would please] to give the Emperor an account of our Remove from Oäsïs \* hither, which hapned from our being dismissed by the Barbarians: that so, whatever determination shall be well pleasing to God, may now at length be made concerning us. [Also, out of] the same Nestorius's second Letter to the said Governor: Whether You will account this present Letter from Us to Your Magnificence, as [written] from a Friend, or as an admonition from a Father to a Son, hear, I beseech you, with patience the Narration [contained] therein concerning many [Matters,] written from us, wherein We have been as brief as possibly could be. Oäsïs otherwise [termed] Ibis, having been

(m) In that Letter of Nestorius's mentioned before, the people who ruined Oäsïs are termed Blemmyæ. Wherefore, Nomades ought here to be taken for an Adjective. Notwithstanding, it may be the proper name of a Nation of Barbarians. 'Tis certain, the Nubæ, neighbours to the Blemmyæ, (who made frequent incursions into the Country of Oäsïs, as Procopius informs us, in Book i. Persic.) were termed Nomades also, or Numides; which is attested by Stephanus. — But some one will object, if Nestorius speaks here concerning one and the same Captivity of Oäsïs, how can that stand, which he says in the beginning of this Epistle, in these words: 'Οδύσσεια τις ἰστέως ἐκ πολλῶν πρῶν ἀφαιρέσεων. For, the incursion of the Blemmyæ into Oäsïs (in which Nestorius had been taken Captive by the Barbarians, and was presently dismissed,) had hapned but a little while before, as he himself attests. But, the incursion of the Nomades had hapned long before; as 'tis apparent from Nestorius's words in this last Epistle, which were just now cited. To all this I answer, that these words ἐκ πολλῶν πρῶν, do not signify long since, as Langus, Musculus and Christopherson thought. For, the Adverb πρῶν, signifies lately, as every body knows. Doubtless, this incursion had hapned a little be-

fore Nestorius wrote these things. Therefore, ἐκ πολλῶν ought to be referred to the word ἀφαιρέσεων. So that, 'tis the same as if he should have said, Oäsïs having been several ways ruin'd of late: to wit, by fire, slaughters, and a Barbarick Captivity; as Nestorius has said above. Valef.

And after some words. These things having happened thus, (by what impulse, or on what occasion Your Magnificence was moved thereto, I know not;) we have been sent by Barbarian Soldiers from Panopolis, to Elephantina, [a Town] situate in the Borders of the Province Thebais; towards which we have been dragg'd by the forementioned military assistance. And when we had been tired by our travelling more than half that Journey, we again met with an Order of your Magnanimity by word of mouth, [whereby we were commanded] to return to Panopolis. Having therefore been wearied with the Miseries (n) of this so long a Journey, our Body being infirm and aged, and our Hand and Side tired, we came again to Panopolis; in a manner breathing forth our Soul. And whilst we were as yet cruciated with the Calamities and Mischiefs of [our] Pains, another Order written by Your Magnanimity \* came \* Or, in great hast, whereby we were convey'd again from Panopolis to a place adjoining thereto.

(o) When we supposed, that we should stop here, and were in expectation of the most Victorious Emperours determination concerning us; on a sudden another [Decree] was again drawn up against us, without any Commiseration, in order to another, [to wit,] a fourth Banishment. And after some few Words, [he continues.] But, I beseech you, let what has been done be sufficient, and [may it be enough] (p) to have Decreed so many Banishments against one Body: And, (q) after the Relations [which

have been sent to their Imperial Majesties] by Your Magnificence, permit, I humbly beseech you, that an accurate account [of our condition] may be made known to our most Victorious Emperours, even by us also, by whom that ought [to be done.] These are our Advices, as to a Son from a Father. great error. Instead of [ἀναγέειν] it must undoubtedly be [ἀνευθχέειν] Presidents of Provinces were heretofore wont to give the Emperor an Account of all things which hapned with them. The doing whereof was termed ἀναγέειν, and the Relation itself ἀναφορὰ, as I have noted on Amm. Marcellinus. Concerning these Relations of Presidents, Severianus speaks, in his first Oration in Hexæmerton; the passage whereof I will annex here, because the Translator understood it not: ὧσπερ καὶ ἀδελφοί, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναφορῶν ἀρχόντες πρὸ βασιλέων πάντα μινύουσιν. ἔγωγε οὐκ ἀγγέλοι πρὸ θεῶν, &c. For, Brethren, as the Presidents by [sending] Relations, make known all things [that are transacted with them] to the Emperor: so also the Angels, &c. The Translator renders it, the Masters of the Libels and Suggestions; which rendition is ill. For ἀρχόντες in Chrysostome and the other writers of that age, are nothing else but Presidents or Governours of Provinces. And ἀναφορὰ imports nothing else but Relation or Narrative. Wherefore, in Severianus, it must be written thus; ὧσπερ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναφορῶν οἱ ἀρχόντες, &c. Valef.

But if you be angry now, as you have been heretofore, do what you think good; since \* no reason is powerful enough to sway your mind. After this manner [Nestorius] in his Letters strikes and leaps, with his Fists and Feet, your mind, and

(1) Instead of [ἐκ βαρβαρικῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας] the reading as it seems, should be [ἐκ βαρβαρικῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας], by a Barbarick Captivity. In the Florentine and Tellerian M. SS. and in Nicephorus, 'tis ἀιχμαλωσία, by Captivity. Valef.

\* Or, recovered a Compassion, &c.

\* Or, do to Panopolis, \* do exhibit our selves. For we were afraid, lest any one, † by taking an occasion from our Captivity, should either frame an accusation of flight against us, or else [form] a forged invention of some other fault. For malice is productive of all manner of calumnies. Wherefore, We beseech Your \* Magnificence, to take care (according to that provision the Laws have made,) of our Captivity, and not to deliver a

† Or, by making our captivity [his] matter of enquiry. \* Or, Greamefs.

\* That is, To Panopolis.

(n) The reading here, is, τῆς οὗς ὁδοιπορίας, of this your journey: and 'tis the same in Nicephorus. Notwithstanding, I doubt not but it should be, τῆς τόσων ὁδοιπορίας, of this so long a journey. And so Christopherson and Sir Hen. Savil read it. Valef.

(o) Instead of [ταῦτα] it must be [ἐκ τῶν ταῦτα]. For, the word [ἀνευθχέειν] which preceded immediately, is understood. In the Tellerian M. S. the particle [τὸ] is wanting. Valef.

(p) Instead of [ἐκ τῶν ταῦτα] it must be [ἐκ τῶν ταῦτα]. For, the word [ἀνευθχέειν] which preceded immediately, is understood. In the Tellerian M. S. the particle [τὸ] is wanting. Valef.

(q) Translators saw nothing at this place; who by a small fault were introduced into a



\* Or, the and reviles \* the Emperors and Magistracy ;  
 Empire. having not been made prudent by the miseries  
 † Or, he suffer'd. But I have † read a certain Wri-  
 heard. ter declaring his Latter end [after this man-  
 ner, to wit,] *That his Tongue having been eaten  
 out with worms, he departed to greater and immor-  
 tal punishments [which are to be inflicted on him.]*

## C H A P. VIII.

*How, after Nestorius, Maximianus, and  
 after him Proclus, then Flavianus, were  
 made [Bishops of Constantinople.]*

AFTER that destructive Pest Nestorius, Maxi-  
 manus succeeded in the Episcopate of the  
 famous [City] Constantinople ; under whom the  
 Church of God enjoy'd all imaginable peace  
 and tranquility. When he was taken from a-  
 mongst Men, Proclus enters upon the Govern-  
 ment of that See, who had heretofore been  
 ordain'd Bishop of Cyzicum. And after he was  
 † Or, of gone the common way † of mankind, Flavia-  
 nus succeeded in that Chair.

## C H A P. IX.

*Concerning the unfortunate Eutyches, and  
 how he was deposed by Flavianus [Bishop]  
 of Constantinople ; and concerning the  
 second (to wit, that thievish) Synod at  
 Ephesus.*

† That is, IN † his times, the controversie about the im-  
 Flavia- pious Eutyches was started ; a particular  
 nus's. Synod having been convened (a) at Constanti-  
 (a) Instead nople : [to which Synod] Eusebius Bishop of Do-  
 of [xvii] rylæum (who was the first person that had [here-  
 xwvavli- tofore] refuted Nestorius's Blasphemy, being  
 vñ it must until then but a Rhetorician) presented Libels.  
 undoubt- edly be Therefore, when Eutyches, after he had been  
 [xvii] tho' summon'd [to the Synod,] came not : And at  
 vñ, at Con- his appearing [afterwards] had been convi-  
 stantino- cted of having said these words : *I confess, that  
 ple; which our Lord † had two natures before the  
 is the rea- † Or, con- union : But, after the union, I confess,  
 ding in sisted of but one nature : (He asserted also,  
 the Tele- two na- that the Body of our Lord was not of  
 an MS. tures. the same substance with our Bodies.)*  
 and in [After this, I say,] he is deposed. But when

Nicepho- rus, Book 14. chap. 47. where Langus renders it thus : *Flavianus Synodo Pro-  
 vinciali apud Constantinopolim coactâ, &c. Flavianus, a Provincial  
 Synod having been convened at Constantinople, &c. Whom Christo-  
 phorson has follow'd. Notwithstanding, I had rather render it a  
 particular Synod, as Musculus does. Indeed, that Synod consisted  
 only of those Bishops, who at that time hapned to make their abode  
 at Constantinople, on account of some Ecclesiastick affairs : Which Pre-  
 lates they commonly termed ἐπονημῆνες ἐπισκόπους, Bishops that made  
 their residence for some time only in the City. The Acts of this Constan-  
 tinopolitan Synod under Flavianus, are related in the First Action of  
 the Chalcedon Council ; where these words occur [see Binius, Tom. 3.  
 pag. 80.] συναχθείσης τῆς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου τῆς ἐπονημέ-  
 νου ἐν τῇ προαρχιερατικῇ μεγαλοπόλει, &c. The Holy and Great Synod  
 having been convened [consisting of such Prelates as] resided for some  
 time in the forenamed Great City, &c. If any one be desirous of know-  
 ing the names of those Bishops then convened, they occur in the first  
 Action of the Chalcedon Synod. Valef. See Binius, Tom. 3. pag. 125.  
 Edit. Paris. 1636.*

he had presented a supplicatory Libel to Theo-  
 \* Or, as dosius, \* pretending that the Acts of those  
 if the Acts, convened [in that Synod] had been falsi-  
 &c. fied by Flavianus ; in the first place a Sy-  
 nod of [the Bishops] that were near Neigh-  
 bours to Constantinople was assembled. In

which (b) some of the Magistrates also being (b) καὶ  
 present therein) Flavianus is judged. And τῶν ἑπ' αὐ-  
 when this Synod had confirmed the Acts, as ἀρχόντων  
 being true ; a second Synod is convened at words  
 Ephesus. Christo-  
 phorson

hath rendred ill ; thus, Some Prelates of Churches ; whereas he should  
 have translated it, some of the Magistrates. Nicephorus therefore  
 (Book 14. chap. 47.) has rightly explain'd these words of Evagrius,  
 after this manner : Ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ἱερέων παρῆσαν, καὶ ἑπ' αὐ-  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ σινέσι, in which [Synod] there were present both others of the Pre-  
 lates, and also some of the Senate. The Actions of this second Constan-  
 tinopolitan Synod under Flavianus are extant, recorded in the first  
 Action of the Chalcedon Council. See Binius. Tom. 3. pag. 129. Edit.  
 ut prius. Where Florentius the most magnificent Patricius, Mamas  
 the Comes and Proximus, [that is, Clerk] of the Desk of Libels and  
 Sacred Cognitions, and Macedonius the Tribune and Notary, are said  
 to have been present at this Synod. Valef.

## C H A P. X.

*What was transacted by Dioscorus and Chrysa-  
 phius [at] the \* absurd Synod at Ephesus. \* παρὰ  
 τὴν οὐκ ἐπι-  
 δεξιν, unexpected, or absurd Synod. Valefius renders it, the illegitimate  
 Synod: Curterius terms it, the mad Synod.*

A T this Synod Dioscorus, Successor to Cy-  
 rillus in the See of Alexandria, was ap-  
 pointed to preside : (a) Which thing was ef- (a) In Ro-  
 fected by the artifice of (b) Chrysaphius (a person bert Ste-  
 of great interest in the Imperial Pallace at phens's E-  
 that time,) out of [his] hatred to Flavianus. dition, the  
 There met [at this Synod] at Ephesus, Juvena- reading  
 lis Bishop of Jerusalem, (c) who had been at the was [τῆς  
 former Ephesine Synod, together with many τυχόν-  
 other Priests [whom he had] about him. σοι] but Chri-  
 Together with these met Domnus, Johannes's stophorson  
 Successor in the Antiochian See : also Bishop and Sir H.  
 (d) Julius, who filled the place of Leo Bp. of the Savil, by  
 Senious Rome. Flavianus likewise was present sing the  
 with them, together with the Bishops about him: words,

have men-  
 ded it thus, τὰ χυλῶσάν τε καὶ χυλῶσάν. I doubt not but Evagrius  
 wrote thus : τὸ τοῦ χυλῶσάντος χυλῶσάν. Which thing [that is,  
 Dioscorus's Precedency in that Synod] was effected by the artifice of  
 Chrysaphius. Further, Christophorson translates and points this whole  
 passage, in this manner : Hujus concilii Dioscorus, qui in Alexandria  
 Episcopatum post Cyrillum successit, quod odium in Flavianum incende-  
 retur, præsens designatus fuit. Chrysaphius enim hanc rem callide molitus  
 fuerat. Of this Council Dioscorus, who succeeded Cyrillus in the Episc-  
 opate of Alexandria, to the end that the hatred against Flavianus might  
 be inflamed, was appointed President. For Chrysaphius had craftily at-  
 tempted this thing. But Musculus's opinion seems far better to me,  
 who before these words πρὸς ἑχθρὰς φλαβιανῶν, places a subdivision.  
 For he renders it thus : Præsidente autem ei Synodo Dioscorus post Cy-  
 rillum Alexandrinus Episcopus ; id quod ita odio Flaviani instituerat  
 Chrysaphius, &c. At that Synod presided Dioscorus Bishop of Alexan-  
 dria after Cyrillus ; which thing Chrysaphius had so order'd out of [his]  
 hatred to Flavianus, &c. Instead of these words [πρὸς ἑχθρὰς, (or  
 ἑχθρὰς, as Sir Henry Savil mends it) out of [his] hatred ;] Nicephorus  
 has these, δι' ἑχθρὰς ἰὸν φλαβιανῶν, by reason of his hatred resisting  
 [or, breaking out against] Flavianus. Valef.

(b) At the margin of the Florentine Manuscript, this Scholion is set :  
 καὶ τῶν θυμῶν καὶ χυλῶσάντος σημείωσαι ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
 ὀρθόδοξον ἀρχιερέων ἐπακέρσαν ; That is, Note concerning the impious  
 Chrysaphius, that the Eunuchs of the Bed-chamber have always done  
 mischief to the Orthodox Arch-Bishops. Of which thing we have an  
 eminent instance in Eusebius, chief [Eunuch] of the Bed-chamber,  
 who in Constantius's Reign persecuted Athanasius, and the other Ca-  
 tholick Prelates. Valef.

(c) Τὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἐφέσῳ συνόδῳ. Christophorson understood  
 these words amiss ; as if Evagrius had said, that Juvenalis had for-  
 merly been Bishop of Ephesus. But Evagrius does not say so ; but  
 only, that Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusalem had been heretofore at E-  
 phesus, to wit, in the former Ephesine Synod, wherein Nestorius had  
 been condemn'd. Valef.

(d) The reading in Nicephorus is the same ; but 'tis corrupt, instead  
 of Julianus. For so it is truly written in the Acts of the second Epe-  
 sine Synod, which are recorded in the first Action of the Chalcedon  
 Council ; Post consularum Zenonis & Posthumiani VV. C C. Die sexto  
 Idus Augusti, &c. After the Consulate of the most famous Personages  
 Zeno and Posthumianus, on the sixth of the Ides of August, in the third  
 Indiction, a Synod is convened in the Metropolis Ephesus, by the command  
 of the most Religious and most Christian Emperors ; and the most Reve-  
 rend



rend and most Holy Bishops, Dioscorus of Alexandria, and Bishop Julianus (who was the Deputy of the most Holy and most Blessed Leo, Bishop of the Roman Church) sat in the Holy Church, which is call'd [Saint] Mary's. Baronius, at the year of Christ 449, relates from *Marianus's Chronicle*, that this Julianus was Bishop of Puteoli. Notwithstanding as it is now extant in *Marianus Scotus's Chronicle*, the Bishop of Puteoli is not called Julianus but Julius, who was sent with Hilarus the Deacon by Pope Leo, to the second Ephesine Synod. But, in the Subscriptions of the Bishops who Subscrib'd to this second Ephesine Synod, (which Subscriptions are Recorded in the first Action of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 141.) he is term'd Julianus the Bishop. For these are the Words there: *Julianus Episcopus, tenens locum sanctissimi Episcopi Romanæ Ecclesiæ, interpretante se Florentio Episcopo Lydiæ, dixit, &c.* From which Words it seems to be concluded, that this Julianus, who was present at the second Ephesine Synod, was Julianus Bishop of Cœe, who two Years after was present at the Chalcedon Council, and held there also the Place of Leo Bishop of Rome, as it frequently occurs, recorded in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. — Observe here Baronius's Inconstancy; who when he had written at the Year of Christ 449, that that Julianus (who was Legate of the Apostolick See at the second Ephesine Synod) was Bishop of Puteoli; afterwards (at the Year of Christ 451. Chap. 78.) makes him Bishop of Cœe. Valef.

(e) Theodotus having given an Order to Elpidius in these express words: *Let those [Prelates] who before have been the Judges of Eutyches the most Religious \* Archimandrite, be present and silent: but let them in no wise take the place of Judges, but expect the common † Sentence of all the most Holy Fathers; in regard those things which have been judged by them, are now under scrutiny.* In this Synod Eutyches is restored (his Sentence of Deposition being revok'd) by Dioscorus and those about him; \* as the Contents of the Acts thereof do shew. And Flavianus, and Eusebius Bishop of Dorylæum, are condemned and deposed. At the same Synod, Ibas Bishop of the Edesseni is excommunicated; and (f) Daniel Bishop of Carræ is deposed: as is also (g) Irenæus of Tyre, and Aqualinus of Byblus. Moreover, some things were transacted [there] on the account of (h) Sophronius Bishop of Constantina. (e) The sacred Com-muni-cation (or, Letters Man-datory,) of the Empe-rior Theodo-dotus to Elpidius, Comes of the Sacred Consistory, and to Eu-logius the Tribune \* Or, as Prato-rian Nota-ry, is ex-tant in the Acts of the Ephesine Conventi-cle [or, little Coun-cil] which are recor-ded in the first Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 46, where these words here related by Evagrius do occur. Valef.

(f) A little before the second Ephesine Synod, Ibas [Bishop] of Edessa, and Daniel Bishop of Carræ had been accused before the Emperor Theodosius by their own Clergy. The Emperor gave order, that cognizance of their Cause should be taken in a Synod at Berytus, in the presence of Damascius, Tribune and Prætorian Notary. The Acts of this Council [at Berytus] are extant, recorded in the tenth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, (See Binius. Tom. 3. pag. 377.) which begin thus: *Post Consulatum Flavii Zenonis & Posthumiani, &c. After the Consul-tute of the most famous Personages Flavius Zeno and Posthumianus, on the Calends of September, in the second Indiction, &c. I doubt not but it should be written, Consulatu Zenonis & Posthumiani, In the Consulate of Zeno and Posthumianus. Otherwise, this Synod would have hapned after the Ephesine little Council, which was convened after the Con-sulate of Zeno and Posthumianus, in the Month of August. Now, the Berytian Synod cannot be placed after that Ephesine Synod, in regard mention is made therein of Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople, and of Domnus of Antioch: Both which, 'tis manifest, were deposed in the second Ephesine Synod. Add hereto the Testimony of Liberatus the Deacon, who relates in his Breviarium, that this Berytian Synod was convened before Eutyches had framed his Heresie. Valef.*

(g) Long before the second Ephesine Synod, Irenæus had been driven from his Bishoprick, by an Edict of the Emperor Theodosius; and Phorius had been put into his Sec. 'Tis certain, Phorius presided at the Berytian Synod, which had been convened on the Year before the second Ephesine Synod. But, because Irenæus had been ejected by the Emperor's Order, not by the Determination of a Synod, therefore he was deposed in the second Ephesine Synod. Valef.

(h) 'Tis strange, how much Translators have erred in the Version of this place: For Langus, Nicephorus's Translator, renders it thus: *Decrevit hæc Synodus quoque de Sophronio quædam, &c. This Synod also decreed some things concerning Sophronius, who had come at that time to Constantinople, on account of seeing that City. Christophorus translates it in this manner: Nonnulla ibidem acta fuere contra Sophronium Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, Some things were acted there against Sophronius Bishop of Constantinople. But he ought to have said Bishop of Constantina. For Sophronius was Bishop of Constantina, as 'tis apparent from the second Antiochian Synod under Domnus, which is inserted in the 14th Action of the Chalcedon Synod. The same Sophronius was afterwards present at the Chalcedon Synod, as 'tis recorded in the Acts of that Synod. Now, Constantina is a City of Phœnice. Valef.*

\* Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus was deposed also by them, as was likewise Domnus [Bishop] of Antioch. (i) What became of that Prelate afterwards, I cannot find. When these things had been transacted in this manner, the second Synod at Ephesus was dissolved. \* This was he who wrote the five Books of Ecclesiastick History.

(i) In the place of Domnus Bishop of Antioch Maximus was subrogated, as Liberatus informs us in his Breviarium: Who was afterwards confirm'd in his Bishoprick by Pope Leo, as we read in the Tenth Action of the Chalcedon Council. Notwithstanding, the same Maximus appointed Domnus, as long as he liv'd, a certain Allowance out of the Revenue of his Church, that being content with his Maintenance, he might in future be quiet: Which thing was approved of by the other Patriarchs in the Chalcedon Council, as may be seen in the fore-cited Action. Valef.

## C H A P. XI.

This Writer's Apology in Defence of the Variety [of Opinions] amongst us [Christians] and his Derision of the Pagan Trifles.

BUT, let \* none of the Heathens deride us, because the latter [Bishops] depose the former, and always find out some new thing [which they add] to the Faith. For we making Researches after the ineffable Love of God [towards Men] which is past finding out, and being desirous to honour and extol it in the highest manner, do betake our selves to this or that [Opinion.] Nor was any one of those, who invented Heresies amongst the Christians, so weak, that he would † designedly blaspheme; † nor has [any such Person] fallen into an Error, with a desire to dishonour the Deity: but 'twas rather his Supposition, that if he should assert this Opinion, he should speak better than those who went before him. Besides, those [Points] which are essential (a) and

fundamental, with a general consent we all confess and acknowledge. For 'tis the Trinity which we adore, and the Unity which we glorifie: And God the Word, begotten before [all] ages, who was incarnate by

a second Generation, out of his Compassion \* to Man. But if Innovations have been introduced about some other [Points,] they have proceeded from God our Saviour's giving [us] a free liberty of judging concerning these things; to the end that the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church may † reduce the things that are said on the one side and on the other, to what is decent and pious, and || may [make them] fall into one exact and right way. And for this reason the Apostle [St. Paul] has most perspicuously and truly said: \* There must be also Heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest [among you.] And in this also the unspeakable Wisdom of God is to be admired, who hath said to the Divine [Saint] Paul: † For my strength is made perfect in weakness. For, for what reasons the Members of the Church have been rent in sunder, for the very same [causes] the true and irreprehensible || Dogmata have been more accurately polish'd and set forth; and the Catholick and Apostolick Church has increased, and been advanced even to the Heavens. But the nourishers of Heathenish Error, who are not desirous of finding out either [the Nature of] God, or his providential Care about Men, do mutually overthrow both

(a) Τα ὑποστυλίσματα καὶ κύρια. In Nicephorus (Book 14. chap. 48. where he transcribes this Passage of Evagrius,) the reading is καὶ κύρια, and opportune] which reading is not so good as I judge. Yet, I found it expressly so written in the Tellerian MS. Valef.

\* Or, To the Creature.

† Or, Cap-tivate.

|| Or, May meet in one exact, &c.

\* 1 Cor. 11. 19.

† 2 Cor. 12. 9.

|| Doctrine or Points.



both their own and their Ancestors Opinions. For they invent Gods upon Gods, and choose and name them from their own perturbations of Mind; to the end that by taking to themselves such Gods, they may procure pardon for their own lusts and debaucheries. So forsooth, he who amongst them [is accounted] the supreme Father of Men and Gods, having metamorphos'd himself into a Bird, lasciviously snatch't up the Phrygian Boy; and as the reward of his uncleanness,

(b) *Τὴν φιλοστονίαν προσέτινεν ἐπὶ τρέφας.* He means (I suppose) that Story, which we are told concerning Ganymed Son of Tros K. of Troas (which was one part of Phrygia.) This Boy, Jupiter having turn'd himself into an Eagle, snatch't up, and admitted him his Cup-bearer, in the room of Hebe, whom he had displaced; and makes him his Catamite.

gave him his Cup (b), permitting him to begin to drink an inviting Cup to himself, that so both of 'em might in common swallow down their shame together with their Nectar. The same [Jupiter defiled himself] with infinite other Impieties, which have been inter-

dicted even amongst the vilest of Men. And having changed himself into all the shapes of irrational Creatures, (he himself being of all the most brutish) is made an \*Androgynus, and (c) bears a Child not in his belly, but on his thigh, to the end that these things contrary to nature might be done by him. At which birth Bacchus [is brought forth,] who was himself an Androgynus also, and brought a reproach upon both Sexes: he was the Prince of drunkenness, of sobriety, of greatness caused by fulness of Wine, of Surfeits and Debauches proceeding from so profuse drinking, and of all the distempers rising therefrom. To this (d) *Ægiocbus*, this loud Thunderer, they ascribe this (e) as some brave and great [Action,] they term him Parricide (a Villany judg'd by all Men to be of the greatest magnitude) because he drove Saturn, who had unfortunately begat him, out of his Kingdom. What

by Juno's craft put upon making this request to him; viz. *That he would lie one night with her in the same manner he used to lie with Juno.* The God-lover granted her desire; and Semele is burnt up with Thunder: but the Boy was taken out of her womb, and put upon Jove's thigh; of whom he was deliver'd (in such manner as Women are) at the due time. On which account Bacchus (who was the Child thus brought forth) had the name of *Bimater*, one that had two Mothers.

(d) 'Tis an Epithet given to Jupiter, either (1) because he wore the sacred *Ægis*, [that is, Breast-plate,] or (2) because he was the raiser of Storms, or rather (3) in regard he wore the Skin of the Goat *Amalthea*, which had been his Nurse. See *Servius upon Virgil's 8th Æneid. Col. 1320. Edit. Basil. 1586.*

(e) In stead of [*τὸ τι σμερὲν, and some brave, &c.*] I doubt not but it should be [*ὡς τι σμερὲν, as some brave, &c.*] For, in these Books of *Evagrius*, *εἰς* is frequently used instead of *ὡς*. *Vales.*

\* Or, *has* should I say of Whoredom, which \* has been consecrated amongst them, over which they have made the Cyprian Venus, begotten of a Shell, to preside; which [Goddeſs] abominates continency as a most execrable thing and altogether intolerable: But she is delighted with Whoredoms and all manner of filthy Actions, wherewith 'tis her desire to be appeased. With whom Mars commits an unclean act, and by the craft of *Vulcanus* is [taken and] expos'd to the view and derision of the other Gods. Any one may also deservedly laugh at their *Phalli*, their *Itbyphalli*, *Phallagogia*, their vast *Priapus*, and *Pan* who is worshipped with an obscene Member; and at their Myſteries [celebrated] at *Eleusine*, commendable for this thing only, [to wit] that the Sun sees 'em not, but they are condemn'd to dwell in darkness. But, leaving these things as well to the obscene worshippers as to the worshipped, let us spur on our Horse † to the end of the Race, and render the remaining

[Transactions] of *Theodosius's* Reign; manifest and evident to the Eyes of all Men.

## CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Emperor Theodosius [prosecuted and] expell'd the Heresie of Nestorius.

THE same Emperor wrote a most pious Constitution, extant in the *First Book* of that termed *Justinian's Code*, which is in number *The Third* of the *First Title*. In which [Constitution, *Theodosius*] incited thereto by God, has with all Suffrages (as 'tis proverbially said) condemn'd \*him, for whom he had heretofore had a singular Affection (as *Nestorius* himself has related;) † and has denounced an *Anathema* against him, recorded in these express words: *Moreover, We decree, That those who || emulate the impious Faith of Nestorius, or follow his detestable Doctrine, (if they be Bishops, or Ecclesiasticks) shall be ejected out of the Holy Churches: But if they be Laick, they shall be Anathematized.* The same Emperor made other Laws on account of our Religion, which do sufficiently demonstrate the Ardency of his Zeal.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Saint Symeon the † Stylite.

IN these times, *Symeones*, [a person] of an holy (a) and most celebrated memory, flourish'd and was \* eminent: he was the first person that instituted the Station upon a pillar, the circumference of whose mansion was scarce two cubits; at which time *Domnus* presided over the Church of *Antioch*: Who when he was come to *Symeones*, and had admired his station and manner of life, was desirous of some more secret [converse with him.] Both of them therefore met together, (b) and having consecrated the immaculate Body [of Christ,] they gave one another the Vivifick Communion. This Person in the flesh emulated the converse of the celestial powers, withdrew himself from affairs upon Earth, and putting a force upon nature, which tends downward, pursued things sublime. And having plac'd himself in the midst, [as it were] between Heaven and things upon Earth, he conversed with

*παραυτοῦ* most holy, and the like. Our *Evagrius* speaking hereafter concerning *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives him this Elogy, *Ἰστέον τὸν παραυτοῦ*, the most celebrated *Gregorius*. *Vales.*

(b) Heretofore the Presbyters celebrated the Church-Service together with the Bishop, and receiv'd the Eucharist from his hand. So in the tenth *Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*, *Bassianus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, in his Supplicatory Libel to *Marcianus* the Emperor, amongst other things says these words: *Τὸ δὲ αὐτεῖον ἡμεῖς καὶ ἱεροῦσιν αὐτῶν ἵς ὁμῶν, &c.* Having on the day after, all of us perform'd the Public-Service together, &c. And, at a great distance from that place, the same *Bassianus* says, pag. 303. *σέπαςτος πρεσβύτερος μὲν, &c.* *Stephanus my Presbyter was with me four years; he perform'd the Public-Service with me, communicated with me, and receiv'd the Communion from me, as from his Bishop.* The same usage also was heretofore practis'd in the Roman Church, to wit, that the Presbyters should every day celebrate the Public-Service together with the Bishop of Rome, and receive the Communion from his hand. But on Sundays, when the Presbyters were necessitated to perform the Public-Service apart in their own Titles, [Parishes, or, Cures,] on account of the People committed to their charge; they receiv'd the Lord's Body sent by the *Acolyths* from the Bishop of Rome; that they might not seem to be separated from the Communion of their own Bishop, especially on that day; as Pope *Innocent* informs us in his *Epistle* to *Decentius*. *Vales.*

God,







For that dear and friendly Iron deserted not Symeones, even when dead. I would have given a particular account of this Person's performances, (which would yield no small advantage; both to my self relating them, and also to those who should read them; ) were it not, that Theodoret ( i as I have said before ) hath declared them more at large.

*Δεῖται δὲ αὖτε, a particular account of this Person's, &c. ]* Which emendation seems to me to be altogether necessary; although Nicephorus defends the common reading. Christophorson seems to have read according as I have said. *Valef.*

i *Ὡς ἐφ' ὧν εἰπὼν.* I am of the same mind with Sir Henry Savil, who in the margin of his Copy has mended it thus; *ὡς ἐφ' ὧν εἰπὼν, as I have said before.* The same fault is corrected before in this Chapter, where the Synagogues are spoken of, which the Antiochians had heretofore taken away from the Jews. And so it is plainly written in the Tellerian Manuscript. *Valef.*

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Concerning the Star which appears frequently in the Piazza about the Pillar of Saint Symeon, which this Writer and others have seen: and concerning the same Saint's Head.*

But come on, I will insert another thing also into this History, which I my self saw. I had a great desire to see the Church of this holy Person. It is about three hundred furlongs distant from \* Theopolis, situate on the very top of an hill. Those who live thereabouts call it *The Mandra*; the most holy [Symeones,] I suppose left this name to the place of his Ascetick exercises. The rising of the hill extends to the length of twenty furlongs. The fabrick of the Temple represents the form of a Cross, beautify'd with Portico's of four sides. Opposite to those Portico's are placed Pillars, curiously framed of polish'd stone, wherefore on the Roof is gracefully rais'd to an height.

*Evagrius* himself terms it twice, in the foregoing Chapter. But what *Evagrius* adds, to wit, that Saint Symeones gave that Name to that place wherein he had exercised himself in the studies in a more austere Philosophy, is to be further inquired into. *Evagrius's* words are these: *τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς διμυίας τῆς παναγίας συμεωνίου τῆς ἀσκητικῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ταπεινοῦ.* Christophorson and Sir Henry Savil mend it thus, *καὶ ἀσκητικῆς*; wherein they are greatly mistaken. They perceived not that *Evagrius* is wont sometimes to transpose words. This place therefore in *Evagrius* is thus to be construed: *τῆς παναγίας τῆς ἀσκητικῆς καὶ ταπεινῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ταπεινοῦ.* The most holy [Symeones,] I suppose, left, &c. So Nicephorus understood this place in *Evagrius*. For thus he words it: *μὲν δὲ ἔστιν ὡς εἰρηται, &c.* The inhabitants call the place of his Ascetick exercises *The Mandra*, as has been said; the Holy [Symeon] having given it that name. Yet, any one may conjecture, that that name was given to that place after Symeon's death, when many Monks flock'd thither, and had built a Monastery there. For *Mandra* signifies a Monastery, being a Metaphor taken from *Hovel's*, wherein Sheep or Goats are foddered; which are called *Mandrae*. Hence the Abbots of Monasteries are termed *Archimandrite*, as may be seen in the *Chalcedon Council*, and in the *Novels of the Emperours*. Theodorus Lecter speaks concerning this Monastery of Symeon, in book 1. *Collectan*; where he says, *δαμιὰν ὁ δαμιὰν, &c.* The Admirable Daniel, who came out of Symeon's Mandra, went upon the Pillar at Anaplum. Symeon Metaphrastes does likewise mention this Monastery in his *Life of Daniel the Stylite*, chap. 7. at which place Metaphrastes shews that this Monastery was built whilst Symeon was living. Concerning which, neither Theodoret, nor *Evagrius*, speak one word. But, I will not hide this, viz. that in the Tellerian M. S. the reading at this place is, *καὶ ταπεινῆς*. *Valef.*

b *Παρεστὰς δὲ τῶν σοφῶν.* Christophorson renders this place thus: *Porticibus vero columnas adjuncte sunt, To the Portico's are adjoined Pillars.* Nor is Musculus's Version much different; who translates it thus: *In fine autem porticibus columnae, There are in the portico's pillars.* But the Greek term *Παρεστὰς* seems to import something more. *Evagrius* makes use of the same word in book 4. chap. 11. where he describes the Church of Saint Sophia. The place there is thus worded: *ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀντικείμενον κίονες αὐτῶν παρεστὰς.* Which passage I have rendered after this manner: *In dextro autem ac sinistro latere, ex aduerso fornicum posita sunt colum-*

*nae, On the right hand and on the left, opposite to the Arches are placed Pillars.* Doubtless, this word *παρεστὰς*, does either signify that which I have said [to wit, to place over against, or opposite,] or else *juxta ponere, to place near.* Langus, Nicephorus's Translatour, renders these words of *Evagrius*, which we have placed at the beginning of this Note, after this manner; *Juxta porticus has ex saxo polito columnae decentissime constructae sunt, near these portico's there are pillars of polish'd stone most gracefully built.* *Valef.*

c In the midst, there is an open Court, wrought with a great deal of art: in which [Court] stands the Pillar forty cubits long, wherein that incarnate Angel upon earth led a celestial life. In the Roof of the said Portico's, there are *d Clatri*, (some term them *Windows*;) e verging both towards the forementioned open Court, and also towards the Portico's. At the left side therefore of the Pillar, I my self f together with the whole multitude there gathered together, (the Countrymen being dancing about the Pillar,) have seen in the Window a Star of a vast magnitude, running all over the Window and glittering, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but often: which [Star] vanished frequently, and appear'd again on a sudden.

does not say so; but, that in the midst of these Portico's there was a Court or Area. For Courts were usually encompassed with four Portico's, as I have remarked at *Eusebius's Books concerning the Life of Constantine*. Christophorson was deceived by what *Evagrius* had said a little before, to wit, that the Church was surrounded with Portico's of four sides. Therefore he thought that the Church was in the midst between the four Portico's; wherein he is much mistaken. For the *Atrium* [or Court] was in the midst of those four Portico's. And that was the first thing which those who went in met with, after they had passed the Porch, or Entry. After the *Atrium* was the Church, contiguous to one of the Portico's. That this was the figure of this Church, the following words do sufficiently declare. For *Evagrius* says, That women were forbidden to go into that Church. Notwithstanding, that they saw the Miracle of that Star, from the gate which was in the Porch. The *Atrium* therefore occurred immediately after the Porch, nor was the Church in the midst. Otherwise, the walls of the Church it self would have hindred them from seeing the Star. *Valef.*

d *Κλατρίαι.* Langus and Christophorson have translated it *Cancelli*, *Lattises*; which I can by no means approve of. For *κατὰ κλάτριν* signify *Cancelli*. I would therefore rather render it *Clatri*. In the Old Glosses *Clatri* are thus described; *κατὰ κλάτριν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς θυρίδασι δὲ βαλίσκοι, Squares, (that is, Cross-bars, or Lattised-bars) or Bars that are in windows.* But in the other Glosses, *Clatri* are expounded *κατὰ κλάτριν, claudere, to shut.* The Original therefore of the Greek and Latine word is the same. *Valef.*

e I am of the same opinion with Christophorson and Sir Henry Savil, who instead of *ἀποκείνεται, answering*, mended it thus; *ἀποκείνεται, verging, or declining.* Notwithstanding, Nicephorus defends the common reading, to wit, *ἀποκείνεται answering*. Moreover, Nicephorus adds some words, which are not at this day extant in our *Evagrius*. The passage is thus worded in Nicephorus: *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς σοφῆς καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν παραύλιον ὑπαίθεον ἀποκείνεται, καὶ κατὰ τὴν διδωσὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἐκείδε ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς παλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξωτερικῆς.* Which place in Nicephorus Langus renders thus: *Porticibus ipsi et subdiali quae dicta est aula respondentes, locumque; volentibus dantes, ut ex ipso templo extra, et rursum ab exteriori templi parte in templum prospicere possint; Which [clatri] are answerable both to the Portico's themselves, and also to the said open Court, and afford a place to those that are desirous of looking out, from within the Church; and again, of looking into the Church, from its outward part.* Whence Nicephorus had this, I know not; unless it were from Symeon Metaphrastes, who had written the *Life of Symeones the Stylite*. Nicephorus does indeed attest, that he himself had read Metaphrastes's *Life of Symeones*. And 'tis not likely, that Nicephorus should have added this of his own head. Now, for what reason these words were added, I have as to me it seemeth apprehended; To wit, Metaphrastes (or, if you will, Nicephorus himself,) thought that the Women, who were in no wise suffered to go into that sacred Edifice, beheld that Star, here mentioned, from these Windows. But, he is much mistaken, as we shall declare by and by. *Valef.*

f Musculus renders this passage thus; *Cum universo collecto illic agrestium circa columnam saltantium populo, Together with the whole multitude [or people] of the Countrymen there gathered together dancing round the Pillar.* Whom Christophorson has followed; having expunged the comma, which is placed after the word [together.] But this rendition is not to be born with. For the Countrymen were not the only Persons then in the Church of Saint Symeon, when this Star was seen by *Evagrius*. But many Citizens were there also at that time, of which number *Evagrius* was one. Besides, the People which *Evagrius* says were there gathered together at that time, were in the Portico at the left hand of the Pillar. But, the Rusticks were in the *Atrium*, [or open Court,] dancing about the Pillar. *Valef.*

But



But this happens only on those days, observed in memory of that most holy Person [Symeon.] There are those who say, (nor are we to disbelieve the Miracle, both because of their credibility who affirm it, and by reason of other things which we our selves have beheld:) that they have seen even his very Person flying up and down this way and that way, with his long beard, and his head covered with a \* Tiara, as it was wont to be. The men who come to this place, have free liberty to enter in, and go round the Pillar many times together with their beasts that carry burdens. But a most exquisite care is taken, (for what reason I cannot say,) that no woman should go into the Church. Therefore, they stand without [the Church,] at the Porch, and behold the Miracle. For one of the [Church] Gates is placed exactly opposite to the glittering Star.

\* A round ornament, worn by Princes and Priests on their heads; it was heretofore the dress of the Persian women.  
h' H μία ὁ δὲ θυρῶν. Instead of the word [θυρῶν, Gates,] Nicephorus made it [θυσίαν, Windows] which was ill done, as I have remarked above at Note (e.) For, the women could not see through the window, in regard they [the women] were in the Porch, but the windows were placed in the very top of the Portico's, into which the women were forbid to come. Johannes Langus therefore, having followed our Evagrius, has upon a good account corrected Nicephorus. For, thus he renders it; Mulieres quoque, sed extra templum ad possessiones, miraculum hoc spectant. Janua enim una ex adverso stelle fulgentis locata est. Women also, but they stand without the Church at the gate, do behold this Miracle. For one of the gates is placed over against the shining Star. Valef.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Saint Isidorus Pelusiota, and Synesius Bishop of Cyrenæ.

During the same [Theodosius's] Reign flourished Isidorus also, \* whose glory (to use a Poetick Expression,) is far spread, a Person celebrated amongst all men, both for his Actions and Eloquence. This man † macerated his Body with Labours in such a manner, and fatned his Soul with sublime and divine doctrines to so high a degree, that he lived an Angelick life upon earth, and was always the living Monument both of a Monastick life, a and also of a Contemplation upon God. He wrote

\* Or, I-mage.  
† Or, melt-ed his flesh.  
\* Nicephorus (book 14. chap. 53. where he transcribes this passage of Evagrius) words it thus; τῆς ἐς Θεὸν θεωρίας, of a contemplation upon God. The same Reading I found in the Tellerian MS. It may also be mended thus; τῆς ἐν Θεῷ θεωρίας, of a divine contemplation. [In Robert Stephen's Edition, the Reading here is, τῆς ἐν θεωρίας.] Further, there is an illustrious Elogy of this Isidorus Pelusiota, extant in Ephremius Bishop of Antioch in his Epistle to Zenobius Scholasticus, which Photius records in his Bibliotheca. Where he says, That he was by birth an Alexandrian, and venerable amongst the Archbishops themselves, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὢν ἐτὶ καὶ τῷ ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεσὶν αἰσιν. Valef.

many other [pieces] filled [with passages] of manifold utility; he wrote also to the celebrated Cyrillus, from which [Letters] 'tis evidently demonstrated, that he flourished in the same times with the divine [Cyrillus.] But because 'tis my endeavour to adorn \* this History as much as 'tis possible, come on, let Synesius [Bishop] of Cyrenæ come forth, that he may beautify our History † with the eminency of his own Name. This Synesius was accomplished with all other [Arts and Sciences;] but \* excelled in Philosophy to so high a degree, that he was the Admiration of those Christians, who in passing their

judgments upon what they see, are not [by- assed] either by affection or hatred. They persuade him therefore, to be a partaker of the salutary Regeneration, and to take the Sacerdotal yoke upon him, although he had not as yet embraced the Doctrine of the Resurrection, \* nor would be induced to believe that Article: they having most truly conjectured, that these [Sentiments] would follow these Persons other virtues, [in regard] the divine grace would permit [him] to have nothing imperfect. Nor was their expectation frustrated. For, what and how great a Person he proved, is sufficiently attested by the Epistles which he wrote with much Elegancy and Learning after his [undertaking] the Sacerdotal Function, by the † Oration he spoke to [the Emperour] Theodosius himself, and by those other useful Works of his that are extant.

† Or, to count himself worthy of the salutary Regeneration; that is, Baptism, as far as may be collected from these and the following words. Evagrius seems to have thought, that Synesius was baptized and promoted to the Episcopal dignity at one and the same time. And yet, that this is false, Petavius proves by many Arguments, in his Notes upon Synesius, pag. 2 and 3. Notwithstanding, Evagrius is followed by Photius in his Bibliotheca, and by Nicephorus book 14. chap. 55. Although Nicephorus says not that Synesius had been baptized and ordained at one and the same time; but, that when Theophilus had prevailed with him to receive Christian-baptism, afterwards he endeavoured to persuade him to enter upon the Episcopal Function. See Nicephorus's words, at the book and chapter now cited. Valef.

\* Many Persons, I perceive, have persuaded themselves, that when Synesius was elected Bishop by the Inhabitants of Ptolemais, he wholly disbelieved the Resurrection of Bodies. Notwithstanding, that this is not true, Synesius himself attests in his 105th Epistle, which he wrote to his brother Euoptius, who was then at Alexandria. In that Letter, he gives reasons why he could not undertake the Bishoprick offered to him.

One of which is, The Resurrection of Bodies. His Sentiment concerning which point, he declares in these words; τὸ καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἀνάστασιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίησιν ἡμῶν, καὶ πολλὰς δὲ ταῦτ' εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐπολύψαν ὁμολογῆσαι, That much spoken of Resurrection I account a Sacred and Mystical thing, and am far from assenting to the opinions of the Vulgar. Synesius therefore did not wholly deny the Resurrection of the dead; but expounded it agreeable to the Platonicks, and to Origen. Baronius (at the Year of Christ 410,) thinks, that whatever is said by Synesius in this Epistle, is not spoken seriously, but feignedly and dissemblingly, that he might decline the burthen of a Bishoprick. But Petavius has deservedly found fault with this opinion of Baronius. For he says, that 'tis much more likely, that Synesius wrote these things to his brother in a manner agreeable to what he then thought. But, that having been afterwards instructed by Theophilus and other Prelates, before he was made a Bishop, he embraced a true opinion concerning the Resurrection. Lucas Holstenius has at large examined this Question, in a peculiar Dissertation, which in favour to the Studios, we have set forth at the close of our Annotations. [The Learned Reader will meet with this Dissertation, de Synesio & de fugâ Episcopatus, at the Close of the third Vol. of the Ecclesiastick Historians set forth by Valefius, at pag 202 of Valefius's Notes.] In the interim, the Reader is to be advertised, that there is a Mistake in the Contents of this Chapter, and in Photius's Bibliotheca, where Synesius is termed Bishop of Cyrenæ. Synesius was indeed by Country a Cyrenæan. But he was Bishop of Ptolemais, which is a City in Cyrenæica. Valef.

† He means the Oration de Regno. Which notwithstanding was not spoken to Theodosius Junior, but to Arcadius in the Year of Christ 400, that is, ten Years before Synesius had undertaken the Bishoprick; as Dionysius Petavius has rightly observed in his Notes at that Oration of Synesius. Valef.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Divine Ignatius, having been removed from Rome, was deposited at Antioch.

AT the same time also, as 'tis recorded by a Johannes the Rhetorician and others, † Evagrius the Divine Ignatius (after he had obtained, agreeable to his desire, the bellies of wild-beasts quote the for his Tomb, in the Amphitheatre at Rome; History of this Johannes the Rhetorician in his following books. For instance, in chap. 12 of his second book, in chap. 10. and 28. of his third book, and in the fifth chapter of his fourth book. But he is a far different Person from



that *Johannes*, of whom *Evagrius* makes mention at the close of the last chapter of his fifth book. For, this *Johannes*, last mentioned, had written an History of affairs from the latter end of *Justinian's* Reign, unto the Reign of *Mauritius*, as *Evagrius* does there attest. (See *Evagrius* book 5 chap. 24.) But the former *Johannes* had recorded the affairs transacted in the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, *Leo*, and *Zeno*, as may be concluded from those passages, which *Evagrius* has taken out of that *Johannes*. And he had closed his History at the Destruction of *Antioch*, which happened on the ninth Year of *Justinus Senior*, as *Evagrius* relates. Further, that *Johannes* which I have mentioned in the second place at the beginning of this Note, was born at *Epiphania*. For *Evagrius* (in the fore-cited place, viz. book 5. chap. 24.) terms him his fellow-Citizen and Kinsman. Now, *Evagrius* was by original extract an *Epiphanian*, as I have shown in My Account of his Life and Ecclesiastick History. But, the *Johannes Rhetor*, whom *Evagrius* mentions in this chapter, (if I may have leave to conjecture,) seems to me to have been an *Antiochian*. For, whatever passages our *Evagrius* cites out of him, belongs to the City of *Antioch*. I have been more large in my Annotation on these things, for this reason, that I might correct the Mistake of *Johannes Vossius*, who in his *Comment de Historicis Græcis*, has confounded these two *Johannes's*, one with the other. *Vales.*

and after his stronger bones which were left [undevoured,] had been conveyed to *Antioch*, [and deposited] in that place termed the *Cœmity*; many years after [all this, I say,] is removed: the All-good God having instilled it into the mind of *Theodosius*, to bestow greater honours upon that *Theophorus*, and to dedicate a Temple (which the Inhabitants termed *The Tychæum*,) heretofore consecrated to *Dæmons*, to that Valiant Conquerour and Martyr. *Christopher*, into a Mistake. The obscurity of this passage arose from hence, because our *Evagrius*, according to his usage, includes too many words in one and the same period, which were to have been divided into more periods. Therefore, after the word [Cœmity] a distinction is to be placed, which neither *Nicephorus* nor *Christopher* saw. *Nicephorus* thought, that the Reliques of *Ignatius* were brought from Rome to *Constantinople* in the times of *Theodosius Junior*, and having been carried to *Antioch* by the same Emperour's order, had been deposited there in the Cœmity. Which is most notoriously false. For, long before *Theodosius Junior's* Reign, the Reliques of the Martyr *Ignatius* had been deposited in the Cœmity of the City *Antioch*, as *Saint Jerome* does expressly attest in his book de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. where these are his words concerning *Ignatius*. *Reliquia corporis ejus Antiochie jacent extra portam Daphniticam in Cœmeterio*, The Remains of his body lie at *Antioch*, without the *Daphnitick* gate in the Cœmity. *Theodosius Junior* therefore translated not the Reliques of *Ignatius* from Rome to *Constantinople*, and after that to *Antioch*; but he ordered them to be removed out of the Cœmity which was without the City of *Antioch*, and carried into the City. Thus, 'tis certain, *Musculus* understood this passage in *Evagrius*, as appears from his Version. For he has rendered it thus; *Tunc & divinus Ignatius, posteaquam sicuti voluerat, &c.* Then also the divine *Ignatius*, after (according as he had desired) he had obtained the bellies of wild beasts instead of a sepulchre, in the Roman Amphitheatre, and his bones as being the stronger [parts of him] had been left by the beasts, were carried to *Antioch*, and buried in the Cœmity, a long time after) is removed by *Theodosius*, &c. *Musculus* seems to have expunged the Article 2, that the whole place might be construed after this manner; ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ φῶς ἐχρῆκε ἀποκομίσθαι, &c. Which I very much approve of. *Vales.*

c *Τὸν Θεοφόρον*. This seems to have been the Sur-name of the Blessed *Ignatius*. Which is concluded from hence, because we read this Title prefixt before all his Epistles, Ἰγνάνθ' ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, *Ignatius* who also [is termed] *Theophorus*. In the Martyrdom of the Blessed *Ignatius*, Archbishop *Usher* has set forth, *Ignatius* styles himself *Theophorus* in the presence of the Emperour *Trajan*. And, being asked, who *Theophorus* was, he answers; He who bears Christ in his breast. *Vales.* See *Socrat. Eccles. Histor. book 6. chap. 8. note (a.)*

d The Heathens attributed to all Cities their *Genii*, to whom they built Temples, which in Greek were termed *τῶν γένιων* or *τῶν γένιων*; as I have remarked at *Eusebius Pamphilus's* book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, chap. 11. note (q.) The Temple of the publick *Genius* of the City of *Antioch* is mentioned by *Amm. Marcellinus* book 23. pag. 238; which *Julian* in his *Misopog.* terms τὸ τῶν γένιων ἱερόν. *Vales.*

That therefore which had heretofore been the Temple of the publick *Genius*, is made a pure Church, and holy Temple [dedicated] to *Ignatius*; his sacred Reliques having with great pomp been conveyed into the City on a Chariot, and deposited in that Temple. On which ac-

count, a solemn Festival and a [day of] publick joy is celebrated [yearly] even till our times; which [Festival] has been rendered more magnificent by *Gregorius* Bishop [of that place.] These things were done here, [because] from that time God would honour the pious memories of [his] Saints. For, the impious and destructive *Julian*, that Tyrant, hateful to God, (in regard *Apollo Daphneus*, \* who made use of *Castalia* for a voice and † an Oracle, could not give any answer to the Emperour consulting his Oracle, because the holy \* *Babylas*, his near neighbour, had quite stopped up his mouth:) against his will, and forc'd thereto by stripes [as it were,] honoured the Saint with a removal: (at which time a spacious Church was erected to him before the City, which [structure] continues standing at this day:) to the intent that the *Demons* might in future freely perform their own [business,] according as ('tis reported) they had before-hand promised *Julian*. This affair therefore was by the dispensation of God our Saviour ordered in this manner, to the end that the power of those who had suffered Martyrdom might be made manifest, and that the sacred Reliques of the holy Martyr, removed into an undefiled place, might be honoured with a most beautiful Church.

λίαν (σεσίτηται, καὶ σιγῇ καὶ ὕδαρ ὅτιν ἐ μανθόμηνον, ἀλλὰ γλώμηνον πάλιν ἀνδραὶς ἀρῶν) ὁ Ἀπόλλων πάλιν ἡ δάφνη αὐτοῦ, &c. *Castalia* hath been silenced again, and is silent, and it is water not uttering Oracles, but exciting laughter. *Apollo* [is become] a dumb statue again. *Daphne* [is] a tree again, &c. At which words of *Gregorius*, see (if you please) what the *Scholast Nonnus* has remarked, chap. 21. I should not have taken notice of this, had I not perceived that neither of the Translatours had seen it. *Vales.* *Nonnus's* Scholion (which *Valesius* here refers his Reader to,) is this: *Castalia fons erat in Antiochia*, *Castalia* was a fountain in *Antioch*, at which *Apollo* is by the *Antients* reported to sit, and to give forth Oracles at the water. And when any persons came thither on account of consulting the Oracle, that water (as 'tis reported) sent forth gentle blasts and puffs of wind; and then the Priests, who were about the Fountain, declared those things which the will of the *Demon* had brought forth.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning *Attila* King of the \* *Scythæ*; and how he destroyed the Provinces of the East and West. And concerning the strange † Earthquake and other dreadful prodigies which happened in the World.

IN these very times, that much-talk't-of War was raised, by *Attila* King of the *Scythæ*. Which War *Priscus* the Rhetorician has written with much accuracy and eloquence, relating [to us] in a singular neatness and elegance of stile, how \* he undertook an Expedition against the Eastern and Western parts [of the Empire,] how many and how great Cities he took and reduced to a subjection to himself, and [lastly] after the performance of what great [Actions] he departed out of this life. Whilst the same *Theodosius* swayed the [Imperial] Scepter, a Earth-most terrible and horrid \* Earthquake, which exceeded all others that had been before, happened almost throughout the whole World. In so much that many Towers belonging to the Imperial City [Constantinople] fell down flat, and that called the Long-wall of *Cherronesus* fell likewise; the Earth also was rent in sunder, and many Villages sank down into it: Moreover, many and almost innumerable calamitous Accidents

\* Or, who had *Castalia*, &c.

† Or, Prophecy.

\* See *Socrat. Eccles. Hist. book 3. chap. 18.* means the *Castalian* Fountain. Concerning which *Am. Marcellinus*, *Gregorius Nazianz.* and others have related many things.

*Gregorius's* words in his second Inve. Give a gainst *Julian* (Tom. 1. pa. 127. Ed. Paris. 1609) are these: πάλιν ἡ δάφνη

\* τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Valesius* renders it The *Hummi*. † Or, wonder.

quake happened on the year of Christ 447 in the Consulate of *Ardabures* and *Calpurnius*; as *Marcellinus* reports



in his Chronicon, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle doe relate. Marcellinus's words are these: *Ingenti terramotu per loca varia imminente, plurimi urbis Augustae murus recentis aducrea-dificatione con-structi,* cum quinquaginta septem turribus corruerunt: An exceeding great Earthquake being imminent through several places, a vast part of the walls [or, most of the walls] of the Imperial City which had been but very lately rebuilt, fell down, together with fifty seven Towers. Which words I have annexed for this reason, that I might shew that Evagrius's words here have been misunderstood by Translatours; who rendered these words [*ἐν τῷ βασιλείᾳ*] thus [*in Palatio, in the Palace*]; when as they ought to have rendered them, *in the Imperial City*. By which name Evagrius usually calls Constantinople. Valef.

*ἡ δὲ τῶν σφίσι πίζαις.* The Rules of Grammar do require, that we should write *σὺν ταῖς σφῶν πίζαις*, together with their roots. In the Tellerian MS. the reading is *σὺν ταῖς*. A little before, where the reading is *διαχίναται τὸ γῆν*, the earth was dissipated; the same Manuscript has it written thus: *διασίναι τὸ γῆν*, the earth was separated, or, rent in sunder. Valef.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the [publick] Buildings in Antioch, and who they were that erected them.

**I**N these very times [of Theodosius's Reign,] Memmonius, Zoilus, and Callistus, <sup>a</sup> Personages eminent for [their profession of] our Religion, were sent by Theodosius to be <sup>b</sup> Governours of Antioch. Memmonius, with much of beauty and accuracy raises from the very ground that [*Ἄεμυλτ, I didice*] which by us also is termed the *Psephium*, leaving an open *Atrium* [or, Court] in the middle. [*τὴν ἡμετέραν*]. *ἡ δὲ σφῶν πίζαις*, Personages eminent for, &c. For, this reading is required by the Rules of Grammar. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> That is, to be *Consulares* of Syria. For, the *Consularis* of Syria governed the City Antioch, and the other Cities of Syria-Cæle. Further, take heed of supposing, that these three men (to wit, Memmonius, Zoilus and Callistus) were sent at one and the same time by Theodosius, to preside over the *Antiochian Jurisdiction*. For this was not the usage of the Romans. We ought therefore to understand, that each of them had been sent at several times, one after the other, by Theodosius. You must know further, that 'twas usual for the *Consulares* of Syria, that they might ingratiate themselves with the *Antiochians*, to erect some publick structure. Libanius informs us hereof (in his *Antiochic*, pag. 370. Tom. 2. Edit. Paris. 1627.) in these words: *ἡ δὲ Σαμωασὸν, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατέστα ἡ ἄλλων, &c.* 'Tis no wonder therefore, if that [City] which excells the rest in other things, which, after she has vanquished other [Cities] in the study and exercise of wisdom, has [out-done] even herself, should render those who come to be her Governours, her Lovers. The beginning, middle, and close of each of which persons Government, is this, to make some addition to the City. The same Libanius a little before in the same page, says there were three Tribunals in the City Antioch, and as many Scholes of Advocates, to wit, equal to the number of the Tribunals, [or Judicatories.] The first Tribunal seems to have belonged to the *Præfatus Prætorio* of the East, whose residence was at Antioch. The second was the Tribunal of the Comes of the East. The third was the Jurisdiction of the *Consularis* of Syria Cæle. Libanius's words are these: *ἂν δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολιτοδόμοις παύσεας, τρεῖς καὶ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ τοῖς δικαστέοις ἀγέρονται*: which passage is to be rendered thus: For, besides the Erudition which is in the Decuriones, three Scholes [or, Quires] of Advocates are [there] assembled, equal in number to the Judicatories. Valef.

Zoilus [built] the *Royal Porticus*, which [is placed] at the South-side of *Rufinus* [his Porticus]; and retains his name even to our age, although the buildings have [frequently] been altered on account of various calamitous accidents. Moreover, *Callistus* has raised a most magnificent and splendid structure (which as well the Ancients as those of our Age, have termed *Callistus's Porticus*;) before \* that Palace which is made the Court of Judicature, directly opposite to the Forum, in which there is a most beautiful house, the <sup>a</sup> *Prætorium* of the Masters of the Milice. After these persons, *Anatolius* being sent Master of the Milice into the East, built that termed *Anatolius's Porticus*, and beautified it with matter of all sorts. These [Remarks] (though they are foreign to our design in hand, yet) [will not seem] unhandsome and contemptible to lovers of Learning.

at the [Southern] side of *Ruphinus's Palace*. Sir Henry Savil also, in his Copy which I have by me, has expunged the word *Rufinus*, and in stead thereof has substituted these [*τὴν παλατίαν ὀρεφον*, the Roof of the Palace.] And thus *Christophorson* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendered it thus: *Qui ad Australe latus recte palatii, quod Rufini nomen obtinet, spectat*; which looks towards the southern side of the Roof of the Palace, which bears the name of *Rufinus*. But in regard these words [*τὴν παλατίαν*] or [*τὴν παλατίαν ὀρεφον*] occur not, either in the Kings, or in the Florentine, or Tellerian M.SS. in my judgment, they ought deservedly to be expunged. Valef. *Valesius* has rendered this passage thus: *quæ ad meridianum latus porticus Rufini sita*; which we have exprest in our English Version. The import of the Greek, if rendered word for word, is this, at the Southern part of *Ruphinus's side*.

<sup>a</sup> *Τὸν σπαρτήσαν τὰ κατὰ δόμα.* *Musculus* renders it, *Mansionem ducum*, the Mansion of the Dukes, or chief Military Commanders. *Christophorson's* Version is not much different; for he renders it thus: *è regione fore in quo pulcherima domus est quam præfecti præsidiorum incolere solent*; Over against the Forum wherein there is a most beautiful house, in which the *Præfects* of the Milice [or, of the Military Forces,] do usually dwell. But, by *σπαρτήσαν* in this place, in my judgment, must be understood, (not the Military Commanders in chief, or, Masters of the Milice but) the *Magistrates* or *Duumviri*, who in Greek were termed *σπαρτήροι*, as I have already remarked in my notes on *Am. Marcellinus*, and *Eusebius*; [See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 11. note (p.) and book 8. chap. 11. note (c.)] Now, why I suppose this word is rather thus to be taken here, this is the reason, because that house is said to have been in the Forum, over against the Palace wherein was the Court of Judicature. Moreover, such a house as this seems to be more agreeable to a *Municipal Magistrate*, than to a *Recour* of the Milice. Besides, these houses were in Greek termed *σπαρτήμα*. Such a one was the *Strategium* at Constantinople, as I have noted at the first Book of *Socrates*, [chap. 16. note (d.)] Although the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in *The Transactions of the Emperour Severus*, brings another reason of this word. But now, having examined the business more attentively; by *σπαρτήσαν* I understand here the Masters of the Milice throughout the East, who had a splendid *Prætorium* in the Forum of the City Antioch. *Theophanes* mentions this *Prætorium*, in his *Chronicon*, pag. 147. *ἀνέφθην γὰρ τὸ πύρ σὺν τῷ μαρτυρῆ τῷ ἐκτὸς σφῶν, καὶ ἦν τὸ πᾶν τοῦ σπαρτήσαντος ἐφθασιν*; For the fire was kindled from the Church of Saint Stephen, and burnt [or, went] as far as the *Prætorium* of the Master of the Milice. Valef.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the several Wars, which hapned both in Italy, and Persia; during the Reign of Theodosius.

\* **D**URING the times of the same Theodosius, frequent Rebellions hapned in Europe, whilest *Valentinianus* was Emperour of Rome. Which *Theodosius* repressed, by sending great Forces both by Land and Sea; [which made up] <sup>a</sup> as well a Foot Army, as a Naval strength. Moreover, he vanquished the Persians (\* who were grown insolent, *Isdigerdes*, Father to *Varanes*, being then their King,

The reading in Robert Stephens's Edition, and here is this [*αὐτὸς τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν*]. The Geneva-Printers, from *Christophorson's* Copy, have set it forth thus: *παλατίαν ὀρεφον*, the Roof of the Palace. Sir Henry Savil also, in his Copy which I have by me, has expunged the word *Rufinus*, and in stead thereof has substituted these [*τὴν παλατίαν ὀρεφον*, the Roof of the Palace.] And thus *Christophorson* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendered it thus: *Qui ad Australe latus recte palatii, quod Rufini nomen obtinet, spectat*; which looks towards the southern side of the Roof of the Palace, which bears the name of *Rufinus*. But in regard these words [*τὴν παλατίαν*] or [*τὴν παλατίαν ὀρεφον*] occur not, either in the Kings, or in the Florentine, or Tellerian M.SS. in my judgment, they ought deservedly to be expunged. Valef. *Valesius* has rendered this passage thus: *quæ ad meridianum latus porticus Rufini sita*; which we have exprest in our English Version. The import of the Greek, if rendered word for word, is this, at the Southern part of *Ruphinus's side*.

\* Or, during the times of the same Theodosius, frequent Rebellions hapned in Europe, whilest *Valentinianus* was Emperour of Rome. Which *Theodosius* repressed, by sending great Forces both by Land and Sea; [which made up] <sup>a</sup> as well a Foot Army, as a Naval strength. Moreover, he vanquished the Persians (\* who were grown insolent, *Isdigerdes*, Father to *Varanes*, being then their King,

\* Or, who we would follow the Laws of







ἡ τὰς καλεῖσθαι ὑποθέσεις. Musculus and Christopherson have rendered this place very ill. Nicephorus has explained it well in this manner:



## There

\* Or, *studied*, or *devoted*.  
*h* *Christophorus*  
*phoe* *combas*

Further, they have \* learned to eat with such undisturbedness as to their passions and affections that, <sup>h</sup> if need so requires, [they eat] with *Victuallers* and *Retailers of Provision*, without



There are amongst them frequent and unwearied bendings of the knees, and [after them] <sup>m</sup> Laborious stations; Desire being the only recreation of their Age, and of their voluntary infirmity. They are a kind of *Champions* without flesh, *Wrestlers* without blood; who instead of a splendid banquet and delicious dainties, have a fast, and, in place of a full-furnish'd Table, nothing (as near as 'tis possible) that they may

tast of. Whensoever a stranger comes to them, though it be in the morning, yet they receive him with a singular hospitality, and friendly invitation to eat and drink; having found out another sort of fasting, to wit, to eat even against their will. So that this thing strikes [all men] with an astonishment, that (whereas they want so many [necessaries] for sufficient food, yet) they are contented with so very few: being enemies to their own wills and nature, but slaves to the desires of their neighbours; that in all things the sweets of the flesh might be expelled, and the soul might have the Government, prudently chusing and conserving what is best and most acceptable to God. Blessed persons, in respect of the life they lead here; but much more blessed on account of their translation to that other, after which they pant continually, hastning to see <sup>p</sup> him whom they love.

Copy, instead of [τῶν ἢ πάλαι διλήμμεσιν] it is plainly written thus, τῶν ἢ πάλαι διλήμμεσι, to the desires of their neighbours. Sir Henry Savil had drawn a line under this place, signifying thereby, that there was a fault here. But he saw not how it was to be mended. Nicephorus also retains the vulgar reading. *Valef.*  
<sup>p</sup> Τὸν ποθέμενον αὐτοῖς. The reading in the Tellerian MS. pleases me better; which is [τὸ ποθέμενον αὐτοῖς, the thing desired by them;] this to me seems more elegant. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXII.

*What [Structures] the Empress Eudocia built in Palestine, and concerning the Church of the Proto-Martyr Stephen, within which she was piously buried: moreover, concerning the Death of the Emperour Theodosius.*

When therefore the Wife of *Theodosius* had conversed with many such persons as these, and had built many Monasteries, like unto them which I have mentioned; and moreover, had repaired the walls of *Jerusalem* [and made them] much better; she erected a vast Church, eminent for its \*splendidness and beauty, [in \*Or, Excellence.] of *Stephen* the first of the *Deacons* and *Martyrs*, about the distance of one furlong from *Jerusalem*. In which Church she was deposited, after her departure to an immortal life. Further, *Theodosius* [having ended his life] sometime after these things, or, as some will have it, before *Eudocia*; and changed the Empire (which had been Governed by him eight and thirty years,) [for an eternal life:] the most incomparable *Marcianus* assumes the *Roman* Empire. The Actions therefore, which were perform'd by Him during his Ruling the *Eastern* Empire, shall most plainly be set forth † in the following Book, provided divine assistance will furnish us with its own favour and benevolence.

\* Or, Excellence.

† Or, in the following History.



# THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF

*EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,*

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Emperour Marcianus, and  
what signs preceded, \* declaring he should  
be Emperour.*

\* Or, de-  
claring his  
Empire.

† Or, dis-  
course.

\* Or, he was  
crowned  
with.

<sup>a</sup> Instead of [Priscus] it  
must be Priscus. which is the  
reading in the Tellerian MS. and  
in Nicephorus, Book 15. This is  
the Priscus, out of whose Books  
of History we have the Excerptæ  
Legationes. Valef.

\* Or, endeavouring.

WHAT was transacted during the Times of Theodosius [Junior,] we have comprehended in our First † Book. Come on, we will now bring Marcianus forth, that famous Emperour of the Romans; and in the first place we will relate, who and whence he was, and in what manner \* he arrived at the Roman Empire: and then we will declare the affairs transacted by him, in their proper places [and times.] Marcianus therefore, as 'tis related by many others, and also by <sup>a</sup> Priscus the Rhetorician, by original Extract was a Thracian, the Son of a Military man. \* Desiring to follow his Father's course of life, he went to Philippopolis, [hoping] he might there be enrolled in the Companies of the Milice. As he was going thither, he sees the body of a man newly slain, which lay thrown upon the ground. Near to which he made a stand, (for he was eminent in respect of his other [endowments,] but most especially, on account of his humanity and compassion:) lamented what had hapned, and for a sufficient while desisted from proceeding on his journey, being desirous to perform what was fitting [to be done to the dead body.] When some persons had seen this, they gave the Magistrates of Philippopolis an account of it. Who having apprehended Marcianus, interrogated him concerning the Murder of the Man. When therefore conjectures and probabilities prevailed more than truth it self, and than the tongue of the person accused denying the Murder; and when [Marcianus] was about to undergo the punishment of a Murderer; divine assistance on a sudden discovered the person that

had committed the Murder. Who having been punish'd for that fact with the loss of his head, [thereby] \* preserved the head of Marcianus. \* Or, per-  
Being thus unexpectedly saved, he goes to one done, or,  
of the Companies of the Milice in that place, forgave.  
it being his desire to enter himself a Souldier, Evagrius  
therein. They admired the Man, and conjectu- παρρησιάζει  
ring upon good grounds that he would in future βαλδύμυρος.  
become a great person and one of extraordinary Musculus  
worth, they received him most willingly, and has ren-  
enrolled him amongst themselves, not last of all, dred it  
as the Military Law directs; but, in the place well, thus,  
of a Souldier newly dead, whose name was Au- Ut in co-  
gustus, they registred Marcianus (who was like- militiam  
wise called Augustus,) in the Muster-Roll. Thus men daret,  
[Marcianus by] his own name was before- That he  
hand in possession of the denomination of our might list.  
Emperours, who at such time as they put on [Or, enter]  
their Purple [assume] the Appellation of Au- himself a  
gusti. As if the name had refused to abide with Souldier  
him without the dignity; and again, as if the therein.  
dignity could have required no other name for Not that  
its being majestically adorned. So that, his Pro- the term  
per, and his Appellative name was the same; due exact-  
both his Dignity, and likewise his Appellation, ly import-  
being declar'd by one and the same denomination. the same  
Moreover, another accident hapned, from which with wo-  
it might be conjectured, that Marcianus would men dare,  
come to be Emperour. For, having had a Mili- to list, or  
nary, to desire and to sue for. So Dionys. Halicarnassensis, about the  
close of his 11th Book, uses this Phrase, παρρησιάζειν τὴν ἀρχήν  
to sue for an Office. But, Appian usually words it thus, ἀρ-  
λὰν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν. And so does the Old Author in Suidas, in the  
word ἀρρησιάζομαι. Now, Candidates, when they sued for an Office,  
were wont nomen suum profiteri, to tell their name and be enroll'd.  
Johannes Langus renders it, Militare Sacramentum dicere, to say  
the Military Oath. Which Version I disprove of. For ἀρρησιάζομαι  
is the album militare, the Muster-Roll, wherein the names of all the  
Souldiers were registred. Vegetius, Book 2. Chap. 5. terms it Mar-  
culam, the List of Souldiers. Evagrius uses ἀρρησιάζομαι in this sense  
hereafter in this Chapter; μαρτυρῶν τὴν ἑὴν ἀρχήν ἐς τὴν ἀρρησι-  
άζομαι ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, they registred Marcianus (who was likewise called  
Augustus) in the Muster-Roll. Further, the names of the Souldiers  
were inserted into the Muster-Roll, before they had said the Oath.  
as Vegetius attests in the fore quoted place. Candidus Isaurus makes  
use of the same term, in his first book Histor. where his words concern-  
ing Leo are these: ἐς ἣν ἐν δακίᾳ μὲν τῆς ἐν ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατιῶσι  
παρρησιάζομαι τὴν ἀρχήν, who was of that Dacia in Illyricum, having  
registred in a Military Company. Valef.



tary Command under *Aspar* [in the War] against the *Vandals*, it hapned that *Marcianus*, together with many others, was taken Prisoner, (*Aspar* having been very much worsted by the *Vandals*;) and brought into a Field with the other Captives; it being *Geiserichus*'s desire to see the Prisoners. After they were gather'd together, *Geiserichus* being seated in an high room, pleased himself with viewing the multitude of those taken Prisoners. And in regard much time was spent [there, the Prisoners] did what each of them had a mind to: (For *Geiserichus* had given order, that those who guarded the Captives, should loose them from their bonds.) Some of them therefore did one thing, others another. But *Marcianus* laid himself down on the ground, and slept in the Sun, which was hot and more scorching than usual at that season of the year. [In which very interim] an Eagle came down from on high in the Air, and raising her self by a flight with her face perpendicularly opposite to the Sun, made a shadow like a Cloud over *Marcianus*, whereby she refreshed and cooled him. *Geiserichus* wondring hereat, with great foresight conjectured at what would happen; and when he had sent for *Marcianus*, he caused him to be dismissed from his Captivity, having first bound him in great Oaths, that after his coming to the Empire, he should inviolably keep his faith to the *Vandals*, and not move his Arms

against them. Which engagement, as *Procopius* relates, *Marcianus* did in reality keep and perform. But leaving this digression, let us return to our Subject. *Marcianus* was pious towards God, just as to what related to his Subjects: ac-

counting these true riches (not which were hoarded up, or brought together from the Collections of Tribute; but them only) which might supply the wants of the indigent, and render their Estates who possess much, secure and safe. He was formidable, not for his punishing, but because [twas feared] he was about to punish. On these accounts therefore he obtained the Empire, [which fell to him] not by an hereditary Right, but [was] the reward of his virtue; as well the Senate, as all other persons of what degrees and orders soever, conferring the Imperial dignity upon him by a general suffrage, to which they were persuaded by *Pulcheria*. Whom, in regard she was *Augusta*, *Marcianus* married; but knew her not as a Wife, she continuing a Virgin till her death. And these things were done, before *Valentinianus* Emperour of Rome had confirmed this Election by his own consent. Notwithstanding, by reason of [*Marcianus*'s] Virtue, he afterwards made it authentic. Further, it was *Marcianus*'s desire, that [one] Worship might in common be exhibited to God by all persons, (those tongues, which had been confuted through impiety, being again piously united;) and that the Deity might be praised with one and the same \* *Doxology*.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, and what was the Occasion of its being convened.

Whilest therefore the Emperour's mind was taken up with these desires, there

came to him, both the \* *Responsales* of *Leo* Bishop of the Elder Rome, affirming that *Dioscorus* in the second Ephesine Synod, had not admitted of *Leo*'s Letter, wherein was contained † the Doctrine of the true Faith: and also those persons who had been injured by the same *Dioscorus*, intreating that their Cause might be judged in a Synod of Bishops. But above all *Eusebius*, who had been Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, was most importunately urgent, saying, that by the treacherous contrivances of *Chrysaphius* *Theodosius*'s Protector, he and *Flavianus* had been deposed, because, to *Chrysaphius* demanding Gold for *Flavianus*'s own Ordination, *Flavianus* (to shame him) <sup>b</sup> had sent the sacred Vessels; and because *Chrysaphius* agreed with *Eutyches* in his erroneous and false Opinions. *Eusebius* said moreover, that *Flavianus* had been beaten, and kickt, and in a miserable manner murdered by *Dioscorus*. *Chrysaphius* is thus

termed by *Priscus* Rhetor, in his Excerpt. Legationum. The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle calls him *Spatharius*, which we may render Esquire of the Emperour's body. He is termed *Spatharius* also in *Gestis de nomine Acacii*, which *Jacobus Sirmundus* hath set forth. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Theophanes* in his Chronicon relates that *Theodosius* Junior, who then made his Residence at Chalcedon, by the impulse of *Chrysaphius* commanded *Flavianus*, (newly ordained Bishop of Constantinople,) that for his Ordination he should send him the Eulogia, [that is, the Loaves of Benediction, or, pieces of the Blessed bread. See *Socrat. Book 7. Chap. 12. Note (b);* and also *Meursius's* Glossary, at the word *εὐλογία*.] And when *Flavianus* had sent white loaves, in the name of a Benediction, *Chrysaphius* made answer, that the Emperour demanded golden Eulogia. In answer to which *Flavianus* wrote back, that he had no money which he could send, unless instead of money he should present him with the sacred Vessels of the Church. And this thing, as *Theophanes* says, raised a deadly grudge between *Chrysaphius* and *Flavianus*. Valef.

For these reasons, a Synod is convened at Chalcedon, Couriers and Expresses being sent, and the Bishops in all places called together \* by the most pious Emperour's Letters, first at *Nicea*: (in so much that, *Leo* Bishop of Rome, writing to them concerning those persons he had sent to supply his own place, to wit, *Paschasius*, *Lucentius*, and the rest, inscribed [his Letters thus,] *To those convened at Nicea*;) but afterwards at Chalcedon in the Country of the *Bythynians*. <sup>c</sup> *Zacharias* Rhetor, in favour to *Nestorius*, does indeed <sup>a</sup> affirm that he was sent for out of Exile [to this Council.] But, that this was not so, may be conjectured from hence, that the Synod does every where *Anathematize* *Nestorius*. The same is also expressly attested by *Eustathius* Bishop of *Berytus* (in his Letter to *Johannes* a Bishop, and to another *Johannes* a Presbyter, concerning the matters agitated in the Synod,) in these very words: *Those persons meeting again, who de-manded Nestorius's Reliques, cried out against the Synod, [in this sort:] For what reason are Holy Men Anathematiz'd? In so much that the Em-perour, being highly incensed, commanded his Guards by force to drive them a far off. How therefore Nestorius could have been called [to this Council,] who was dead long before, I can-*

\* Or, by pious Letters.

<sup>c</sup> *Zacharias* Rhetor wrote an Ecclesiastick History from the beginning of the Emperour *Marcianus*'s Reign (as it may be conjectured from this place,) until the Reign of *Anastasius*. But he wrote not with sincerity and modera-

tion (as an History ought to be written,) but was corrupted with favour and hatred, that is, *εμπέδως*, with affection and partiality, as *Evagrius* says. *Evagrius* attests the same concerning him, in Book 3. Chap. 7. And in Chap. 18. of his third Book, he accuses the same *Zacharias* of negligence. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> In the Florentine MS. the reading of this place is more entire thus, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐκτετακτοῦ ἰουδαίου γένους*. And we have rendered it accordingly. Valef. In Robert Stephens Edition, the words [*ἐκ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, out of Exile*] are wanting.



## C H A P. III.

*A description of the Great Martyr Euphemia's Church, which is in [the City] Chalcedon: and a Narrative of the Miracles perform'd therein.*

**T**HE Fathers] therefore are assembled in the sacred Church of the Martyr Euphemia. This Church stands in Chalcedon, a City belonging to the Province of the Bithynians. It is distant from the Bosphorus not more than two furlongs, [situate] in a most pleasant place, on an \* eminence which rises easily and by degrees: in so much that, those who go up into the Church of the Martyr, are insensible of Labour in their walk; but being got within the Temple, on a sudden they appear at a vast height. Whence casting down their eyes as 'twere from a Watch-Tower, they have a prospect of all the Fields beneath, extended into a level and even Plain, clothed in green with grass, waving with standing corn, and beautified with the sight of all sorts of trees: [they see] woody mountains also, [the trees whereon] bend and then raise [their tops] finely to an height. Moreover, [they have a prospect of] several Seas, some of which [seem] \* purple-colour'd by reason of their serenity, and do sweetly and mildly play with the Shoars; to wit, where the places are calm: but others are rough and boisterous with surges, by the very reciprocal motion of their waves forcing ashore, and mix'd with little stones, Sea-weed, and the lightest sort of shell-fish, and then drawing them back again. Moreover, the Church it self stands right over against Constantinople. So that, the Temple is [not a little] adorn'd with the prospect of so great a City. The Church consists of three most spacious Structures. The first is an Open Court, beautified with a large || Atrium, and with Pillars on every side. After this there is another Structure, for breadth, and length, and pillars, almost alike; differing only in this, that it has a Roof laid over it. In the Northern side whereof at the rising Sun, there is a round Edifice built in form of a <sup>b</sup> Tholos, set round within with Pillars most artificially framed, which are alike as to their matter, and equal in bigness. <sup>c</sup> Over these [Pillars,] there is an \* Hypæron raised to a vast height, under the same Roof: so that, even in this Room also, they that desire it, may both supplicate the Martyr, and also be present at the sacred Mysteries. Nevertheless, Nicephorus has followed the vulgar reading, which is μικρὰς παρεκλήσιως. In the Tellerian MS. I found it written μικρὰ παρεκλήσιω. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐς δόλον, that is, in form of a Cupolo, or Cuppulo; as the Italians now term it. Harpocraton (in the word δόλον) tells us, that the place where the Prytanes (who were a sort of Magistrates amongst the Athenians) eat, was termed Tholus; ὡς ἐνίων δὲ (continues he) σκιάς, διὰ τὸ ἔπος ἀποδομῆς αὐτὸν στρογγύλον παρόμοιον δολία, but by some 'tis termed σκιάς, (that is, an Arbour) because 'tis built round, in that form, like an hat with an high round crown.

<sup>c</sup> 'Tis strange that Translatours should not have perceived the fault of this place: for what can the sense be of these words; Sub his columnis tabulatum est sublime, &c. Under these Pillars there is an high Chamber, &c. according as Christophorson has rendred it? Instead of [ὡς ὑπὸ ταῖς, under these] it must undoubtedly be ἐπὶ ταῖς, over these; which is the reading in Nicephorus; his words are these: ἐπὶ οἷς ὑψώον π. &c. which Langus renders thus: Super quibus porticus sublimis eadem sub Testudine constructa est, Over which [Pillars] there is an high Gallery built under the same Roof. Valef.

\* Or, Upper Room.

But within the Tholos, towards the East, there is a magnificent Tomb, where lie the most holy Reliques of the Martyr, deposited in an oblong Chest (some term it <sup>a</sup> The Macra,) most curiously made of silver. The Miracles which are at certain times performed by the holy Martyr, are manifestly known to all Christians. For, frequently in their sleep she appears, either to the Bishops during their several times of presidency over that City, or else to some persons (otherwise eminent for [piety of] life,) who come to her [Church,] and orders them to make their Vintage in the Temple. After this hath been made known, both to the Emperours, to the Patriarch, and also to the City; as well those who sway the Imperial Scepter, as the Pontiffs, Magistrates, and the rest of the whole multitude of the people, go immediately to the Church, with a desire to partake of the Mysteries. In the sight of all these persons therefore, the Bishop of Constantinople, together with the Priests about him, goes into the sacred Edifice, where the holy Body I have mentioned is deposited. There is a little hole in the Chest, on its left side, which is shut up and made fast by small doors. Through this hole they let down a long iron rod, after they have fastned a sponge to it, as far as the most holy Reliques; and when they have turned the sponge about, they draw the iron rod up to them, [the sponge at the end whereof is] full of blood, and bloody clotters. Which when the people behold, immediately they adore and glorifie God.

I mean a place fenced in with Barrs made lattise-wise, in the midst whereof was that silver Chest wherein the Reliques of the holy Martyr Euphemia were deposited. For, that it was so, is apparent from Evagrius's following words. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Instead of μακρὰν Macra, I think it should be ἀρχὴν, The Ark. Truly, I do not see what sense there can be in the vulgar reading; in regard μακρὰν and ὀπίσθινος signifie the same; nor is it a proper name, but an adjective. 'Tis better therefore to read ἀρχὴν, the Ark. Some persons, says Evagrius, term the Martyr's Chest, Arcan, the Ark. For so the Latines term it. The Old Glosses render σκεῦος, arca funebris, an Ark, or Chest, for the dead. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ τὸ τέρμα τρυφᾶν. Translatours understood not this place. Musculus and Christophorson made it τρυφᾶν. For Musculus renders it thus: Ut circa templum ad honorem ejus jucundentur precipiti, and orders them that in honour of her they should be merry about the Temple. And Christophorson translates it thus: Jubet ut in ipso Templo festum deliciis, & ciparis epulis celebrent, she orders that in the very Church they should celebrate a feast with dainties and sumptuous banquets. But, Evagrius's following words do altogether refute this emendation. For, he adds not one word at this place, which may in any wise belong to luxury or delicious food. Nicephorus has indeed retained the vulgar reading: but has explained it ill, thus: ἀφ' ὧν δὲ δαυμάτων τρυφᾶν ἐρεκελεύετο: that is, as Langus has rendred it, Ut miraculorum talium fructum perciperent, est hortata, she exhorteth them, that they should freely partake of the fruit of such miracles. But Nicephorus added these words of his own head; nor has he comprehended Evagrius's meaning; in regard Evagrius speaks not here of more miracles, but of one only miracle, to wit, the blood flowing out of the Tomb of the holy Martyr. I have followed the ordinary reading, and have explained this place in the simple and obvious sense concerning the making of a Vintage. Which agrees exactly with Evagrius's following words. For the blood, which in a most plentiful manner was press'd out of the blessed Martyr's reliques, was not unlike Wine, which is squeezed out of press'd Grapes. Besides, the Festival day of the holy Euphemia fell on the time of Vintage, to wit, on the sixteenth of September, as we are informed from the Greek Menology. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> I am of the same opinion with Learned men, who instead of [ἐν δὲ, But moreover] have long since altered the reading, and made it ἐστὶ δὲ, There is, &c. Which emendation is confirmed by the Tellerian Manuscript, and by Nicephorus. Further, Langus renders κλειθρίδιον (which is the term here used,) fenestellam, a little window: Christophorson translates it transennam, a Loup, or, Casement. I (as Musculus has done,) had rather render it foramen, an hole. For Sozomen terms it thus, Book 9. Chap. 2. where I have made more Remarks concerning such little windows as these, which were made in the Capsæ [Chests wherein were laid the Reliques] of the Martyrs. Valef.

[Further,]



been held, that it might not have filled the World  
with mischiefs and disturbances! ) that \* Good \* 'Tis Iro-  
man Dioscorus, disregarding the consideration nically  
of what is just, and [not respecting] the fear of spoken:  
God, ( for he was of the same opinion, and enter-  
tained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded  
and heretical Eutyches; but concealed it from  
many Persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evi-  
denced from his own declaration: ) † took an oc- † Or, found  
casion from that accusation which I had brought  
against Eutyches, a Person of the same opinion with  
himself, and from that Sentence pronounc'd against  
the same Eutyches by Bishop Flavianus \* of holy \* This dis-  
memory; [whereby] he assembled a multitude as a new  
of disorderly and tumultuous Persons: and having of an holy  
possest himself of power by money, as much as in character,  
him lay, he has weakn'd the pious Religion of the or, name:  
Orthodox, and has confirm'd the ill opinion of  
the Monk Eutyches, which long since, even from  
the beginning; hath been condemn'd by the holy  
Fathers: Whereas therefore, the matters are not  
O o small

IN this place, the Synod I have mentioned is convened, the Bishops *Paschasius* and *Lucentius*, and *Bonifacius* the Presbyter, administering (as I have said,) the place of *Leo Pontiff* of the Elder Rome : *Anatolius* presiding over the Constantinopolitan [ Church ; ] and *Dioscorus* being Bishop of [ the Church of ] the *Alexandrians*. *Maximus* [ Bishop ] of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem* [ were there also. ] Together with whom were present those Prelates whom they had about them ; and also those Personages who held the principal places in the eminent Senate [ of *Constantinople*. ] To whom they who filled *Leo's* place, said, that *Dioscorus* ought not to sit together with them in the Council. For this they [ affirmed ] was given them in charge by their Bishop *Leo* ; and unless it were observed, they would remove out of the

him lay, he has weakened the pious Religion of the Orthodox, and has confirmed the ill opinion of the Monk Eutyches, which long since, even from the beginning; hath been condemned by the holy Fathers: Whereas therefore; the matters are not



The

<sup>s</sup> This Sentence pronounc'd by the Deputies of the Apostolick See, is extant in the *third Edition of the Chalcedon Council*, p. 192. *Vales.*



<sup>b</sup> In the third Acti-  
on of the Chalcedon Council, this place is otherwise read, to wit, thus; <sup>c</sup> *αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοῦς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, ἀλλὰ ἕτερος, ὁμοῦς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, ἀλλὰ ἕτερος*, the most Holy Churches over the whole World have been tempted, or tried. Valesf.

<sup>i</sup> Instead of [ *ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον, &c.* ] in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, the reading is [ *ὅτι τὸ δεύτερον, &c.* ] Valesf.

<sup>k</sup> These words [ *τὸν κρίνοντα* ] of judging, or, of judgment, are wanting in the Kings, in the Tellerian, and in the Florentine Manuscripts; and they are put into the Geneva Edition from Christopherson's Book. They occur indeed in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council; but to me they seem not very necessary Valesf. In Rob. Stephen's Edition, they are wanting.

<sup>l</sup> *was invested with. But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his \* latier facts, (for he has audaciously pronounced an Excommunication against the most Holy and most Pious Leo Archbishop of Rome the Great: And moreover, (when Libels stuffed with Crimes were presented to the Holy and Great Synod against him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Bishops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prickt by his own Conscience; [ Lastly, ] he has illegally received [ to Communion ] those, who had justly been deposed by several Synods: [ on these various accounts we say ] he himself has pronounced sentence against himself, having many ways trampled under foot the Ecclesiastick Rules. Wherefore, the most holy and most Blessed Leo Archbishop of the Great and the Elder Rome, by Us and the present Synod, together with the thrice Blessed and most eminent Apostle Peter, who is the † Rock and Basis of the Catho-  
lick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath divested him of the Episcopal dig-  
nity, and \* hath removed him from [ the performance of ] every Sacerdotal Office. There-  
fore, the Holy and Great Synod it self will † de-  
cree those things concerning the forementioned Dio-  
scorus, which shall seem agreeable to the Canons.*

<sup>†</sup> See chap. 18. note (x.)  
<sup>\*</sup> Or, hath estranged him.  
<sup>†</sup> In the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, the reading is *ἡμεῖς*, will Decree. Which in my judgment is right. For the Future Tense is in this place put for the Imperative Mood. For, whereas the Legates of the Apostolick See do here speak to the Synod, they would not use the Imperative; because it seems more arrogant. They made use therefore of the Future Tense, as being the softer and more modest Mode of Expression. Notwithstanding, The old Translator of the Chalcedon Council has rendered it in the Imperative Mood. In Nicophorus, book 15. chap. 30. the reading is *ἡμεῖς*. Valesf. In Robert Stephen's Edition, and in the Greek Text here, the reading is *ἡμεῖς*, doth Decree; which perhaps is the truer reading.

These things having been confirmed by the Synod, and some other business done, those [ Prelates ] who had been deposed with Dioscorus by the entreaty of the Synod and the Emperours assent, obtained their Restoration. And some other things have been added to what was done before, they promulged a definition of the Faith, contained in these exprefs words.

<sup>m</sup> This definition of the Faith is contained in the fifth Action of the Chalcedon Synod. 'Tis extant also in Nicophorus, book 15. chap. 6. Valesf.

<sup>†</sup> Or, opinions  
<sup>\*</sup> That is, the Constantinopolitan Creed; at the drawing up whereof there were 150 Fathers. See Socrat. book 5. c. 9.

Fathers, they have added these words: That wise and salutary Creed of the Divine Grace, was indeed sufficient for the knowledge and confirmation of Piety. For, it delivers a perfect and entire Doctrine, concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and it expresses and confirms the Incarnation of our Lord to those who receive it with Faith. But, in regard the " Enemies of Truth attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching [ thereof ] by their own Heresies; and have \* coyned vain and new Terms; ) some daring to corrupt the Mystery of our Lord's Dispensation which [ was made ] upon our account, and denying the Term Theotocos [ which is attributed ] to the Virgin; and others introducing a confusion and mixture, foolishly imagining the Nature of the Flesh and of the Deity to be one, and monstrously feigning the Divine Nature of the Only Begotten to be by confusion passible: ) therefore, this present, Holy, Great, and Oecumenical Synod, being desirous to \* preclude \* Or, stop all their [ ways of ] fraud invented against the up-  
Truth, and to vindicate that † Doctrine which † Or, Preaching from the beginning [ has continued ] unshaken; hath determined, that in the first place, the || Faith || That is, of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers the Nicene ought to remain and be preserved unattempted Creed-  
and inviolate: and upon their account who \* im- \* Or, fight pugnate the Holy Spirit, this [ Synod ] confirms against that Doctrine concerning the Substance of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards delivered by the hundred and fifty Fathers convened in the Imperial City [ Constantinople: ] which Doctrine they promulged to all Persons, not as if they added any thing which had been wanting before, but that they might declare their own Sentiment concerning the Holy Spirit, against those who attempted to abrogate and abolish his Dominion and Power: but, upon their account who dare corrupt the Mystery of the Oeconomy, and ° do rave

<sup>n</sup> The word [ *ἐχθροί*, Enemies ] is wanting in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council: and the reading of this whole place is thus; *ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀδελφεῖν ὁμολογεῖντες τὸ κήρυγμα, &c.* Those who attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching of the Truth by their, &c. Which reading seems to me far better. Valesf.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, bred, or, brought forth.  
and others introducing a confusion and mixture, foolishly imagining the Nature of the Flesh and of the Deity to be one, and monstrously feigning the Divine Nature of the Only Begotten to be by confusion passible: ) therefore, this present, Holy, Great, and Oecumenical Synod, being desirous to \* preclude \* Or, stop all their [ ways of ] fraud invented against the up-  
Truth, and to vindicate that † Doctrine which † Or, Preaching from the beginning [ has continued ] unshaken; hath determined, that in the first place, the || Faith || That is, of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers the Nicene ought to remain and be preserved unattempted Creed-  
and inviolate: and upon their account who \* im- \* Or, fight pugnate the Holy Spirit, this [ Synod ] confirms against that Doctrine concerning the Substance of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards delivered by the hundred and fifty Fathers convened in the Imperial City [ Constantinople: ] which Doctrine they promulged to all Persons, not as if they added any thing which had been wanting before, but that they might declare their own Sentiment concerning the Holy Spirit, against those who attempted to abrogate and abolish his Dominion and Power: but, upon their account who dare corrupt the Mystery of the Oeconomy, and ° do rave

[ so ] impudently [ as to as-  
sert ] him who was born of the holy Virgin Mary to be a meer Man; [ this Synod ] has admitted and approved of the Synodical Letters of the Blessed Cyrillus, who was Pastour of the Church of the Alexandrians; [ which Letters Cyrillus sent ] to Nestorius; and to the Eastern [ Bishops, ] and they are sufficient, both to confute Nestorius's madness, and also to explain the salutary Creed, in favour to such Persons as out of a pious zeal are desirous of attaining a true notion thereof. To which Letters, in confirmation of such Sentiments as are right and true, [ this Synod ] has deservedly annexed the Epistle of the most Blessed and most Holy Archbishop Leo, President of the Great and Elder Rome, which he wrote to Archbishop Flavianus of Holy Memory, in order to the subversion of Eutyches's madness; <sup>p</sup> which Letter agrees with the Confession of Great Peter, and is a certain common Pillar against those who embrace ill Sentiments. For, it makes a resistance against them, who attempt to divide the Mystery of the Oeconomy, and ° do rave

<sup>o</sup> Instead of [ *ἀναιδῶς λοιδορεῖν* ] do reproach [ so ] impudently ] it must doubtless be [ *ἀναιδῶς ἀνεδιδύναι* ], do rave [ so ] impudently; ] agreeable to the reading in the Florentine MS. and in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. Valesf.

<sup>p</sup> The reading here; and in Nicophorus is, *ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου*. Which Letter agrees with the Confession of the Great Peter; &c. But the contexture of the words does necessarily require that we should read thus, *ὡς ἐν τῇ τῆς μακάριου, &c.* in regard it agrees, &c. and so 'tis written in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. Valesf.

<sup>q</sup> The reading here; and in Nicophorus is, *ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου*. Which Letter agrees with the Confession of the Great Peter; &c. But the contexture of the words does necessarily require that we should read thus, *ὡς ἐν τῇ τῆς μακάριου, &c.* in regard it agrees, &c. and so 'tis written in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. Valesf.

<sup>q</sup> The reading here; and in Nicophorus is, *ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου*. Which Letter agrees with the Confession of the Great Peter; &c. But the contexture of the words does necessarily require that we should read thus, *ὡς ἐν τῇ τῆς μακάριου, &c.* in regard it agrees, &c. and so 'tis written in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. Valesf.



economy into two Sons; and it likewise expels those from the convention of sacred Persons, who audaciously assert the Deity of the Only Begotten to be possible: it \* confutes them also who maintain a Mixture or Confusion in the two Natures of Christ: and it expels those who foolishly assert, that the form of a servant, which Christ took from us [men] is of a Celestial or of some other substance: Lastly, it Anathematizes such Persons, as fabulously prate of two Natures of [our] Lord before the Union, but after the Union feign [them to have been] one. Following therefore [the steps of] the holy Fathers,

\* Or, re-  
sists.

ἡ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογῶ-  
μεν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς ἰσοῦν  
χειρὸν, καὶ Συμφώνως ἀπαντες  
ἐκδηλοῦμεν. In the Acts of  
the Chalcedon Synod, this place is  
worded otherwise, to wit, in this  
manner; ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμο-  
λοῦμεν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς ἰσοῦν  
χειρὸν, Συμφώνως ἀπαντες ἐκδη-  
λοῦμεν. To confess our Lord Je-  
sus Christ [to be] one and the  
same Son, with one consent we do  
all teach and declare. Which  
reading seems to me to be far  
the truer. Valef.

We confess our Lord Jesus  
Christ to [be] one and the  
same Son, and with one con-  
sent We do all teach and de-  
clare, that the same Person is  
perfect in the Deity, and that  
the same Person is perfect in  
the Humanity, truly God, and  
truly Man; that the same Per-  
son [subsists] of a rational  
Soul and Body, that he is Con-  
substantial to the Father as  
touching his Deity, and that  
he is of the same Substance

with us according to his Humanity, in all things  
like unto us, sin only excepted; that, according  
to his Deity he was begotten of the Father before  
Ages; but that, in the last days, the same Per-  
son, on our account and for our salvation, ac-  
cording to his Humanity, was born of Mary the  
Virgin and Theotocos: that, one and the same  
Jesus Christ, the Son, the Lord, the Only Be-  
gotten, is inconfusably, immutably, indivisibly,  
and inseparably \* manifested in two Natures:  
that the difference of the Natures is in no wise  
extinguished by the Union: but rather, that the  
propriety of each Nature is preserved, and † meets  
in one Person, and in one Hypostasis: not as if  
[he] were parted and divided into two Per-  
sons: but [he is] one and the same Only Be-  
gotten Son, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ,  
according as the Prophets of old, and Christ him-  
self hath taught us concerning himself, and [ac-  
cording as] the Creed of the Fathers hath de-  
livered [it] to us. These things therefore ha-  
ving with all imaginable accuracy and concinnity  
been constituted by us, the Holy and Oecumenical  
Synod has determined, that it shall not be lawful  
for any Person, to produce, or write, or compose, or  
think, or teach others, another Faith. But whoever  
shall dare, either to compose, or to produce, or to teach  
any other Faith, or to deliver another Creed, to  
those who have a mind to turn from Gentilism,  
or Judaism, or from any other Heresy whatever,  
to the knowledge of the Truth; those Persons, if

\* Or, e-  
stranged  
from.

† Or, alie-  
nated from  
the Clergy.

‡ Removed,  
or, put to  
flight.

\* Or, re-  
called.

† Constan-  
tinople.

‡ Or, in re-  
gard it was  
the second  
after the  
elder  
Rome.

they be Bishops, shall be \* divested of the Episco-  
pal Dignity; if Clergymen, they shall be † degra-  
ded. But if they be Monks, or Laicks, they shall  
be Anathematized. When therefore this De-  
termination had been read, the Emperour Mar-  
cianus also [came to] Chalcedon, and was pre-  
sent at the Synod; and having made a Speech  
[to the Bishops,] he returned. Juvenalis al-  
so and Maximus on certain conditions || de-  
termined those [differences] which were be-  
tween them about [some] Provinces; and  
Theodoret and Ibas were \* restored; and some  
other matters were agitated; which, as I have  
said, [the Reader] will find recorded at the end  
of this Book [Lastly,] it was decreed, That the  
Chair of † New Rome, || in regard it was the

next See to the Elder Rome, should have prece-  
dency before all other [Sees.]

## CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sedition which happened at Ale-  
xandria, on account of Proterius's Ordina-  
tion; likewise [concerning what hapned] at  
Jerusalem.

After these things, Dioscorus \* was banished \* Or, was  
to Gangra [a City] in Paphlagonia; and condem-  
ned to dwell at, &c.  
by common Vote of the Synod, Proterius ob-  
tains the Bishoprick of Alexandria. After he  
had taken possession of his own See, a great and  
most insufferable Tumult arose, the populace  
fluctuating [and being divided] into different  
opinions. For some demanded Dioscorus, as it  
usually happens in such cases: Others adhered  
pertinaciously to Proterius. So that thence arose  
many and those deplorable calamities. 'Tis cer-  
tain Priscus the Rhetorician does relate [in his Hi-  
story] that at that time he came <sup>a</sup> out of the Pro-  
vince of Thebais to Alexandria, and saw the Peo-  
ple making an Attack against the Magistrates.  
And, that when the Souldiers would have put a  
stop to the Tumult, the People threw stones at  
them, and made them run; that after this the  
Souldiers took refuge in that which heretofore  
had been <sup>b</sup> Serapis's Temple, where the People  
besieged them, and burnt them alive. That, the  
Emperour having notice hereof, sent two thou-  
sand new raised Souldiers thither: who having  
the opportunity of a fair wind, made so prospe-  
rous a Voyage, that they arrived at the great City  
Alexandria on the sixth day [after they had been  
ship'd.] That after this, when the Souldiers  
most filthily abused the Wives and Daughters of  
the Alexandrians, facts far more horrid and  
nefarious than the former, were perpetrated.  
And that at last, the People meeting together  
in the Circus, entreated <sup>c</sup> Florus, who was then  
Commander of the Milice [throughout Egypt,] <sup>d</sup> that

came at that time to Alexandria. But, the Province of Thebais was  
not governed by a Praefect, but by a President; as we are informed  
from the Notitia Imperii Romani. Besides, Priscus Rhetor says not,  
that the Governour of the Province of Thebais, but that he himself  
came then to Alexandria. Priscus had indeed been long conversant  
in the Province Thebais, with Maximinus the Commander, whose Coun-  
cellour and Assessor he was, when he waged war against the Nubæ and  
Blemmyæ, as himself informs us in his Excerpt. Legationum. In the  
Tellerian Manuscript, I found this place written thus; φθίνας ἐκ τῆς ἀλε-  
ξανδρίας ἐπαρχίας, came by Alexandria from the Province of  
Thebais. But I should rather write it thus, φθίνας ἐκ τῆς ἀλεξανδρίας ἐκ  
τῆς, &c. came to Alexandria out of the Province of Thebais. Valef. In  
Robert Stephens the reading here is, φθίνας πλωμαῖα τῶν ἀλεξανδρίων  
τῶν θεβαίων ἐπαρχίας.

<sup>e</sup> Nicephorus has added some passages here concerning Serapis's Tem-  
ple, which are sufficiently profound, and which I remember not to have  
read any where else. Therefore I conjecture, that Nicephorus wrote  
these passages out of Priscus Rhetor's History, which then was extant  
entire. Valef. See Nicephorus's Eccles. Histor. book 15. chap. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Of this Florus (who was Praefectus Augustalis, and also Dux of  
Egypt,) Jordanes has made mention in his book De Successione Regno-  
rum, where he writes thus concerning the Emperour Marcianus: Nobades  
Blemmyesque Æthiopia prolapsos, &c. He appeased the Nobades and the  
Blemmyes, (who had fallen down from Æthiopia,) by Florus Procurator  
of the City of Alexandria, and drove them from the Territories of the  
Romans. This Florus had succeeded Theodorus the Augustalis, as we are  
informed from Liberatus's Breviarium, chap. 14. Under whom Pro-  
terius is ordained Bishop, and that Sedition (which Evagrius describes  
here,) was raised at Alexandria, in the year of Christ 452. On account  
of which Sedition, when as the publick [allowance of] bread-corn,  
(which was wont to be delivered out to the Alexandrians,) the Baths  
also, and Shows, by the Emperour's order had been taken from the In-  
habitants of Alexandria; the multitude met together in the Cirque,  
and entreated Florus the Praefectus Augustalis, who was come to Alex-  
andria a little before this, that these things might be restored to them.  
Therefore, this hapned on the year of Christ 453. Valef.

and



and also *Præfēt* of *Alexandria*, that he would restore to them the allowance of Bread-corn (which he had taken from them,) and the Baths and the Shows, and whatever else they were deprived of on account of the Sedition which had been raised amongst them. And that *Florus*, by his perswasion, went into the Assembly of the people, and promised to perform all this, and so the Sedition was appeased and vanished by little and little. Nor, were affairs at the Solitude near *Jerusalem*, in a sedate posture. For some of the Monks, who had been present at the Synod, and had imbibed Sentiments contrary to those Constitutions there established, came into *Palestine*: and complained that the Faith was betrayed, made it their business to inflame and disturb all the Monks. And in regard *Juvenalis* had recovered his own See, and, being by the Seditious compelled to retract and *Anathematize* his own opinion, had made a journey to the Imperial City; those who embraced Sentiments contrary to the *Chalcedon Synod*, (as I have said above,) met together, and in the [Church of the] Holy Resurrection ordained *Theodosius* Bishop, the same person who had raised great disturbances in the Synod at *Chalcedon*, and who had given was the first [Emperour] who bestowed the *Panis Castrensis* [the Camp-bread] upon the *Alexandrians*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* relates at *Constantinus Caesar's* and *Maximianus Jovius Caesar's* fourth Consulate; τὴν πρὸς ἐτεῖ (says he) ὁ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ διοκλητιανῷ ἐδωρήθη, on this year the *Panis Castrensis* was given at *Alexandria* by *Dioclesian*. Which passage occurs in the very same words in the *Chronological Excerptions set forth by Scaliger at the end of Eusebius's Chronicle*. *Procopius* (in his *Anecdot.* pag. 119.) says this Bread-corn was allowed by *Dioclesian* to the poor only of the City *Alexandria*. Which when the Citizens of that City had in after times divided amongst themselves, they then transmitted it to their posterity. *Procopius's* words are these: Διοκλητιανὸς βασιλεὺς γενοὺς ἀπὸ κρήνης οἷα μέγα π χεῖμα διδόντες πρὸς τὴν δῆμον τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας τὰς δρομῆσις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος δίδωσι. ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πινυμένη διαδομένη ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐς ἀπορῆναι τὰς μέχει δεῦρο παρέπεμψαν; *Dioclesian* having been made *Emperour of the Romans*, Decreed, that a vast quantity of Bread-corn should every year be given by the people to the indigent *Alexandrians*. The people having at that time quarrelled amongst their own selves about this, [Bread-corn,] transmitted it to their descendants even to this day. In which words of *Procopius's* there is a very great fault, which *Nicolaus Alemannus* (a person otherwise of incomparable Learning) perceived not. For instead of these words [πρὸς τὴν δῆμον, by the people,] it must undoubtedly be [πρὸς τὴν δρομῆσις, out of the publick stock of Corn laid up for the Emperours use.] And, a little after, instead of these words, [ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πινυμένη διαδομένη ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the people having at that time quarrelled amongst themselves about this Bread-corn;] it must be thus [ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πινυμένη ἰδίᾳ δωσάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the people having at that time privately given this [Bread-corn] amongst their own selves.] That which emendation there is nothing more certain. Further, long before *Dioclesian*, to wit, in the times of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, the *Omogerontes* of the City *Alexandria* received Bread-corn out of the publick stock, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus* informs us in his Epistle to *Hierax* the Bishop; which Letter *Eusebius* records *Ecclef. Hist. book 7. chap. 21*; where see note (e.) Therefore *Dioclesianus* augmented, rather than began, this distribution of Bread-corn at *Alexandria*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Translatours understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Versions. For they thought that the word [αὐτῷ, his] was to be referred to *Florus*; when as it ought to be referred to *Præfēt Rhetor*, out of whose History *Evagrius* has transcribed all these passages. For, *Præfēt Rhetor*, in regard he was then conversant at *Alexandria*, gave *Florus* this advice, that he should go to the *Cirque*; in which place the *Alexandrian* populace were gathered together, and with great out-cries required *Florus* to comethither. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> *Christophorson* has rendered this place ill, after this manner: In sancto die festo Resurrectionis, Theodosium designant Episcopum, on the Holy Festival day of the Resurrection, they chose *Theodosius* Bishop. *Musculus* renders it righter, thus, ordinarunt in Ecclesia Sancta Resurrectionis, Theodosium illum, &c. in the Church of the Holy Resurrection, they ordained that *Theodosius*, &c. Concerning this Church of the Holy Resurrection I have made several remarks in my Notes on *Eusebius's* Life of *Constantine*. [See *Valesius's* Letter to a friend, De *Anastasi & Martyrio Hierosolymitano*, which Letter he has published at pag. 304. of his notes on *Eusebius*.] But, concerning this *Theodosius*, who invaded the See of *Jerusalem*, consult *Baronius* at the year of Christ 452. *Valef.*

then the first account of that Synod. Concerning which *Theodosius*, the Monks in *Palestine*, when they afterwards wrote to *Alcison*, gave Instead this account: viz. that having by his own of *Alcison*, Bishop been detected of [the commission of] it must impious Facts, he had been expelled out of his without doubt be own Monastery; that going afterwards to *Alexandria*, he had made an attempt upon *Dio-the reading Alcison*; as *scorus*, and that after he had been lacerated with is in *Nicephorus*. many stripes as a Seditious person, he was set upon These Letters of the Monks of this person came [the Inhabitants of] many Cities *Palestine* in the *Palestines*, and procured Bishops to be or- to *Alcison*; dained over themselves by him. Amongst which are recorded by *Evagrius*, number was one *Petrus*, by birth an *Hiberian*, who book 3. rick of that Town called *Majuma*, which is hard by chap. 31. the City of the *Gazites*. When *Marcianus* had received information of those things, in the first place place we will say he commands *Theodosius* to be brought to Court more concerning to him. Then he sends *Juvenalis*, to rectify Alcison. what had been done; whom he ordered to turn *The-Valef.* out all those who had been ordained by *Theodosius*. After the arrival of *Juvenalis* therefore, many wicked and horrid Facts were perpetrated; as well the one Faction as the other proceeding Sir to the Commission of whatever their fury suggested to them. For the envious Devil, hated *Henry Savil* had by God, had so mischievously contrived and mis-made this interpreted the change of one Letter, that not-remark at the side of withstanding the pronouncing of the one of his Copy, these [Letters] doth therewithal wholly in-fordit pass; fer the other, yet 'tis thought by most persons, perhaps it that there is a vast difference between them, should be that the meanings of both are diametrically is, by. So, opposite each to the other, and that they do mutually destroy one another. For, he that confesses Christ IN TWO Natures, does plainly affirm him [to subsist] OF TWO Natures; because, whilst he confesses Christ both to the Deity and in the Humanity, he asserts him to consist of the Deity and of the Humanity. I am very confident

also, that *Evagrius* wrote it thus. But, Transcribers of books are wont frequently to mistake in these two prepositions, as 'tis known to those persons who have read over Manuscript copies. *Valef.*

<sup>i</sup> *Ἀπελάβετο τὸν διοσκορὸν*, he had received *Dioscorus*. Sir *Henry Savil* had made a remark at the margin of his Copy, that perhaps the reading should be [ἐπελάβετο, he had laid hands upon,] which reading displeases me not. Nevertheless, I had rather write it thus, ἐπελάβετο τὸν διοσκορὸν. Which reading I have followed in my Version. Nor does *Nicephorus* (book 15. chap. 9.) seem to have read otherwise, who has exprest this passage in *Evagrius* thus, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλεξανδρίᾳ διόσκορον διοσκορὸν κατέστη, and had been an enemy to *Dioscorus* at *Alexandria*. But *Musculus* and *Christophorson* saw nothing in the rendition of this place. *Valef.*

<sup>k</sup> *Πρὸς ὃν πολλὰς τῶν ἐν παλαιστίνῃ πόλεων ἀφικνέμενον*. I have corrected this place by the *Florentine Manuscript*, in which Copy 'tis read thus: πρὸς ὃν πολλὰ τῶν ἐν παλαιστίνῃ πόλεων ἀφικνέμενοι, To this person came [the Inhabitants of] many Cities in the *Palestines*. It had been so agreed between the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* in the Synod of *Chalcedon*, that the *Three Palestines* should be under the disposition of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *Valef.*

<sup>l</sup> *Evagrius* means the *Prepositions* ἐν and ἐκ, [that is, in and of,] which differ one from the other in one Letter. The Catholics confess'd Christ in two Natures. The Hereticks asserted, that he consisted of two Natures, but, which had grown together and were become one Nature. For, after the Union of the Word, they affirmed, the Nature of Christ was one. *Valef.*

<sup>m</sup> I am of the same opinion with the Learned, who instead of [ἐμφωνήσεως,] have mended it thus, ἐμφωνήσεως, the pronouncing; which is the same with the reading in *Nicephorus*. And so *Christophorson* read; who notwithstanding, in the rendition of this place, has in no wise exprest *Evagrius's* meaning. In the *Tellurian Manuscript*, I found it written ἐμφωνήσεως, the pronouncing: *Valef.*

<sup>n</sup> *Ὁμολογῶν ἐκ θεότητος*. The term *ὁμολογῶν*, [confessing] is to be expunged, in regard 'tis superfluous. It occurs nor in *Nicephorus*, and Sir *Henry Savil*, in his Copy, had drawn a line under it. *Valef.*



Again, he that affirms [Christ to subsist] of two Natures, the same person by a necessary consequence does confess [him] in two Natures; because, by his affirming Christ [to subsist] of the Deity and of the Humanity, he acknowledges him to consist in the Deity and in the Humanity: the flesh being neither converted into the Deity, nor the Deity \* changed into the flesh, of which [two Natures there is] an ineffable Union. So that, by this expression OF TWO, may at the same time commodiously be understood this also IN TWO, and by this expression IN TWO [may also be meant] OF TWO, the one [expression] being

\* Or, passing into.

\* Or, not relinquish'd by the other.

|| Κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα; which may also be rendred, according to a peculiar mode of expression: but 'tis an uncouth phrase, not often to be met with, especially in such a sense as 'tis here used.

† not different from the other. For as much as, || according to a copious use of speaking, the Whole [is known not only [to consist] of, but in its parts. Yet nevertheless, men think these [expressions] to be in such a manner separated

and disjoyned the one from the other, ([which Sentiments they are induced to give entertainment to] either from a certain usage \* about their thinking concerning God, or else from their being prepossessed [with a persuasion of mind] to have it so;) that they condemn [the undergoing of] all sorts of death, rather than they will give their assent to the truth. And from hence arose those [mischiefs] which I have mentioned. In this posture were these matters.

\* Or, about their opinion of God.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Drought which hapned, and the Famine and the Pestilence: and how in some places the Earth in a wonderful manner brought forth fruits of its own accord.*

\* Or, a scarcity of showers of rain.

ABOUT the same times, here hapned \* a great Drought in both the Phrygia's, in both the Galatia's, in Cappadocia, and in Cilicia; in so much that a scarcity of necessities [followed,] and men made use of unwholesome and destructive food. Whence hapned a Pestilence also. For, because of their change of dyet, they fell sick, and their bodies swelling by reason of the excessive inflammation, they lost their eyes: they were troubled with a Cough at the same time also, and [usually] dyed on the third day. For the Pestilence, no cure could then be found out. But divine providence, the preserver of all things, bestowed on them that were left alive, a remedy against the Famine. For in that barren year, food was showered down out of the air, which they termed *Manna*, in the same manner as [twas heretofore showered down] on the *Israelites*. But, on the year following, the good-natured [Earth] brought forth ripe fruits on its own accord. Moreover, [this calamity] destroyed the Country of the *Palestinians*, and innumerable other Provinces; [these

\* The Famine and the Pestilence.

\* two] mischiefs spreading themselves over the whole earth.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the Murder of Valentinianus, and the taking of Rome; and concerning those other Emperours who governed Rome [after Valentinianus's death.]*

WHILEST these things \* were transacted in the Eastern parts, *Aetius* † is in a miserable manner murdered at the Elder Rome. † Or, in a miserable manner slain] by some of *Aetius's* Guards; the Plot against them being framed by *Maximus* (who afterwards possessed himself of the Empire,) because *Valentinianus* had abused *Maximus's* wife, having by force debauch'd her. Further, this *Maximus*, by making use of all manner of violence, compelled *Eudoxia* (who had been *Valentinianus's* wife,) to be married to himself. She, deservedly accounting this fact to be contumelious, and the highest indignity, took a resolution to cast every Dye (as the saying is,) [to the end she might be revenged] both for what had been done in relation to [the assassination of] her husband, and also for the reproach which had been brought upon her own Liberty. For, a woman is fierce, and of an anger \* implacable, if (when she uses her utmost endeavour to preserve it inviolate,) her chastity be forcibly taken from her, and especially by him who hath been her husband's *Assassine*. She sends therefore into † *Africa*, † Or, Li- to *Gizerichus*, and having forthwith presented him with many Gifts, and by her Declaration put him into a good hope of what was behind, she prevails with him to make a sudden and unexpected Invasion upon the Roman Empire, promising she would betray all to him. Which having in this manner been performed, Rome is taken. But *Gizerichus*, in regard he was a *Barbarian* and of a disposition inconstant and mutable, kept not \* his promise even with her: \* Or, but having burnt the City, and made plunder of all [its riches,] he took *Eudoxia* together with her two daughters, marched back, went away, and returned into *Africa*. The elder of *Eudoxia's* daughters, by name *Eudocia*, he married to his own son † *Hunericus*. But the younger, (her name was *Placidia*,) together with her mother *Eudoxia*, he sent some time after to \* *Byzantium*, attended with an Imperial Train and a Guard, to the end he might pacifie *Marcianus*. For he had highly incensed him, both because Rome had been burnt, and also in regard the Imperial Princesses had been so contumeliously used. Moreover, *Placidia* is match'd by *Marcianus's* order, *Olybrius* having married her; who was look'd upon to be the eminentest personage amongst the [Roman] Senators, and after the taking of Rome had betaken himself to *Constantinople*. Further, after *Maximus*, *Avitus* reigned over the Romans eight months.

After *Valentinianus's* death, and after the murder of *Maximus*, *Avitus* was proclaimed Emperour, first at *Toulouse*, and then at *Orleans*, in *Valentinianus's* eight Consulate [which he bore] with *Anthemius*, in the year of Christ 455, on the sixth of the Ides of July as 'tis recorded in the *Old Chronicon*, which *Cuspinianus* first published in his *Fasti*. On the year following, the same *Avitus* was Consul, as 'tis related in the *Fasti* which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has publish'd under the name of *Idatius*: and on the same year he was deposed at *Placencia*, as *Marius* and *Cassiodorus* inform us in their *Fasti*, as likewise that *Old Chronographer* put forth by *Cuspinianus*. But, on what day, and in what month *Avitus* resigned the Empire, I do not find declared by



by the Ancients. Indeed, Sigonius (in his fourteenth book de Occidentali Imperio,) writes, that Avitus resigned the Empire on the sixteenth of the Calends of June. But Sigonius quotes no Author of this thing. The words of Cuspinianus's Old Chronographer are these: *Joanne & Varane Coss. captus est Imp. Avitus, &c. In the Consulate of Joannes and Varanes, the Emperour Avitus is taken at Placentia by Ricimeres master of the Milice. And his Patritius Messianus is slain, on the sixteenth of the Calends of June.* From this place therefore Sigonius, induced thereto by conjectures, thought that Avitus had put off his purple, and that Messianus had been slain, on one and the same day; although the Old Chronographer affirms not that. For, that sixteenth of the Calends of June is referred to the murder of Messianus, not to Avitus's deposition. 'Tis certain, if what Evagrius relates here be true, (viz. that Avitus reigned eight months,) his deposition must necessarily fall on the month of March in the year 456. Idatius, in his Chronicon, seems to attribute three years Reign to Avitus. For, his words are these: *Avitus tertio anno posteaquam à Gallis & à Gotthis factus fuerat Imperator, caret Imperio, Gotthorum promisso destitutus auxilio, caret & vitâ.* Avitus on the third year after he had been made Emperour by the Galli and the Gotthi, wants his Empire, being disappointed of the promised assistance of the Gotthi, is deprived of his life also. But, in the Manuscript Copy, which Jacobus Sirmondus made use of, this place is read thus: *Tertio anno, Avitus septimo mense posteaquam à Gallis & à Gotthis factus fuerat Imperator, &c. On the third year, Avitus on the seventh month after he had been made Emperour by the Galli and Gotthi, &c.* Jacobus Sirmondus, perceiving that these two were inconsistent, omitted these two words [*septimo mense, on the seventh month*] in his Edition; but he had done better, if he had expunged these two [*tertio anno, on the third year*]. For Avitus did not reign three years, but seven or eight months only, which months were part of two Consulates. For which reason 'tis affirmed by some Writers, that he reigned two years. Cedrenus, 'tis certain, writes thus in his Chronicon. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Musculus He having ended his life by the <sup>b</sup> Pestilence, and Chri-<sup>c</sup> Majorianus held the Empire two years. After Majorianus had been treacherously slain by Ricimeres, Master of the Milice, Severus possessest the Empire three years.

Which reading is in my judgment truer than the other, to wit, λιμῶ, by Famine. For, 'tis not probable, that Avitus (who after he had resigned the Empire, was made Bishop of Placentia, as Victor Tunonensis, and Marius in his Chronicon, do relate;) should have dyed by Famine. Notwithstanding, Nicephorus has retained the Vulgar reading. Valef. In Robert Stephens the reading is [λιμῶ, Famine.]

<sup>c</sup> Majorianus [or Majorinus] governed the Roman Empire four years and as many months, as the Old Chronographer publish'd by Cuspinianus informs us; to whom agree Idatius and Marcellinus in his Chronicon. Severus, who succeeded him, reigned almost the same space of years, as the same writers relate. But these things hapned after the death of the Emperour Marcianus, during Leo Augustus's government of the Eastern Empire. Valef.

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the death of Marcianus, and the Empire of Leo. And how, the Hereticks of Alexandria slew Proterius, and gave that Arch-Bishoprick to Timotheus Aelurus.

<sup>a</sup> Evagrius is out. Marcianus dyed in the Consulate of Constantinus and Rufus, on the year of Christ 457, in the month February. Majorianus was proclaimed Emperour at Ravenna in the same year, on the Calends of April, that is, almost two months after Marcianus's death. To whom succeeded Severus, on the year of Christ 461, in the Consulate of Severinus and Decalafus, almost five years after the Emperour Marcianus's death. Further, this Severus was by another name termed Serpentius, as Theophanes informs us in his Chronicon, pag. 97. in these words, *ἡ ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ σέρπεντι ὁ καὶ σέρπεντι.* And Severus, called also Serpentius, was proclaimed For so it must be read, as the most Learned Franciscus Combesius has rightly conjectured. 'Tis certain, in the Alexandrian Chronicle he is so termed. For, on the fifteenth Indiction, Leo Augustus is put Consul the second time with Serpentius. Now, 'tis manifestly known, that on this year Severus Augustus was Consul with Leo. For so Cassiodorus relates in his Fasti, and also the Old Author publish'd by Cuspinianus. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Marcianus reigned six years and as many months, as Marcellinus relates, and Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon. He began his Reign in the year of Christ 450, on the eighth of the Calends of September on the fifth Feria, as 'tis recorded in the Alexandrian Chronicle. And

he dyed on the year of Christ 457. about the close of the month January, as Theodorus Lecter informs us, with whom agrees the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle. For this Author says, that Leo, who succeeded Marcianus, was proclaimed in the month Peritius on the seventh of the Ides of February. So Marcianus reigned six years, five months and some few days. Valef.

having left amongst all men a truly royal Monument. The Alexandrians, informed of his death, with much more animosity and a greater heat of mind, renewed their rage against Proterius. For, the multitude is a thing with the greatest ease imaginable blown up in a rage, and which snatches hold of the most trivial occasions as fuel for Tumults. But above all other, the [populace] of Alexandria [are of this humour, which City] abounds with a numerous multitude made up mostly of an obscure and promiscuous company of Foreigners, which by an unexpected and unaccountable boldness and precipitancy, breaks out into violence and rage. 'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who [makes complaint] of the breaking any thing of small value [which he carries,] may incite the City to a popular Tumult, and may lead and carry [the multitude] whither, and against whom he pleases. For the most part also they are delighted with jests and sports, as <sup>b</sup> Herodotus relates concerning Amasis. And this is the humour of the Alexandrians. Nevertheless, as to other things, they are not such a sort of persons, as that any one may despise them.

<sup>c</sup> omnibus ad intuentum relicto, A truly Royal Exemplar being left [by him] to the view of all persons. Musculus has rendered it in this manner; Et memoriam sui verè Imperialem apud cunctos mortales reliquisset, And had left a truly Imperial memory of his own self amongst all mortals. But Evagrius does not say this, but, that a monument manifestly Royal was left by Marcianus amongst all men. Now, that monument can be nothing else, than either his own life religiously spent, or rather the Chalcedon Synod, which he had ordered to be convened, to take away the dissensions of the Church, and whereat he himself, agreeable to the Example of Constantine the Great, would be present. In regard therefore, that Synod had been convened and perfected by his labour and diligence, it may deservedly be stiled the Work and Monument of the Emperour Marcianus. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Συγκλήσις. In the Florentine MS. the reading is, συγκλήσις. Notwithstanding, the Rules of Grammar require that we should write σύγκλησις, as Sir Henry Savil had remarked at the margin of his Copy. Suidas in his Lexicon explains συγκλήσις ἀνθρώπων by these terms, συμμίχλων, ἐπιπλήσιον, παρεπιπλήσιον, promiscuous, extraneous persons, such as are brought in unawares. — Nicephorus has explained this word elegantly thus: *μυρία πλῆθει καὶ ὅθεν ἴπποτε ἴκοντι, a numerous multitude, and which comes from any place whatever.* Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Τὸς ὁρμῶς γαυρέμεν. Something seems to be wanting here, which may perhaps be supplied, by adding a Preposition, thus, καὶ τὸς ὁρμῶς γαυρέμεν, breaks out into violence and rage. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> In the incomparable Florentine and Tellerian MSS. this place is written thus: *τὸ πρῶτον κατὰρρήξαντι.* Nicephorus has explained this place excellently well, in this manner: *καὶ ὅταν ὕδρον ἢ βαλομένη πᾶν τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ποταμὸν δαίτον εἰς σάβαν ἀναβαλέμεν τὸν δῆμον, And they say, that every one who will make use of an obvious [light, or trivial] occasion, may quickly enrage the people [and incite them] to a Sedition.* Christophorus read κατὰρρήξαντι. For he renders it thus: *Autem plebeium quemque modo ipse voluerit principium dare, &c. They say that every ordinary fellow, provided he be willing to give the Onset, may inflame that City [and excite it] to a popular and civil Sedition.* But I approve not of this emendation. For, what shall become of these words, *τὸ πρῶτον κατὰρρήξαντι*; and render the whole passage thus: 'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who [makes complaint] of the breaking any thing of small value [to wit, a glass vessel, pot, or any such like thing, which he carries,] may incite the City to a popular Tumult. Pollio (in Amilianus) confirms the same, where he speaks thus concerning the Egyptians in general: *Et hoc familiare est populo Aegyptiorum, &c. And this is usual with the Egyptians, that, like furious and madmen, upon any trivial occasions they may be induced [to involve] the Publick in the greatest dangers. On account of their being past by unsaluted, by reason of their not having a place allowed them in the Baths, because their flesh and pot-herbs may have been taken from them, on account of their servile shooes, and other such like occasions as these, they have by Sedition often arrived at the highest-peril of the Republick.* Valef.

<sup>g</sup> The passage in Herodotus, which Evagrius points at here, occurs in B. 2. of his History, pag. 157. Edit. Paul. Stephens, 1618. Valef.

The



The *Alexandrians* therefore observing the time, when *Dionysius* Commander of the Milice made his Residence in the *Upper Egypt*, make choice of one *Timotheus*, surnamed *Elurus*, to ascend the *Archi-Episcopal-Chair*; a person who heretofore had followed a *Monastick Life*, but afterwards was enrolled amongst the number of the *Presbyters* of the *Alexandrian Church*. When they had led his person to the *Great Church*,

<sup>n</sup> The *Great Church* of the *City Alexandria*, was termed *Cæsaria*, as *Epiphanius* informs us, in *Heres. Arian*, and *Liberatus*, in his *Breviarium*, chap. 18. But *Socrates* (Book 7. chap. 15.) says the name of that Church was *Cæsarium*. *Athanasius* declares the reason of this Appellation (in his *Epist. ad Solitar.*) to wit, because that Church had been built in a place which heretofore was called the *Cæsarium*, that is, the *Temple of the Cæsars*. There had been a School in the same place also, and a palace of the *Emperour Adrian's*, which in succeeding times was termed *Licinius's Palace*, as *Epiphanius* attests. *Valef.*

[*Alexandria*] with the greatest celerity imaginable, (to which he had been urged by the nefarious facts there perpetrated,) and was using his endeavours to extinguish the kindled fire of the *Sedition*; some of the *Alexandrians*, incited thereto by *Timotheus*, (as the Contents of the Letter written to *Leo* [the *Emperour*] do declare,) murder *Proterius* by running their swords through his bowels, when he attempted to get away, and had fled as far as the most Holy *Baptistery*. And after they had tied a rope about him, [they hung him up] at that place termed *The Tetrastylum*, and shewed him to all persons, jeering and crying out aloud, that that was *Proterius* who had been killed. After this, they drag'd the body all over the *City*, and then burnt it. Nor did they abhor tasting of his very bowels, according to the usage of *Savage-beasts*; as the *Supplicatory Libel* (wherein all these passages are contained,) sent by all the *Bishops* of *Egypt*, and by the whole *Clergy* of *Alexandria*, to *Leo*, who after *Marcianus's* death, as hath been said, was invested with the *Empire* of the *Romans*, [doth evidence;] the Contents whereof are conceived in these express words.

To the Pious, Christ-Lover, and by-God-designed *Leo, Victor, Triumphator*, and *Augustus*; The humble Address presented by all the *Bishops* of Your *Egyptick Diocesis* and by the *Ecclesiasticks* in Your Greatest and Most Holy Church of the *Alexandrians*.

Whereas by *Celestial Grace* You have been bestowed as a most *Eximious Gift* upon the *World*, 'tis no wonder if You cease not (*Most Sacred Emperour!*) daily after *God*, from making *Provision* for the *Publick*. And after some other words. And whilst there was an *uninterrupted peace* amongst the *Orthodox Laity*; both with us, and also at the *City Alexandria*, [disturbances were raised] again by *Timotheus*, who made a separation of himself from the *Catholick Church* and *Faith*, and cut himself off [therefrom,] soon after the holy *Synod* at *Chalcedon*, (at which time

he was but a *Presbyter*;) together with four or five persons only heretofore *Bishops*, and some few *Monks*, who together with him, were distempered with the *Heretical error* of *Apollinaris* and \* that person. On which account having \* *Then* been canonically deposed by *Proterius* of *di-* <sup>ἐκείνου</sup> *vine memory*, and by a *Synod* of [the *Bishops* of] <sup>Εὐτυχίου</sup> *all Egypt*, they deservedly experienced the *Imperial* <sup>καὶ τοῦ Βασιλέως</sup> displeasure † by *Exile*. And after some words interposed. And ‖ having taken his advantage of that opportunity, when the *Emperour Marcianus* of *Sacred \* Memory* made his departure hence to <sup>ἐξ αἰῶν</sup> *God*; with *impious Expressions* (as if he had been ‖ *subject to no Laws*;) he in a most *shameless manner* raged against [and reproach'd] the same *Emperour*: and impudently *Anathematizing* the *Holy* and *Oecumenical Synod* at *Chalcedon*, he draws after him a multitude of ‖ *Mercenary and disorderly fellows*, with whom he has made war, contrary to the *Divine Canons*, and to the *Ecclesiastick Constitution*, [in opposition] to the *Republick*, and to the *Laws*; and † has violently thrust himself into the *Holy Church* of *God*, which at that time had its *Pastour* and *Teacher*, Our most *Holy Father* and *Arch-Bishop Proterius*, who then celebrated the usual *Religious* and solemn *Assemblies*, and poured forth his prayers to *Christ the Saviour* of us all, for Your *Religious Empire*, and for Your *Christ-loving Palace*. And, after the interposition of a few words. Then after the space of one day, when (as 'twas customary) the most pious *Proterius* continued in the *Bishops Palace*, *Timotheus* taking with him two *Bishops* who had been legally deposed, and [some] *Ecclesiasticks*, who, as we have said, had in like manner been condemned to dwell in *Exile*;

(as if he could have received *Ordination* from two [Bishops;] not so much as one of the *Orthodox Bishops* throughout the *Egyptick Diocesis* being there, who are always wont to be present at such *Ordinations* of the *Bishops* of the *Alexandrians*;) takes possession, as he supposed, of the *Archiepiscopal Chair*; audaciously attempting manifestly to commit adultery upon that *Church*, which had its own *Bridegroom*, who performed the *divine [offices]* therein, and canonically administered his own *See*. And after some other words. That *Blessed person [Proterius]* could

do nothing else, than (as 'tis written,) \* Give place unto wrath, and make his escape to the adorable *Baptistery*, that he might avoid their incursion, who ran in upon him to murder him: in which place † most especially, a dread and terror is usually infused into the minds even of *Barbarians*, and all other *Savage and cruel persons*, who are ignorant of the adorableness of that place, and of the *Grace* flowing therefrom. Nevertheless, these [*Eusebians*,] who used their utmost endeavour to bring that design to effect, which from the beginning [they had laid with] *Timotheus*; [these *Butchers*] who would not suffer *Proterius* to be preserved even within those immaculate \* *Rails*; who revered neither the sanctity of the place, nor the time it self; (for 't was the *Festival-day* of the *Salutary Easter*;) who dreaded not [the dignity of] the *Sacerdotal Function*, to that

I have mended this place from the *Florentine MS.* in which Copy (instead of *ἐν τῷ βαπτιστηρίῳ παρὰ τὸν δὲ δέσποτον*, and moreover, receiving ordination from two;) the reading is, *ὡς δὲ βαπτιστηρίῳ*, &c. as if he could have received ordination from two [Bishops.] In the fourth Canon of the *Nicene Council*, 'tis in express words established, that a *Bishop* is to be ordained by at least three *Bishops* of his own Province. The old *Translator* of this Letter read as we do; whose version is extant in the third part of the *Chalcedon Synod*. Where his Rendition is this, *quam manus impositionem susceperunt à duobus*, as if about to receive imposition of hands from two. *Valef.*

\* Give place unto wrath, and make his escape to the adorable *Baptistery*, that he might avoid their incursion, who ran in upon him to murder him: in which place † most especially, a dread and terror is usually infused into the minds even of *Barbarians*, and all other *Savage and cruel persons*, who are ignorant of the adorableness of that place, and of the *Grace* flowing therefrom. Nevertheless, these [*Eusebians*,] who used their utmost endeavour to bring that design to effect, which from the beginning [they had laid with] *Timotheus*; [these *Butchers*] who would not suffer *Proterius* to be preserved even within those immaculate \* *Rails*; who revered neither the sanctity of the place, nor the time it self; (for 't was the *Festival-day* of the *Salutary Easter*;) who dreaded not [the dignity of] the *Sacerdotal Function*, to that



terius was which it appertains to mediate between God and Men; kill that guiltless person, and together with him commit a barbarous murder upon six others. And, after they had carried about his Body which was Wounds all over, and likewise barbarously drag'd it almost throughout every place of the City, and [further] in a most lamentable manner insulted over it; without any thing of compassion they scourged the Corps, insensible of its stripes, cutting it limb from limb. Nor did they abstain, according to the usage of Savage beasts, from tasting of his Entrails, whom a little before they were supposed to have as an Intercessour between God and Men. [In fine,] having cast the remains of his Body into a fire, they threw the ashes thereof into the winds; [by the commission of these Barbarities] far exceeding the utmost Savageness of wild-beasts; the Occasioner and crafty Contriver of all which Nefarious facts, was Timotheus.

the multitudes themselves shut up in the Church, whither out of fear he had betaken himself. And there on the same day in the Baptistry, he is slain, torn in pieces, cast out, and his Corps is burnt, and his ashes are strewn into the winds. All which Liberatus has almost word for word written out of the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*, which we owe to Jacobus Sirmondus. Valef.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of [ἀσφαλὸν τε καὶ μέλαν] it must undoubtedly be written thus: διατεμὸν τε καὶ μέλαν, cutting it in pieces, or, limb from limb. Instead of μέλαν, the reading in the Florent. MS. is μέλαν; which is a very small difference. Nicephorus confirms our Emendation, at Book 15. Chap. 17; who has it expressly written as I had conjectured. Further, this Supplicatory Libel of the Bishops of the Egyptick Diocesis to the Emperour Leo, if any one has a mind to read it entire, occurs in *Latine*, in the third part of the Chalcedon Synod, chap. 11. Valef.

Moreover, Zacharias giving a Narrative of these matters [in his History,] is of opinion, that most of these things were done [in such a manner as I have related them;] but says they were occasioned by Proterius's fault, who had raised most grievous Seditions at Alexandria: [he affirms likewise,] that these Facts were audaciously perpetrated (not by the people, but) by some of the Souldiers; which affirmation he grounds on the Letter written by Timotheus to [the Emperour] Leo. Further, in order to the punishing of these enormities, Stilas is sent by the Emperour Leo.

## CHAP. IX.

### Concerning the Emperour Leo's Circular Letters.

Also, Leo wrote Circular Letters to the Bishops throughout the whole Roman Empire, and to those persons eminent for their leading a Monastick life; asking their opinion, both concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, and also about Timotheus surnamed *Ælurus*'s Ordination: he sent to them likewise Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels presented to him, as well by Proterius's Party, as by that of Timotheus *Ælurus*. The Contents of the Circular Letters [of Leo] are these.

A Copy of the most Pious Emperour Leo's Sacred Letter, sent to *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople, and to the *Metropolitans*, and other Bishops over the whole World.

Emperour Cæsar, Leo, Pius, Victor, Triumphant, Maximus, always Augustus; to *Anatolius* the Bishop. It was the Desire and Prayer of Our Piety, that the most Holy Orthodox

Churches, and also [all] the Cities \* of the Roman Empire, should enjoy the greatest Peace imaginable; nor that any thing should happen, which might disturb their Constitution and Tranquillity. But, what [disturbances] have lately hapned at Alexandria, are (we are fully persuaded,) already made known to Your Sanctity. Nevertheless, that you may have a more perfect account concerning all things, what the Causes were of so great a Tumult and Confusion; We have transmitted to Your Piety the Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels; which the most Pious Bishops and Ecclesiasticks, coming from the foresaid City [Alexandria] and from the Egyptick Diocesis, to the Imperial City Constantinople, have brought to Our Piety against Timotheus: and moreover, the Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels, which [some persons,] coming from Alexandria to Our Divine Court on Timotheus's account, have presented to Our Serenity: so that, Your Sanctity may apparently know what hath been done by the foresaid Timotheus, whom the populacy of Alexandria, the <sup>a</sup> Honorati, the Decuriones, and the Navi-<sup>a</sup> *Ἀξιωματικοί, καὶ πρυτανεῖς* cularii, desire to have for their Bishop; [and that you may have an account] concerning other <sup>b</sup> matters <sup>b</sup> contained in The Text of the Supplicatory-Libels; and moreover, concerning the Chalcedon Synod, to which [the forementioned persons] do in no wise agree, as their Supplicatory-Libels, here under-placed, do demonstrate. Let therefore Your Piety cause all the Orthodox and Holy Bishops, who at present are resident in this Imperial City, as likewise the most Pious Ecclesiasticks, forthwith to come together unto You. And having with great care \* treated of, and enquired into all things; (for as much as the City Alexandria hath already been disturbed, the State and Repose whereof is our greatest care;) acquaint us with Your Sentiment concerning the foresaid Timotheus, and concerning the Chalcedon Synod, without any humane fear, and without affection or hatred, placing before your eyes the only fear of the Omnipotent God, in regard you well know, that you shall give an account concerning this affair to the incorrupt Deity. That so, We having been perfectly informed of all things by Your Letters, may be enabled to \* promulge an accommodate Edict.

the *πολιτεύοντες* were the Decuriones.] Gregorius Nazianzenus joyns them both together, in his 49th Epistle to Olympius, where his words are these: πάντας πολίτας τε καὶ πολιτευτάς καὶ ἀξιωματικούς. That is, all the Citizens, the Decuriones, and the Honorati. The same Gregorius, in his 22d Epistle to the Cæsarienses, joyns the same persons both together, in these words; πῶς ἐν τῇ ἀξιωματικῇ καὶ βουλευτικῇ τάξει; that is, all those who are of the Order of the Honorati, and of the Decuriones. The Old Translatour therefore of this Letter, renders this passage truly, thus, Honorati & Curiales & Naucleri, the Honorati, the Curiales, and the Naucleri. The Naucleri were the Masters of the Vessels in the River Nile, who convey'd the Corn and publick Provisions from Egypt to Constantinople. Aurelianus seems to have instituted their Body, as he himself shews in his Epistle to Arabianus, which is cited by Vopiscus. These Naucleri, or Navicularii were a Society of Sea-faring Men, ordain'd for Transportation of Corn and publick Provisions in several Quarters of the Empire; (for there was a Body of them in the East, another in Africk, and a third at Alexandria;) they were a set number, and transported the said Provisions at their own expence, succeeding by turns in the charge and burthen; to which their Sons and Heirs were liable, as were also those who possess their Estates after them, according to that proportion which they possessed. To this Function they were always obnoxious, so that scarcely could they be excused by any great Honour obtained. They were forced to build Ships and Vessels of certain Burthens; but the Materials for them were supplied by the Country. Their Charge was great, and so were their Privileges, as may be seen by various Laws extant concerning them in the Theodosian Code. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> I am of the same Opinion with Sir Henry Savil, who at the margin of his Copy had remark'd, that in his Judgment the reading should be ἀξιωματικούς, contained: so Christophorus read; and 'tis so in Nicephorus.



phorus, Book 15. Chap. 18. *Valef.* In Robert Stephens the reading is *παρεχόμενον*, given, or, exhibited.

This was the Letter sent to *Anatolius*. [The Emperour] wrote Letters like this, to other Bishops also, and to those eminent persons, who \* Or, lead (as I have said, at that time \* lead a life void of the furniture [of living] and remote from matter. Of which number was *Symeones*, the first Inventer of the Station † in a Pillar, whom we have mentioned in the First [Book of our] *Monks History*: amongst whom also were *Baradatus* † Or, upon. and *Jacobus* the Syrians.

<sup>c</sup> *Nicephorus Callistus* terms this *Jacobus*, *Nisibenus*, and adds, that mention is made, as well of him, as of *Varadatus* [or, *Baradatus*,] by *Theodoret* in his *Historia Religiosa*. Notwithstanding, *Theodoret*, in Chap. 21. of his *Historia Religiosa* does not say, that *Jacobus* was a *Nisibene*; which thing *Theodoret* would not in any wise have omitted, if *Jacobus* had indeed been a *Nisibene*. For, whereas he notes, that this *Latter Jacobus* was like the former *Jacobus Nisibenus*, not only in Name, but in Manners, and Dignity, (for both of them were Priests;) if he had been a *Nisibene* also, *Theodoret* would in no wise have omitted that at that place. Neither, does *Theodorus Lectior* (*Collectan. Book 1.*) make this *Latter Jacobus*, who answered *Leo Augustus's* Circular Letters, a *Nisibene*; nor yet *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 96. There is also extant an Epistle of *Theodoret's*, written to this *Jacobus*, in which he terms him a *Presbyter* and a *Monk*. Instead of *Baradatus*, *Theophanes* styles him *Bardas*, corruptly as I think. In the Third part of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 375. amongst the Monks, to whom the Emperour *Leo* wrote Letters, the first named is the Monk *Jacobus Nisibenus*, then *Symeones* and *Baradatus*. *Ephremius* Bishop of *Antioch* makes mention of them also, in his *Epistle ad Monachos Syriacos*, that is, *Severianus*; and in his third Oration, which he wrote to the Monks *Domnus* & *Johannes*, as it occurs in *Photius*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. X.

Concerning those things which the Bishops and Symeones the Stylite wrote in answer [to the Emperour Leo's Circular Letters.]

**I**N the first place therefore, *Leo* Bishop of the Elder Rome wrote in defence of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and disallowed of *Timotheus's* Ordination, <sup>a</sup> as having been illegally performed. Which Letter of *Leo's*, the Emperour *Leo* sent to *Timotheus* Prelate of the *Alexandrian Church*, by <sup>b</sup> *Diomedes* the <sup>c</sup> *Silentiarius*, who was employed in carrying the Imperial Mandates. <sup>a</sup> I am of nation, <sup>a</sup> as having been illegally performed. the same Which Letter of *Leo's*, the Emperour *Leo* sent mind with to *Timotheus* Prelate of the *Alexandrian Church*, *Christo-* by <sup>b</sup> *Diomedes* the <sup>c</sup> *Silentiarius*, who was im- phorson & employed in carrying the Imperial Mandates. Sir Henry Savil; who instead of [*ὡς ἀδίκως*, and having been illegally] having mended it thus [*ὡς ἀδίκως* *συνεδόχον*, as having been illegally performed.] 'Tis certain, in these Books of *Evagrius*, *ὡς* was most frequently put instead of *ὡς*; which we, following the Authority of the MS. Copies, have mended. But at this place, in regard the Manuscript Copies differed not from the printed ones, we scrupled the altering of any thing. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> The Name of this *Silentiarius* was wanting in the ordinary Editions, and in *Nicephorus*. We have put it in, from the incomparable *Florentine Manuscript*; wherein 'tis plainly and expressly written thus; *Διομήδης σιλεντάρης*, by *Diomedes the Silentiarius*. Concerning the *Silentiarii*, I have heretofore observed something in my *Notes on Ann. Marcellinus*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Nicolaus Alemannus* (in his *Historical Notes on Procopius's Historia Arcana*, pag. 103. Edit. Lugd. 1623.) tells us, that the *Silentiarii*, whom *Procopius* (as he remarks,) sometimes terms *Domestici* and *Protecloes*, were Officers of the greatest Honour about the Emperour in regard they were of the Emperour's inmost Chamber; on which account they were also termed *Cubicularii*. He says further, that the outward Chamber (out of which there was an immediate passage into the very Chamber of the Emperour, by reason of the silence there kept in Reverence to the Emperour,) was termed *Silentium*, the Silence; which the Greeks by a corrupt name called *σιλεντάριον*: whence these *Cubicularii* had the name of *Silentiarii*. *Meursius* (in the word *σιλεντάρης*) makes two Orders of these Officers: the first was a meaner sort of Office, their business was to command the people to be silent and quiet. The other Order of the *Silentiarii* was far more honourable; they were, says *Meursius*, over the Secrets of the Emperour, and are reckoned amongst the *Clarissimi*. See Dr. *Howell's* account of these Officers, Part II. of his *Hist.* chap. 1. pag. 51.

To whom *Timotheus* returned answer, wherein he blamed the *Chalcedon Synod*, and [found fault with] *Leo's* Letter. The Copies of these Epistles are extant <sup>a</sup> in that Collection of <sup>a</sup> *Evagrius* Letters termed the *Encyclicæ*. But I have designedly omitted the inserting them, because <sup>a</sup> \* I would not have this present Work swell to a Greatness of bulk. The Bishops of other Cities likewise stedfastly adhered to the Sanctions [of the Synod] at *Chalcedon*, and † unanimously condemned *Timotheus's* Ordination. Excepting only <sup>c</sup> *Amphilochius* [Bishop] of *Side*; who wrote a Letter to the Emperour, wherein he cried out indeed against *Timotheus's* Ordination; but admitted not of the Synod at *Chalcedon*. *Zacharias* the Rhetorician has written concerning these very affairs, and has inserted this very Letter of *Amphilochius's* into his *History*. Moreover, *Symeones* of Holy Memory, wrote two Letters concerning these matters, one to the Emperour *Leo*, another to *Basilus* Bishop of *Antioch*. Of which two Letters, I will insert into this my History that which he wrote to *Basilus*, in regard 'tis very short; the Contents whereof are these.

Emperour *Leo's* Letters; which he wrote in general to all Persons, &c. But *Liberatus Diacenus*, in his *Breviarium*, chap. 15. does incomparably well declare what these *Encyclicæ* [that is, Circular Letters] were, in these words. *Imperator scripsit singularum civitatum Episcopis de utroque negotio*, &c. The Emperour wrote to the Bishops of every City, concerning each affair, consulting what ought to be done, &c. Who return answer, that the *Chalcedon Synod* is to be vindicated even unto blood: but that *Timotheus* was not only not to be reckoned amongst the Bishops, but to be deprived even of the Christian Appellation. And these Epistles or Relations of all the Bishops, in one body of a book, are termed *Encyclicæ*. Further, these *Encyclicæ*, translated almost all into Latine, are extant in the third part of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 372; &c. of the *Cologne Edition*; an eximious piece of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, which I heartily wish were extant in Greek. There is mention made of these *Encyclicæ* in *Victor Turonensis's* *Chronicon*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> There is mention of this *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Side*, in *Photius's* *Bibliotheca*, chap. 52. Where the Letters of *Atticus* and *Sisinnius* Bishops of *Constantinople*, written to him, are recorded. The same *Amphilochius* was present at the *Ephesine* and *Chalcedon Synods*, as 'tis apparent from the Synodick Acts. Further, *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, book 9. does attest, that this *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Side*, although at the beginning he had affirmed in his Letters to the Emperour *Leo*, that he could in no wise give his assent to the *Chalcedon Synod*, yet some little time after, consented and subscribed to that same Synod. *Eulogius's* words are related by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*, pag. 879; Edit. David Hoeschel. 1611. *Valef.*

To my most Pious and most Holy Lord, the Religious *Basilus* Arch-Bishop; the Sinner and mean *Symeones* [wisth-eth] Health in the Lord.

It is now, My Lord, opportune to say, Blessed be God, who hath not turned away our Prayer, nor [removed] his mercy from us Sinners. For, on receipt of the Letters of Your Dignity, I admired the Zeal and Piety of our Emperour most dear to God, which he hath shown, and [now] does demonstrate towards the Holy Fathers, and their most firm Faith. Nor is this Gift from us, according as the Holy Apostle saith; but from God, who through our Prayers hath given \* Him this propensity and singular earnestness \* The Em- of mind. And, after some few words: Where-perour- fore, I my self, a mean person, and of slender account, † the untimely Birth of the Monks, † Ex-pa- have made known my Sentiment to his Impe- rior- rial Majesty concerning the Faith of the six- ty- hundred and thirty Holy Fathers convened at Chalcedon; who do persist in, and am grounded upon



upon that Faith which has been revealed by the Holy Spirit. For, if our Saviour is present amongst two or three who are gathered together in his Name, \* how could it possibly be amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, that the Holy Spirit should not have been with them from the beginning? And, after the interposition of some words: Wherefore be strong, and behave your self valiantly in the defence of true Piety; in such manner as Jesus the Son of Nave, the Servant of the Lord, [behaved himself] in defence of the Israelitish people. Fathers, Give, I beseech you, my Salutes to all the Pious Clergy under Your Sanctity, and to the blessed and most faithful † Laity.

\* Or, both could be [our Saviour] have had a place amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, unless the Holy Spirit had been with them from the beginning? † Or, People.

C H A P. XI.

Concerning the Banishment of Timotheus Ælurus, and the Ordination of Timotheus Salophaciolus; and concerning Gennadius and Acacius [Bishops] of Constantinople.

After these things, Timotheus is condemned to be banished, he also [as well as \* Dioscorus] being ordered to dwell at Gangra. The Alexandrians therefore † elect another Timotheus to succeed Proterius in that Bishoprick: this [Timotheus] some persons termed a Basilicus, others [called him] Salophaciolus. Anatolius dying [in this interim,] Gennadius succeeds in the Chair of the Imperial City [Constantinople.] And after him Acacius, who had presided over The Orphan's Hospital at the Imperial City.

\* See ch. 5. † Or, elect Timotheus, another Bishop, Successor to Proterius. a 'Of μὲν βασιλικός. So also Nicephorus writes it. But in Liberatus's Breviarium, chap. 16. this Surname of Timotheus is written far otherwise. For Liberatus's words are these: Et exilio relegatur Timotheus Ælurus Chersonam arcis custodia, & fit pro Proterio Timotheus cognomento Salophaciolus sive Albus; And Timotheus Ælurus is conveyed into Banishment to Chersona under a close Guard; and in Proterius's stead Timotheus, surnamed Salophaciolus, or Albus, is made [Bishop.] But in Liberatus it must be written Albus; as Theophanes informs us in these words, (See his Chronicon, pag. 96.) Τιμόθεος δὲ ἄλλος ἐπικλην λευκός, ὃ καὶ Σαλοφάκιος ἐχρηστέον. But another Timothy, surnamed Albus, called also Salophaciolus, was ordained. Cedrenus relates the same. What must we say therefore? Shall we affirm that in Evagrius it must be written Albus, instead of Basilicus? Or, does Salophaciolus import something that is Royal? Indeed, βασίλειον in Greek signifies fascia, which may be taken for a Royal Diadem. But, nothing of Certainty can be gotten out of this Surname, in regard 'tis variously written in ancient Writers. Valef.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at Antioch, Three hundred forty and seven Years after that [which had hapned] in the Times of Trajan.

[Further,] on the second Year of Leo's Empire, there hapned a great and vehement Motion and shaking of the Earth at Antioch; some [Facts] perpetrated with the utmost Rage and Fury imaginable, and which far exceeded the most superlative Ferity of Beasts, having before-hand been committed by the Populacy of that City; which [Facts] were the Prelude, as 'twere, to such Mischiefs as these. Now, this most calamitous Accident hapned on

the five hundred and sixth Year of Antioch's being entitled to all the Privileges and Immunities of a free City, about the fourth Hour of the Night that \* preceded the fourteenth Day of the Month Gorpiaus, (which Month the Romans term September,) the Lord's day approaching, † on the eleventh || Partition of the Cycle: this is related to have been the sixth [Earthquake which shaked Antioch,] three hundred † forty and seven Years having passed, from the time that that [Earthquake] had hapned [which came to pass] in Trajan's Empire. For that [Earthquake in Trajan's time] hapned on the hundred † fifty ninth Year of Antioch's being entitled to the Privileges and Immunities of a free City.

\* Or, led to. † Or, in dicton. When Provinces submitted themselves to the Roman Empire, 'twas usual for the Emperour to cause an Edict to be drawn up, and proclaimed openly upon the place. The Tenour

whereof was, first to entitle the Emperour himself to all respects of Dominion and Supremacy over that People; and then secondly, to abate from this by a popular Insinuation of all possible Sacredness, and Liberty of the Provincials. A particular Instance hereof, as it relates to this very City Antioch, is produced by Mr. Jo. Gregory of Oxford (see his Works, pag. 156. Edit. London, 1663.) from Joannes Antiochenus's MS. Geograph. Book 9. In these words: Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ὑπὸ βασιλέως, &c. And when the City Antioch had yielded it self up to the subjection of the Roman Empire, an Edict of the Liberties thereof was sent by Julius Cæsar, and publicly proclaimed at Antioch upon the twentieth of May: the Contents whereof were these, AT ANTIOCH THE HOLY, SACRED AND FREE CITY, THE METROPOLITAN QUEEN, AND PRESIDENT OF THE EAST, CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, &c. The Provinces usually returned the Honour of these Privileges back upon the Emperour, by this way of Acknowledgment. That they might keep the Emperour's Grace in perpetual Memory, they reckoned all their publick Affairs ever after from that time; χρηματίζοντες ἔν (continues the same Joannes Antiochenus) ἡ μεγάλη ἀπόχρητα, &c. Therefore Antioch the Great, in honour of the Emperour, fixed its Æra in Caius Julius Cæsar, and made this Year of Grace the first. On which account, this Æra of theirs, which precedes that of our Lord's Nativity forty eight Years, was peculiarly called χρηματισμὸς καὶ ἀντιστοχέων; because at the fixing hereof, the Emperour did χρηματίσαι ἑαυτὸν, publicly name himself to all the title of Dominion: and also χρηματίσαι αὐτῷ, publicly entitle them to all Privileges and Immunities.

b 'Ανὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐπινέμουν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνη ἡμερὰ, &c. Musculus has rendered this place very ill. But Christophorus, in regard he could not understand the meaning of these words, omitted them in his Version. Indeed, this place tortured me a long while, and very much. Notwithstanding, at length I found the meaning of it to be this. After Evagrius has set forth the time wherein the Earthquake hapned at Antioch, in the Reign of Leo Augustus, by certain Notes; to wit, of the Year, Month, Week, Day, and Indiction: in the last place he adds these words, τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην: That is, that that Earthquake had hapned without any turning of the Cycles, Three hundred forty seven Years compleat, after that Earthquake which had hapned in Trajan's time. For this Note of Time hath no Cycle. But the former Notes of Time assigned by Evagrius, are [Notes] of the Cycles or Periods. For, an Indiction is a Cycle of fifteen Years; and a Week, a Month, and a Year, are Circles and Periods always recurring. This therefore is my Sentiment concerning the Explication of this place: Nevertheless, if any one shall produce a more certain Account of this passage, I will not refuse to alter my Opinion. See Evagrius, Book 3. Chap. 33. and Note (b) there. This place may also be taken otherwise, by changing only the Accent, in this manner, ἐκείνην ἡμερὰν; That so the sense may be this: This is said to be the sixth Earthquake which shaked Antioch. Nor, do I now doubt, but this is the true Interpretation of this place. In the Tellerian Manuscript, I found it plainly written [ἐκείνη, the sixth] with an asperate, and the Accent in the first Syllable. Valef. The Reading in Robert Stephens is the same with that set at the beginning of this Note. In the Greek Text of Valesius's Edition, this place is pointed and accented thus: ἀνὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐπινέμουν τὴν πόλιν, ἐκείνην ἡμερὰν ἡμερὰν, &c. which Reading and Punctuation we have followed in our Version.

c I have restored this place from the incomparable Florentine MS. wherein 'tis plainly written thus: ὁ καὶ ὁ; that is, forty and seven. The Reading in Nicephorus, at Book 15. Chap. 20. is altogether the same. Valef. And so 'tis in Robert Stephens's Edition also; notwithstanding Valesius's saying that he restored this place.

d Baronius in his Ecclesiastick Annals, at the Year of Christ 1113, says that Evagrius is mistaken, in affirming, that that Earthquake which came to pass at Antioch in Trajan's Reign, hapned on the Year (according to the Antiochians Account) 159. For, that Earthquake hapned in the Consulate of Messala and Pedo; as 'tis manifest from Dion;



Dion, who asserts that the Consul *Pedo* perished in that Earthquake. Further, the Consulate of *Messala* and *Pedo* fell on the Year of Christ 115, as 'tis agreed amongst all Chronologers. It was then, according to the *Antiochians* account, the hundred sixty third year, not the hundred fifty ninth year, as *Evagrius* says. For the years of the *Antiochians* precede Christ's Nativity forty eight years. Moreover, concerning these years of the *Antiochians*, amongst the Ancients the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* has spoken best of all, in the affairs of *Julius Caesar*: but amongst the Moderns, *Dionysius Petavius* [gives us the best account hereof] in his books *de Doctrina Temporum*, and in the second part of his *Rationarium*, chap. 14. To which Author nevertheless I can't give my assent in this which he affirms, viz. That the beginning of these years is deduced from the Month *October*, which was the popular [or ordinary] beginning of the year amongst the *Antiochians*. In my Annotations on *Eusebius*, [See *Euseb.* book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, chap. 1. note (e.)] I have in my judgment, sufficiently demonstrated, that the *Antiochians* began their year from the Month *Dius*, or *November*. Nor, is that true which *Petavius* writes at the same place, viz. that the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* seems to deduce the beginning of these years from the Month *May*. For the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* does not say that; he affirms only, that the Decree of the Senate, whereby *Antioch* was pronounced a free City, was received by the *Antiochians* on the Month of *May*, and then also publicly proposed. *Valef.*

But this [Earthquake] in the times of *Leo* [happened] on the five hundred and sixth year, as 'tis declared by the most accurate and diligent Writers. Further, this Earthquake ruined almost all the Houses of the *New City*, the Inhabitants whereof were very numerous, nor was there any part of it empty, or wholly neglected; but 'twas extraordinary beautified and adorned by the [preceding] Emperours magnificence, who strove to out-do one another [in that thing.] Likewise, the first and second fabrick of the Palace fell down; but the other Building continued standing, together with the adjoining Bath; which having been useless before at such time as this calamitous accident happened, was of necessity [made use of] for the bathing of \* the Citizens, the other Baths having been ruined. Moreover, the *Porticus*'s before the Palace fell down, and the *Tetrapylum* [which stood] behind them. Besides, the Towers of the *Hippodrome* which [were] near the Gates, and \* some of the *Porticus*'s which led to these [Towers fell.] In the old City the *Porticus*'s and Houses were wholly untouched by the Ruine: but some small part of *Trajan*'s, *Severus*'s and *Adrianus*'s Baths, was shaken, and overturned. This Earthquake also ruined some [parts] of the *Geitonias* of [that Region] termed the *Ostracine*, together with the *Porticus*'s, as likewise that termed the *Nymphæum*, Every of which particulars *Johannes the Rhetorician* has related with a singular ac-

\* Or, the City.

In the Incomparable Florentine Manuscript, this whole place is written thus; Καὶ τὰς ἰσποδρόμους καὶ τὰς δούρας πυργῆς, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς σῶν, Besides, the Towers of the Hippodrome [or Cirque] which [were] near the Gates, and some of the *Porticus*'s which led to those [Towers,] fell. Which doubtless is the better Reading. The Gates of the Cirque were fortified with two Towers on each side. There were also some *Porticus*'s, which led to those Towers, from the Gates of the Cirque, as I suppose. In the Tellerian MS. I found it written, πύλεις τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὰς σῶν, some of the *Porticus*'s [which led] to those [Gates.] *Valef.* In *Robertus Stephens*, this whole Clause is worded thus; καὶ τὰς ἰσποδρόμους καὶ τὰς δούρας πυργῆς, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς σῶν, and the Towers of the Hippodrome from the Gate, and some of the *Porticus*'s [leading] from them.

Instead of [Ostracina,] the Reading in the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, is truer; which is thus, *Ostracine*. Our *Evagrius* mentions this place again, at chap. 8. book 6. But what the *Ostracine* was, 'tis hard to say.—*Geitonias* is a continuation of Houses which received [or stood behind] the publick *Porticus*'s. Which *Libanius* also confirms in his *Antiochicus*, pag. 372. Edit. Paris. 1627. It was termed *Ostracine*, because the Pottery Work-houses were there. The Old Glosses render ὀστράκινον, *fiatile*; a thing made of Pottery. *Valef.*

So the Greeks termed the Temple of the Nymphs; which *Libanius* describes in his *Antiochicus*, pag. 372. Edit. ut prius. *Valef.*

curacy. This Writer therefore affirms, that a thousand Talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to the City out of the *Tributary Function*; and that, to the Citizens [were abated] the yearly Tolls paid to the publick Treasury for those Houses which had been destroyed by that Calamity: and moreover, that the same [Emperour] took care of the publick [Works and] Buildings.

ders it thus: *Dicit etiam mille auri talenta Civitati illi ab Imperatore de tributis esse remissa; Et ex Tributis quoque constitutum esse, ut civibus illis qui ea calamitate adfecti erant, aedes ipsorum simulque publica aedificia restaurarentur*; He says also, that a thousand talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to that City of the Tributes; and that 'twas constituted out of the Tributes also, that to those Citizens who had been affected with that Calamity, their Houses together with the publick Edifices should be repaired. But *Christophorus* translates it in this manner; *At porro, tum Civitati de Tributis mille auri talenta ab Imperatore esse condonata, tum Civibus etiam Vectigalia qui ea clade afflicti erant*: He saith further, that both to the City a thousand talents of Gold of the Tributes were remitted by the Emperour, and also the Taxes [or Customs] to those Citizens, who had been afflicted with that Calamity. Where you see, that both Translatours referred these words [τῶν ὑπανισμένων] to the Citizens; which is in no wise to be born with. For *Evagrius* would not have said τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ὑπανισμένων, but rather τῶν ὑπανισμένων. *Nicephorus* therefore understood these words righter, to wit, concerning the Houses of private Men, the Taxes whereof the Emperour remitted to the Citizens of *Antioch*. Nevertheless, *Nicephorus* has not fully apprehended *Evagrius*'s meaning. For thus he expresses this place of *Evagrius*; καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸν σεισμόν τὴν πόλιν χιλιά χρυσῶν τάλαντα βασιλεὺς φασὶν ἀφέναι τῇ πόλει τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ φόρων τὰ τέλη, τῶν ὑπανισμένων χάριν κτισμάτων. That is, as *Langus* renders it; *Terra motus istius gratia, &c.* And because of this Earthquake, and on account of the Houses ruined, the Emperour, 'tis reported, forgave the City a thousand Talents of Gold, the Tributes of the Annual Payments. But *Evagrius*, or rather *Johannes the Rhetorician*, says more. For he affirms, that the Emperour remitted to the *Antiochians* a thousand Talents of Gold of the *Tributary Function*; but forgave to each Citizen the Tributes of those Houses which had been ruined by the Earthquake. Now these Tributes may be understood in a twofold sense; Either (1.) concerning the Annual Pension which by Hirers was paid to the Owners [or Lords] of the Houses; Or (2.) concerning the Money which was paid to the *Fiscus* [Exchequer,] because those Houses had been built upon the publick Soil. In such manner as amongst us, an Annual Rent is wont to be paid by Possessours of Houses as well in the City as Country, to the Lords of the Soil. And in this latter sense I had rather take τὰ τέλη [the Tributes] here. For this word is more frequently used to signify Tributes, Tolls, or Customs, which are paid to the publick. But if this Term should be so taken here, as to signify the Price of Houses which is usually paid by the Hirer, there would have been no Liberality of the Emperour's in that. For he would have given nothing of his own to the Citizens, but that which was another's. *Valef.*

Instead of [ἐπιμελήσας] τὰ τέλη the Reading undoubtedly must be πύλεις, the same; add the words τὴν βασιλέα, Emperour. And thus *Christophorus* seems to have read. Further, concerning this Earthquake, *Isaac Syrus* had written an *Elegy*, as *Marcellinus* attests in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Patricio & Ricimere Cess. &c.* In the Consulate of *Patricius* and *Ricimeres*, *Isaac a Presbyter of the Antiochian Church wrote many things in the Syrian Language, and especially against the Nestorians and Eutychians. He likewise bewailed the ruine of Antioch in an Elegy, in such manner as Ephrem Diaconus did the fall of Nicomedia.* *Valef.*

### C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Fire which [happened] at Constantinople.

There hapn'd together with these [mischiefs] a like, or rather a far more grievous [calamity] at Constantinople; this mischievous accident concerning the year whereon this Fire hapned at Constantinople. For *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* place it on the fifth year of *Leo*, in the fifteenth Indiction, *Leo Augustus* being the second time Consul with *Severus*, which was the year of Christ 462. But *Marcellinus Comes* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* place this Fire of Constantinople in the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Hermeniscus*, that is on the year of Christ 465. Our *Evagrius* seems to have followed the former Opinion. For the Verb [συνωλέχθη, hapned together,] which he uses at this place, gives an indication of what I have said; to wit, that that Conflagration of Constantinople hapned no long time after the *Antiochian* Earthquake. Further, concerning that Fire wherewith the City Constantinople was consumed in the times of *Leo Augustus*, *Candidus Isaurus* does also write, in the first book of his History, and relates that many things were usefully ordered therein by *Aspar the Patricius*. *Valef.*

cident



cident began in that part of the City that lay towards the Sea, which they term the <sup>b</sup> Ox-Street. 'Tis reported, that about such time as Candles are usually lighted, a certain mischievous and execrable Devil having clothed himself in the shape of a Woman, or rather in reality a poor Woman instigated by the Devil, (for 'tis reported both ways) carried a Candle into the Market, being about to buy some <sup>\*</sup> Salt-fish; and that the Woman set down the Candle there, and went away. And, that the fire having taken hold of some Flax, raised a vast flame, and in a moment burnt <sup>†</sup> the Market-house. After which, that it easily consumed the adjoining buildings, the fire preying all about, not only upon such [houses] as might with ease be fired, but upon Stone-buildings also; and that it continued till the fourth day; and that, having exceeded all possibility of being extinguished, all the middle of the City, from the Northern to the Southern Quarter, five furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, was in such a manner consumed; that nothing, either of the publick or private buildings, was left [standing] within this compass, not the Pillars, nor Arches of Stone: but, that all the most hardned matter was burnt, as if it [had been straw, or] any such combustible stuff. Further, this calamitous mischief raged in the Northern part, <sup>\*</sup> wherein is the Haven of the City, from that termed the <sup>†</sup> Bosporos, unto the Old Temple of Apollo. In the Southern part, from Julianus's Haven to those houses which stand not far off from that Oratory termed the Church of <sup>c</sup> Concordia. And in the middle part of the City, from that termed Constantine's Forum, to that called Taurus's Forum, [it left] a miserable and most deformed spectacle to [the view of] all Men. For, whatever [Edifices] had stood stately to behold in the City, or had been brought to a Magnificence and incomparableness of Beauty, <sup>\*</sup> or <sup>\*</sup> accommodated to publick or private uses, were every one on a sudden transformed into mountains and hills, inaccessible and impassible, made up with all manner of Rubbish, which deformed the pristine beauty and sight [of the City.] In so much that even the possessours themselves of the places could not discern, what any one of those former [Edifices] had been, and in what place [it had stood.]

<sup>b</sup> He means the Phosphorians, which was in the fifth Region of the City, as the old Description of Constantinople informs us. The Greeks termed it *καρποβόρον* and *βορραιορον*; as Constantinus Porphyrogenetus tells us in his second book *de Thematibus* about the end, and Georgius Codinus in his book *de Originibus Constantinop.* 57. Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Salt-meat.

<sup>†</sup> Or, the houses.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, wherein are the Havens of the City.

<sup>†</sup> Or, Ox Street.

<sup>c</sup> The Church of Homoneia [or Concord] was in the 9th Region of the City Constantinople, as the Old Description of that City informs us. Why this Church had this name, we are told by Theodorus Lecter, in book 4. of his *Eccles. History*; whose words are cited by Johannes Damascenus in his third book *de Imaginibus*. For it was called *ὁμόνοια* [Concord,] because the hundred and fifty Fathers of the Constantinopolitan Synod in the Reign of Theodosius the Great, [See Socrate's *Eccles. Hist.* book 5. chap. 8.] meeting therein, agreed in one opinion concerning the *Consubstantial Trinity*. Valef.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the universal Calamities.

Instead of <sup>a</sup> About the same times, when the <sup>b</sup> Scythian War was raised against the Eastern Romans, the Country of Thracia, and the Hellespont it would be better written thus, *καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχοντες*, about the same times. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Evagrius means the War which the Hunni waged against the

Eastern Romans, under the Command of Dengizich son of Attila, in the Consulate of Zeno and Marcianus, on the year of Christ 469; as Marcellinus Comes relates in his *Chronicon*. Nevertheless, the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* places that War on the foregoing year, whereon Anthemius Augustus was Consul; *ἐπὶ τῆς 77 ἐπαφῆς καὶ ζήνῳ ὁ ἀπὸ ἀττίλας ἐσφάσθη καὶ ἀναγέσθαι τῆς σελήνης τὸ δεξιόν*, &c. under the same Consul Ginzirichus Son to Attilas was slain by Anagastus Magister Militum [Master of the Milice] of Thrace: I read Dengizichus, from Priscus Rhetor, who describes this War, pag. 44, 45, of the King's Edition. Further, this Anagastus Magister Militum throughout the Thracia's, who slew Dengizichus King of the Hunni in Battle, had succeeded Arnegisclus Magister Militum. Valef.

were shaken with an Earthquake; as was Ionia, and likewise those Islands called the Cyclades: in so much that in the Islands Cnidus and Coos very many [Buildings] were overturned. Further, Priscus relates, that at Constantinople and in the Country of the Bithynians, there hapned most violent storms of rain, the waters descending from Heaven in the manner of Rivers, for the space of three or four days. And, that Mountains were levelled into Plains, and Villages, over-whelmed with Waters, perished. Moreover, that Islands arose in the Lake Boane, (which is not far distant from Nicomedia,) from the vast quantity of dirt and filth conveyed into it. But these things came to pass sometime afterward.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Marriage of Zeno and Ariadne.

[Moreover,] Leo takes Zeno to be his Son in Law, by [giving him] his Daughter Ariadne in Marriage. This Person having from his Cradle been called <sup>a</sup> Aricmesius, after his Marriage assumed the name of Zeno, <sup>a</sup> In the most excellent Florentine MS. and in Nicephorus, instead of [δεκμήσιον, Aricmesius,] 'tis *δεκμήσιον*, Aricmesius. Further, Ariadne married Zeno on the third year of Leo Augustus's Reign, as Theophanes relates in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> He means Flavius Zeno, who was Consul in the Reign of Theodosius Augustus, on the year of Christ 448, and Magister Militum throughout the East. Concerning whose singular power, see what I have written in my Annotation at Priscus Rhetor's *Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 207. of the King's Edition. Valef.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Anthemius Emperour of Rome, and those Emperours who succeeded him.

BY reason of an Embassie of the Western Romans [to Leo,] Anthemius [by him] is sent [and created] Emperour of Rome, to whom Marcianus the preceding Emperour had married his own Daughter. [Not long after,] Basiliscus Brother of Verina the Wife of Leo [Augustus,] is sent Master of the Milice against <sup>a</sup> Gizerichus, with a choice Army of Souldiers. <sup>a</sup> Concerning that vast Army, which the Emperour Leo sent against the Vandals into Africk, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and Idatius in his *Chronicon*, are to be consulted. Concerning the preparations of the same War Candidus Isaurus writes also, in the first book of his *History*; the passage whereof, because 'tis not yet extant, I will annex here: *Καὶ διδοὺς ἰσομογεῖν ὅσον ὅτι ὁ λέων ὁ μακέλλης, ὁ μὲν μαρκιανὸν βασιλεύσαντα, καὶ τὴν ἐκστρέλειαν τὴν καὶ βανδύλαν ἀπειρα χρημάτων δέδωκε πέννυε. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἑσέως καχεεικότες, διὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχοντα χρυσὴν λίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν. διὰ δὲ τὰ κόμησιν*

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ἡ δὲ δευτέρω, ἐπαρχίαι καὶ μυσταί, καὶ ἀργυρίαι λίτρας ἐπακό-  
σται χιλιάδες. ὅτε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων ἐν τῶν δημοσίων καὶ  
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀνδραμί; That is, Candidus the Historiographer says,  
that Leo, termed also Macelles, who reigned after Marcianus, spent  
an innumerable sum of Money in an Expedition against the Vandals.  
For, as those have attested who furnished that money, forty seven thou-  
sand pounds of Gold were disbursed by the Præfecti Prætorio; by the  
Comes Largitionum were spent seventeen thousand pounds of Gold, and  
of Silver seven hundred thousand pounds: in regard this charge was  
abundantly supplied, partly by the goods of Persons proscribed and partly  
by the Emperor Anthemius. This eminent passage is extant in Suidas, in  
the word χειρίζω; but the Author's name is corrupted. In the same place  
of Suidas, instead of [τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων,] it must be made  
[τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων, &c.] Further, this Vandalick Expedition  
had hapned on the year of Christ 468, as Baronius has rightly observed;  
which is confirmed by Cedrenus, Idaius and Marcellinus. Two years  
after this, another Expedition against the Vandals was undertaken by  
the Commander (Dux) Heraclius, and Marfus, as Theophanes re-  
lates in his Chronicon, who is the only Person that I know of, who has  
made mention of this Expedition. Procopius, in his Vandalicks, has  
confounded this second Expedition with the former. Further, this  
second Expedition had an event fortunate enough. For Gizerichus  
being put into a fear, was compelled to make a Peace with the Oriental  
Romans. Valef.

All which have with great accuracy been recor-  
d by <sup>b</sup> Priscus the Rhetorician: as likewise  
had at in what manner the same [Emperour] Leo kil-  
large de- led Aspar (who had invested him with the Em-  
scribed this pire, whom he circumvented by Treachery, ren-  
Vandalick War in the doing him this reward, as 'twere, of his own pro-  
book motion;) and his Sons Ardaburius and Patri-  
of his Hi- cius, whom some time before he had created Ca-  
stories; as far, that he might possess himself of Aspar's <sup>c</sup> Fa-  
(besides Evagrius) vour and Benevolence. But, after the murder of  
Theophan. Anthemius, who had reigned five years at Rome,  
informs us Olybrius is proclaimed Emperour by Ricimeres;  
in his Chro- and after him Glycerius is made Emperour.  
con, page Whom <sup>d</sup> Nepos having expelled, during the  
100. But space of five years holds the Empire, and or-  
the place dains Glycerius <sup>e</sup> Bishop of the Romans at Salo-  
is corrupt- ed, which I <sup>f</sup> na a City of Dalmatia. Afterwards Nepos is dri-  
will annex

here: ὅτερον δὲ δόξας καὶ περιστάσεις καὶ πολλοὺς νόμους δελεασαίς,  
ἐπέδωκεν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὡς Περικλῆς ἱστορεῖται ὁ δευτέρω. But having at  
last been wheedled and allured by gifts and many riches, by Gizeri-  
chus, he yielded, and was voluntarily vanquished, as Periclus the Thra-  
cian has related. It must undoubtedly be written thus; ὡς περι-  
κλῆς ἱστορεῖται ὁ δευτέρω, as Priscus the Thracian has related. For Priscus the  
Historian has described that War, as Evagrius attests. Now Pri-  
scus was a Thracian, born at Panium a Town of Thrace, which Town  
is mentioned by Hierocles. Provincia Europa sub Consulari urbes qua-  
tuordecim. Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Bisue, Panium, Orni, &c.  
The Province Europa under a Consularis [contains] fourteen Cities.  
Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Bisue, Panium, Orni, &c. Besides  
Suidas does also affirm, that Priscus the Writer of the Histories was a  
Panite. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> As to my self it seemeth, I have restored this place not unhappi-  
ly, after this manner; ἵνα τῷ ἀσπαρ εὐνοίαν κήσῃ, that he might  
possess himself of Aspar's favour and benevolence. Cedrenus confirms  
our Emendation, at the twelfth year of Leo Augustus, in these words;  
τῷ δ' αὖτῳ ἐπὶ καὶ ὁ ἀσπαρ ὑπὸ πατρικίου καίσαρος καὶ τῷ λέον-  
τι (ῥίμῃ), καὶ ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, πέμπεται διὰ τὸ ἐλκεῖν τῷ ἀσπαρ  
ἐν τῇ ἀριστερῇ δόξῃ, καὶ ἀνοεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα; On the same  
year also Patricius, Aspar's Son, is created Caesar by Leo, and is sent  
to Alexandria to draw off Aspar from the Arian Opinion and to make  
him faithful and kind to the Emperour. And Theophanes expresses  
it thus; τῷ δ' αὖτῳ ἐπὶ &c. On the same year Patricius the Son of  
Aspar, whom the Emperour Leo had made Caesar, went to Alexandria,  
with a design to draw off Aspar from Arianism, and to render him  
faithful and friendly to the Emperour. Valef. In Robert Stephens.  
the Reading is; ἵνα τῷ ἀσπαρ εὐνοίαν κήσῃ, that he might pos-  
sess himself of Aspar's Madnefs.

<sup>d</sup> The Preposition <sup>g</sup> is to be expunged, which led Translatours  
into a mistake. For Nepos was not made Emperour on the fifth year  
after Glycerius's Deposition, but on the same year whereon Glycerius  
had been rejected, (as 'tis related in the Old Fasti, which Cuspini-  
anus set forth;) that is, on the year of Christ 474. After this Nepos  
held the Empire five years. For he was slain when Basilus was Con-  
sul alone, on the year of Christ 480; as Marcellinus attests in his  
Chronicon, and as 'tis affirmed by the Old Author of the Fasti,  
whom Cuspinianus published. From which Author we are inform'd,  
that Julius Nepos retained the name of Emperour until his death.  
Valef.

<sup>e</sup> 'Tis false, that Glycerius from being Emperour was made Bi-  
shop of Rome. Nor is it true, that he was constituted Bishop of Por-  
tune, which some have affirmed, following Marcellinus as their Author.

Notwithstanding, Marcellinus does not say so. For his words are these;  
Leone solo Cos. Glycerius Caesar Romæ Imperium tenens, &c. Leo be-  
ing Consul alone, Glycerius Caesar holding the Empire of Rome, is driven  
from the Empire by Nepos, Son of the Sister of Marcellinus heretofore  
Patricius; and of a Caesar is ordained a Bishop in the Port of the City  
Rome. But in Marcellinus the punctuation is to be altered thus; Impe-  
rio expulsus Portu urbis Romæ, ex Casare Episcopus ordinatus est, Be-  
ing driven from the Empire in the Port of the City Rome, of a Caesar  
is ordained a Bishop. Our Emendation is confirmed by the Old Author  
of the Fasti, whom I have quoted above; (whose words are these;) Do-  
mino Leone Juniore August. Cos. dejectus de Imperio Glycerius in Portu  
urbis Romæ, Dominus Leo Junior Augustus being Consul, Glycerius is  
cast from his Empire in the Port of the City of Rome. 'Tis certain Jor-  
danes, in his Book de Successione Regnorum, affirms that Glycerius was  
made Bishop at Salona. Jordanes's words are these; Occisoque Rome  
Anthemio Nepotem filiam Nepotiani, &c. And having killed Anthe-  
mius at Rome, he created Nepos Son of Nepotianus (to whom he mar-  
ried his Niece,) Caesar at Ravenna, by Domitianus his Client. Which  
Nepos having legally obtained the Empire, expelled Glycerius, (who had  
given the Kingdom to himself in a tyrannick manner,) from the Em-  
pire and made him Bishop in Salona of Dalmatia. At this place there-  
fore in the Greek Text, the word [ῥωμαίων, of the Romans] must be  
expunged, or rather transposed after this manner; τῷ ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῇ τῶν ῥωμαίων πόλει, &c. holds the Empire of the Romans,  
and ordains Glycerius, Bishop, &c. Valef.

ven from the Empire by Orestes, and after him  
his Son Romulus, surnamed Augustulus, is made  
the last Emperour of Rome, one thousand three hundred and three years after the Reign of  
Romulus. After this [Augustulus,] Odoacer, re-jecting the name of Emperour, and styling him-  
self King <sup>h</sup> administred the affairs of the Ro-  
mans. <sup>i</sup> writes thus

concerning this Romulus: Basilisco ὃ Ἀρματο Κοσσ. &c. In the Consulate  
of Basiliscus and Armatus, the Western Empire of the Roman Nation  
(which Octavianus Augustus the first of the Augusti began to hold on  
the seven hundred and ninth year from the Building of the City,) per-  
ished with this Augustulus, on the year of the Reign of the Emperours  
his predecessors DXXXII. Jordanes has the same words in his book de  
Successione Regnorum. Now, this sum makes one thousand two hun-  
dred thirty and one years. Therefore Cedrenus must be corrected, who  
from Romulus the Builder of the City, to this Romulus Augustulus,  
reckons but one thousand and eighty years. Valef.

<sup>h</sup> The Reading in Robert Stephens is [ἐπιχειρῶν, attempts;] with-  
out doubt it should be [ἐσχερῶν, takes in hand,] as Nicephorus words  
it, book 15. chap. 11. In the Tellerian MS. I found it written [ἐπιχει-  
ρῶν, administred,] which Reading pleases me best. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the death of Leo, and the Empire of  
Leo Junior, and also concerning Zeno his  
Father.

AT the same time the Emperour Leo ended  
his Reign at Byzantium, after he had go-  
verned the Empire seventeen years, having de-  
clared Leo (the Son of his own Daughter Ari-  
adne and Zeno) a very young Child, Emperour.  
After <sup>\*</sup> his death, his Father Zeno <sup>†</sup> assumes the  
Purple, Verina the Wife of Leo giving him her as-  
sistance, as being her Son in Law. The Child [Leo  
Junior] dying not long after, Zeno continued sole  
possessor of the Empire. But, what was trans-  
acted by him or against him, and whatever else  
hapned [in his times,] the following Book, by  
God's assistance, shall declare.

<sup>a</sup> The End of the Second Book.

<sup>a</sup> Before the follow-  
ing (to wit, the eighteenth) Chapter, in the incomparable Florentine  
Manuscript these words were written, τέλος τῷ ἑβδόμῳ, The end of the  
Second Book. Then after the [seventeenth] Chapter, these words occur;  
εἰς ὃν ὡς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν χαλκηδόνι συλλεγίσθῃ κεκνημένα  
ἐν τέτοις, The matters agitated at the Synod convened at Chalcedon,  
being reduced into an Epitome, are these. Valef.

The matters agitated at the Synod convened  
at Chalcedon, being reduced into an Epitome, are  
these.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XVIII.

An Epitome of the *Acts* at the Synod of Chalcedon, set at the end of the Second Book.

**P**aschasius and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniphacius, a Presbyter, filled the place of Leo Pontiff of the Elder Rome. Anatolius being Prelate of Constantinople, and Dioscorus Bishop of the Alexandrians; Maximus also of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem, and those Bishops about them [were there.] Together with whom were present those Personages who held the principal Places in the eximious Senate [of Constantinople.] To whom they who filled the place of Leo said, that Dioscorus ought not to sit together with them in the Council. For this [they said] was given them in charge by Leo. And, unless it were done, that they would go [forthwith] out of the Church. And when [those] of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected against Dioscorus; they made answer, that Dioscorus ought to give an account of his own Judgment, who, contrary to what was fitting and just, had accepted the Person of the Judge, <sup>a</sup> without the permission of him who governeth the Bishoprick of Rome. After which words, when Dioscorus, by the Senate's Decree, was standing in a place in the midst; Eusebius Bishop of Dorylæum made a Request, that the Supplicatory Libel, which had by him been presented to the Emperour might be recited; which Request he made in these express words: I have been injured by Dioscorus; the Faith hath been injured: Flavianus the Bishop has been murdered; and together with me unjustly deposed by him. Do you give order, that my Supplicatory Libel may be read. Which thing therefore having been debated, the Libel was permitted to be read, the Contents whereof were these.

[The Libel] occurs not, neither in the Greek Text of Valesius's Edition, nor in that of Robert Stephens's; though Valesius takes notice of them in his Version there. At this place they are inserted into both the now mentioned Greek Editions; and therefore we have rendered them here. but (with good reason) have omitted them at the said fourth Chapter. This latter answer of the Roman Legates to the Senators, seems obscure and unintelligible.

From Eusebius the meanest Bishop of Dorylæum, who speaks in defence of himself, of the Orthodox Faith, and of Flavianus of Blessed memory, who was Bishop of Constantinople. [It is] the design of your power, to make provision for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand to all those who are injured: especially to them who are recounted amongst the Ecclesiasticks. And hereby you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern <sup>\*</sup> the World. In regard therefore the Faith of Christ and we have suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reason and Equity, from Dioscorus the most reverend Bishop of the great City Alexandria; We address to Your Piety, entreating we may have Right done Us. Now, the business is this. At the Synod lately held in the Metropolis of the Ephesians, (would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the World with mischiefs and disturbance!) that <sup>†</sup> Good man Dioscorus, disregarding the consideration of what is just, and not [respecting] the fear of God, (for he was of the same Opinion, and entertained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded and heretical Eutyches; but concealed it from many Persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evi-

denced by his own declaration: ) <sup>†</sup> took an occasion from that Accusation which I had brought against Eutyches, a Person of the same Opinion with himself, and from that Sentence pronounced against the same Eutyches by Bishop Flavianus of Holy memory, [whereby] he assembled a multitude of disorderly and tumultuous Persons: and having possessed himself of power by money, as much as in him lay, he hath weakened the pious Religion of the Orthodox and has confirmed the ill Opinion of the Monk Eutyches, which long since, even from the beginning, hath been condemned by the Holy Fathers. Whereas therefore, the matters are not small and trivial, Which he hath audaciously attempted, both against the Faith of Christ, and against Us, We fall at the feet of Your [Imperial] Majesty, and humbly beseech You, to order the said most Religious Bishop Dioscorus, to give in his Answer to what is objected against him by us: to wit, by having the Monuments of the Acts, Which he has made against us, read before the Holy Synod. From which [Acts] We are able to demonstrate, that he even himself is estranged from the Orthodox Faith, Hath confirmed an Heresy full of Impiety, Hath unjustly deposed Us, and in a most grievous and injurious manner oppressed Us: You sending your Divine and Adorable Mandates to the Holy and Oecumenical Synod of Bishops, most dear to God, <sup>b</sup> to the end that it may bear both Us and the forementioned Dioscorus, and bring to the knowledge of Your Piety all that is transacted, according to that which shall please Your Immortal Height. And if We shall obtain this, We will pour forth incessant Prayers for your Eternal Empire, most Divine Emperours!

*ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἀναγνώσθωμεν*, To the end that it may bear both us, &c. The Reading in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council is the same. Christopherson, and Sir Henry Savil, at the margin of his Copy, have intended it thus; 'Εφ' ὃ τὸ ἱμῶν καὶ τοῦ, &c. To the end that it may bear our Cause and that of the forementioned Dioscorus. But I had rather write it 'Εφ' ὃ ἱμῶν καὶ τοῦ, &c. Vales. In Robert Stephens the Reading is 'Εφ' ὃν τὸ ἱμῶν καὶ τοῦ, &c. where also the word [*ἵνα*] is wanting.

By the joyned Request therefore of Dioscorus and Eusebius, The Acts of the Second Ephesine Synod were publicly recited: by which 'twas manifestly demonstrated, that Leo's Letter had not been read, and that, notwithstanding there had been an Interlocution once and twice concerning that matter. Wherefore, when Dioscorus was asked to declare the Cause hereof, his Answer was, That he himself by Interlocution [had given order] once and twice that that should be done; and he requested, that Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius [Bishop] of the First Cæsarea in Cappadocia, might give a more manifest Declaration of this matter. For [he said] That they had received an Authority [of presiding in the Synod] together with him. Juvenalis did indeed affirm, That when [the Emperours] Divine Letter <sup>\*</sup> had been read in the first place, he made an Interlocution, [ordering] that <sup>c</sup> that [Letter] should be recited; but, that

that [Letter] should be recited; but, that <sup>c</sup> Instead of [*ἐπεὶ*], to him] doubtless the Reading must be [*ἐπεὶ*, that,] understand [*τὸ θεῖον γράμμα*, the Divine Letter.] Which Emendation is confirmed by the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 52, and 53. Edit. Bin. where these words occur. *Gloriosissimi Judices et Amplissimus Senatus dixerunt*, &c. The most Glorious Judges and the most Noble Senate said, Let the most Blessed Bishop Juvenalis declare, why when the most Reverend Bishop Dioscorus made an Interlocution for the reciting of the Letter of the most Holy Romish Archbishop; that Letter was not read: Juvenalis the most Reverend Bishop of Jerusalem said: Johannes the Presbyter and Primicerius [chief] of the Notaries said; that he had in his hands the Sacred Letters of the most Religious and most Pious Emperours; and I answered that the Imperial

<sup>a</sup> In the fourth chapter of this Book, (where we have this true passage) these words [*ἵνα*] are used. *ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἀναγνώσθωμεν*, &c. which is the same as the word used here.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, the things under the Sun.

<sup>†</sup> Spoken by way of irony.

<sup>b</sup> In the incomparable Florentine MS. this place is read thus: 'Εφ' ὃ τὸ ἱμῶν καὶ τοῦ, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Instead of [*ἐπεὶ*],



Letters must be read. Further, the very words which *Juvenalis* had made use of in that second *Ephesine* Synod, occurs in the abovesaid 52. pag. where the Acts of the second *Ephesine* Synod are recorded: Moreover *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation in the last Chapter of his fifteenth Book, where he gives us a Summary of the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, mostly transcribed from *Evagrius*. I have been larger in my Remarks upon these things, because *Christophorson*, in the Rendition of this place, hath wandred far from the truth. By the way, you may observe the fraud committed in that second *Ephesine* Synod. For, when *Hilarius* the Deacon, the Legate of the Apostolick See, had openly declared to the Bishops who were present, that he had Pope *Leo's* Letter, and had required that it might be read in the Council: *Johannes* the Presbyter and *Primitivius* of the Notaries, arose and said, that he had in his hands other Letters written from the Emperour to *Dioscorus*. Then *Juvenalis* commanded, that those Letters of the Emperour should be read, no mention being made of *Leo's* Letter. You see therefore, that the reading of *Leo's* Letter was designedly impeded, by the fraud of *Dioscorus*; who, instead of *Leo's* Epistle, caused the Emperour *Theodosius's* Letter to be read in the Synod. Further, the *Tellerian* Manuscript does confirm our Emendation; in which Copy I found it written as I had conjectured. *Valef.*

\* That is, afterwards no mention was made of that \* Epistle. But *Thalassius* said, that he hindred not the reading of that Letter; and that he had not so much Authority, as that he alone could decree, that it should be read. When therefore a further progress was made in the reading of the Acts, and some of the Bishops found fault with some words as being false and forged; *Stephanus* Bishop of the *Ephesians* was asked, what Notaries of his at that time had taken [those words] in writing; his answer was, that *Julianus*, (afterwards made Bishop of *Lebedus*), and *Crispinus* were his Notaries: but, that *Dioscorus's* Notaries would not permit \* that to be done, but took hold of their fingers whilst they were writing; in so much that they were in danger of undergoing most foul abuses. Further, the same *Stephanus* † depofed, that [himself and the other Bishops] had subscribed to *Flavianus's* Deposition in one and the same day. *Heceto* added *Acacius* Bishop of *Ariarathia*, that all [of them] had subscribed in a Paper not written on, [and that they were compelled to it] by force and necessity, having been surrounded with innumerable mischiefs, in regard Soldiers [Armed] with murdering weapons had encompassed them. Further, when another Sentence was read, *Theodorus* Bishop of *Claudiopolis* said, that no body uttered those Words. Moreover, upon a procedure in reading [the Acts, in this manner] when [they came] to a certain <sup>a</sup> place wherein *Eutyches* had said, [that he Anathematized] those who should affirm that the Flesh of God and our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* had descended from Heaven: the Acts declared, That against these Words *Eusebius* had said, that those were indeed condemned by *Eutyches*, who should say that *Christ's* Flesh had descended from Heaven, but that it was not added by him, whence the Flesh was. The same Acts added also, that *Diogenes* Bishop of *Cyzicum* subjoyned [these Words:] <sup>c</sup> declare therefore, from whence? and, that notwithstanding they were not permitted to make any further inquiry into these things. Further, the same Acts do manifest, that *Basilius* Bishop of *Seleucia* in *Isauria*, spake [these words:] I adore our one Lord *Jesus Christ*, \* the Son of God, the only God the Word; Who after the Incarnation and Union, is known in two Natures. And, that against these Words the Egyptians cryed out: Let no man better, (see divide Him Who is not to be parted, he ought not to be called one Son two. But that the Easterns exclaimed, to wit, thus, *πῶς ἐν εἰπὲ*, declare therefore, from whence? *Valef.*

\* That is, would not permit *Stephanus's* Notaries to take the Acts in writing. † Or, attested.

|| Or, Instruments.

<sup>a</sup> This place, which *Evagrius* points at here, is extant in the first Action of the *Chalcedon* Synod, pag. 53. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Instead of *Cyzicum* subjoyned [these Words:] <sup>c</sup> declare therefore, from whence? and, that notwithstanding they were not permitted to make any further inquiry into these things. Further, the same Acts do manifest, that *Basilius* Bishop of *Seleucia* in *Isauria*, spake [these words:] I adore our one Lord *Jesus Christ*, \* the Son of God, the only God the Word; Who after the Incarnation and Union, is known in two Natures. And, that against these Words the Egyptians cryed out: Let no man better, (see divide Him Who is not to be parted, he ought not to be called one Son two. But that the Easterns exclaimed, to wit, thus, *πῶς ἐν εἰπὲ*, declare therefore, from whence? *Valef.*

\* In *Basilius*, pag. 58, the reading is, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μονογενὴς, τὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπογεννητὸν*, the only begotten Son of God, God the Word.

Anathema to him who parts, Anathema to him who divides. 'Tis contained in the same Acts, that *Eutyches* was asked, whether he would affirm two Natures in *Christ*. And, that he answered, that he asserted *Christ* [to consist] of two Natures before the Union: but after the Union, [he acknowledged but] one [Nature in him.] And, that *Basilius* said [these Words:] unless you affirm two undivided and inconfused Natures after the Union, you assert a confusion and a commixture. But if you add Incarnate and Inhumanate, and do understand Incarnation and Inhumanation in such manner as *Cyrillus* doth, you affirm the same that We do. For, the Divinity which [is] from [his] Father, is one thing; the Humanity which is from [his] Mother, is another. When they were interrogated, upon what account they had subscribed to *Flavianus's* Deposition; the Acts declare that the Easterns cryed out, We have all sinned, We do all crave pardon. Again further, the same Acts being read on, do manifest, that the Bishops were questioned, for what reason they would not permit *Eusebius* to come in, when he desired it. To which *Dioscorus* made answer, that *Elpidius* brought the Commonitory; and, that he affirmed, that the Emperour *Theodosius* had given order, that *Eusebius* should not be suffered to come in. The Acts do manifest, that *Juvenalis* also said the same Words. But *Thalassius* said, that he himself <sup>e</sup> had not Authority. Which answers were disallowed of the Judges. For [they said,] that this *Apolo-*logy was invalid [where a matter] of Faith is the subject of the Conference. After these things, the same Acts do declare, that *Dioscorus* <sup>h</sup> made a Complaint in these Words: What Canons are now observed, whenas *Theodoret* is [suffered to] come in; And, that the Senators made answer, That *Theodoret* was come in as an Accuser. And when *Dioscorus* subjoyned, that *Theodoret* sate amongst the Bishops; the Senators said again, That *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* should take the place of the Accusers, in like manner as *Dioscorus* had taken the place of the Accused allotted to him. When therefore all [the Acts] of the Second *Ephesine* Synod had been read, and the Sentence [of Deposition pronounced] against *Flavianus* and *Eusebius*, had been likewise recited, as far as that place, where <sup>i</sup> *Hilarius* the Deacon had said, 'Tis contradicted: the Bishops of the East and those with them

<sup>f</sup> In the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, only *Basilius* is said to have been questioned by the Judges and Senators; and what answer he returned to their question is added there also. Notwithstanding, *Nicephorus* confirms the vulgar reading, which is [ἐν ἡμῶν τῷ πνεύματι], when they were interrogated: which if we will retain, it must be said, that *Basilius* and those who were with him, were interrogated by the Judges. *Valef.*

<sup>g</sup> In the Rendition of this place, both Translators have erred. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Thalassius vero dixit, non habeamus auctoritatem*. But *Thalassius* said, that those things which are judged [or determined] by the Princes in such causes as these, have not authority. Likewise *Langus*, *Nicephorus's* Translator, hath fallen into the same mistake. But, from the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, it is easy to confute this Rendition. For *Thalassius* being questioned by the Judges, makes this answer only, *ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω πνεῦμα καὶ ἀρχὴν*, that is, all power and authority was not in me. For, altho' *Juvenalis* and *Thalassius* were ordered by the Emperour *Theodosius* to preside at the second *Ephesine* Synod together with *Dioscorus*, notwithstanding in reality all the power was in *Dioscorus's* hands. Further, the Judges condemned the Answer of *Dioscorus*, *Juvenalis*, and *Thalassius* in these words, In a matter of Faith this defence is not to be admitted. *Valef.*

<sup>h</sup> I agree with *Christophorson* and *Sir Henry Savil*; who instead of [ἐπεμύνηται, was sent for.] mended it thus, [ἐπεμύνηται, made a complaint.] Which fault I found to have been frequently committed in the Manuscript Copies. *Valef.*

<sup>i</sup> This place must be corrected from the first Action of the *Chalcedon* Synod, pag. 142. Where, after the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced by *Dioscorus* against *Flavianus* and *Eusebius*, when *Flavianus* had said, *παραιτέμαι σε*, I refuse you: *Hilarius* Deacon of the Church of Rome, said, *οὐκ ἐγδίδωται*, 'tis contradicted. Which words are written out from the Acts of the second *Ephesine* Synod. *Valef.*

exclaimed,



exclaimed, Anathema to Dioscorus: in this very hour <sup>ἡ Διόσκορος</sup> Christ hath deposed Dioscorus: Flavianus <sup>ὁ ἅγιος</sup> hath been deposed by Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, do you revenge Him! Many years to Leo: many years to the Patriarch. Then, when the following words were read, which manifested, that all the then convened Bishops had agreed to the deposition of Flavianus and Eusebius, the most Glorious Judges made an Interlocution in these express words.

otherwise, to wit, after this manner: ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ καθεύε. ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ καταρτίσθαι. That is, in this very hour [Dioscorus] hath deposed: in this very hour let him be deposed. Which reading I approve of as being the better. But, as this place of Evagrius is to be corrected from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, so on the other hand, the Acts of the Chalcedon Council are to be amended from our Evagrius. For, instead of these words which follow, ἅγιε κύριε σὺ ταύτην ἐκείνην, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him; it must [in the Chalcedon Acts] be written thus: φλαβιανὸς παρὰ διωσκόρου κατήρτην, ἅγιε κύριε. &c. Flavianus hath been deposed by Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, &c. as it is in Evagrius and Nicephorus: and so the old Translator of the Chalcedon Council seems to have read: for he renders it thus: Sancte domine, tu illum vindica: Catholice Imperator, tu illum vindica, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him: Catholick Emperour, do you revenge him. From which Version we conclude, that these words [Flavianus hath been deposed by Dioscorus] ought necessarily to precede. Otherwise, whither should these words [do Thou revenge him] be referred? Valef.

Some body may make a query here, what Patriarch is to be understood at this place. My affirmation is that Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople is meant. Further, two things are remarkable here. The first is, that the oriental Bishops with many years not to their own Patriarch, but to another. Secondly, that they term the Bishop of Constantinople simply and absolutely, The Patriarch, to wit, giving him this honour on account of the prerogative of his See. For, in the Constantinopolitan Synod, the second place was assigned to the See of Constantinople. Valef.

We perceive, that a more exact scrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus of Pious Memory, and Eusebius the most Religious Bishop of Dorylæum (from a search made into the Acts and Decrees, and also from their testimony by word of mouth who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deposed them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in relation to the Faith: ) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord;) that Dioscorus the most Religious Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenalis the most Religious Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most Religious Bishop of Cæsarea, Eusebius the most Religious Bishop of Ancyra, Eu-

From the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 15. (where this Interlocution of the sentence of) this sacred Synod according to the Judges is Canons estranged from the Episcopal dignity: all things which have been consequently done being recorded of Armenia, made known to his most sacred Imperial Majesty must be just. made Ancyra. Valef.

Instead of [ἐκπεσεῖν, fall from,] in the First Action of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 152. it is truer written thus [ὑποπεσεῖν, lie under.] For 'tis referred to what went before, to wit, τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι, the very same punishment; and the same herewith is the reading in the fourth chapter of this book, where this Interlocution of the Judges occurs entire. In the fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 217. the reading indeed is ἐκπεσεῖν: but there is a word added in the foregoing [clause,] in this manner, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπαχθῆναι ὀνόματι, subjected to the same punishment. If we should retain the word ἐκπεσεῖν, then these words [ἐκπεσεῖν ὑποχθῆναι, being estranged from] which follow, would be superfluous. Indeed, these two last mentioned words are wanting in the Tellerian and Florentine MSS. and in Nicephorus. Valef.

After these words, the Easterns cried out This [is] a just judgment: but the Bishops of Illyricum exclaimed, We have all sinned, let us all be vouchsafed pardon. And again, when the Easterns acclaimed, This is a just sentence: Christ hath deposed a Murderer; Christ hath revenged the Martyrs: the Senators made an Interlocution, That every one of the Bishops convened, should by himself \* declare his own Faith; \* Or, for knowing for certain, that the most Divine Emperour did believe, according to that Exposition of the Faith of the three hundred and eighteen [Fathers, assembled] at Nice, and the hundred and fifty Fathers [convened] at Constantinople; also according to the Epistles of the Holy Fathers, Gregorius, Basilus, Hilarius, Athanasius, Ambrosius; and according to Cyril's two Letters, which were recited at the First Synod at Ephesus: for, that the most Pious Leo Bishop of the Elder Rome, had deposed Eutyches according to the same Faith.

of the Chalcedon Council, as may be seen at pag. 152; Edit. Bin. Valef.

The First Session therefore having after this manner been ended, when the most Holy Bishops had come together alone in

order to another [Action,] Eusebius Bishop of Dorylæum presented Libels in defence of himself and Flavianus; wherein he accused Dioscorus as entertaining the same Sentiments with Eutyches, and because he had divested them of the Sacerdotal Function. He added also, that Dioscorus had inserted some words, which had not been spoken at the then convened Synod, into the Acts thereof; and moreover, that Dioscorus had procured that they should subscribe in blank papers. He requested further, that all the Acts of the second Ephesine Synod might be made null by the vote of [the Prelates who] were convened, that themselves might be restored to the Sacerdotal dignity, and that that nefarious opinion might be Anathematized. He requested also after the reading [of his Libel,] that his Adversary might be present. When this was by an Interlocution ordered to be done; Aërius Arch-Deacon and Primicerius of the Notaries said, that he had gone to Dioscorus, as also to the others; and that Dioscorus had answered, that he was not permitted by his keepers to come to the Council. By making another Interlocution it was ordered, that Dioscorus should be sought for before [the doors of] the Council. And when he was not found, Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople made an Interlocution, that he ought to be sent for, and to be present in the Synod. Which having been done, the messengers sent to Dioscorus returned and said that he told them, I am under custody: let [my keepers] say, whether or no they will permit me to go. [to the Council.] And upon the messengers saying to him, that they had been sent to him, not to the Magistriani, they brought word,



that Dioscorus had said, I am ready to come to the Holy and Oecumenical Synod; but I am bindred. Whereunto Himerius added, that in their return from Dioscorus, the <sup>4</sup> Assistant to the Master of the sacred Offices met them, and that in company with him the Bishops had gone again to Dioscorus, and that he had some things concerning these matters which he had taken in <sup>5</sup> Notes. Which having been read, 'twas manifested that Dioscorus had spoken these express words. Having recollected my self, and considered what is expedient [for me,] I answer thus.

<sup>4</sup> Bonōs is the name of an Office. For the *Princeps officii magistri officiorum* was so termed, who was of the *Schola* [or, Body] of The *Agentes in Rebus*, as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Farther, this Assistant of the Master of the Offices, was by his proper name called *Eleusinius*, as 'tis recorded in the Third *Act* of the Chalcedon Synod. Valef.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἐν σημείοις*. In the *Acts* of the Chalcedon Council, in stead of these words, 'tis written, *ἐν ἐξαίρεσι*; which the old Translatour hath rendred thus: *Et certa locuti sunt, quæ in exceptis habeo*. And they have spoken some words, which I have in my *Excepta* [that is, in my account taken thereof in writing.] 'Tis certain, Himerius was a Notary and a Reader, sent by the Council (together with the Bishops) to Dioscorus, that he might take those things in writing, which should be laid on both sides; for that was the Office of Notaries. The Bishops, as often as they went to a Synod, were wont to carry each his Notary along with them, who were to take the matters transacted in the Synod in writing: to the end that, after the ending of the Synod, each Bishop might carry a copy of the *Acts* into his own Country. Further, I approve highly of the old Translatour's rendring *σημεία* *excepta*. Whence I am of opinion, that Origen's *σημειώσεις* ought in *Latine* to be termed *Excepta*. I know indeed, that Origen's *σημειώσεις* are by Rufinus and Jerome commonly termed *Excerpta*, *Excerptones*; but my Sentiment is, that 'tis corruptly written, in regard they ought rather to be termed *Excepta*. Valef.

In regard the most magnificent Judges who sate in the Session before this, have Decreed several things after many Interlocutions made by every one; and I am now cited to a Second Session, to the end that the foresaid [Decrees] may be voided and made null; 'tis my request, that the most magnificent Judges and Sacred Senate, who were at the Former Session, may be present now also, in order to a re-examination of the same matters. To whom Acacius, as 'tis manifestly related in the said *Acts*, gave answer in these very words. The Holy and Great Synod have not commanded Your Sanctity therefore to be present, that those things which have been transacted before the most Magnificent Judges and the Sacred Senate might be voided and made null: but [the Synod] hath sent us, [with a command] that You should come to the Session, and that Your Sanctity should not be absent therefrom. To whom Dioscorus returned this answer, (as the *Acts* declare;) You have told me even now, that Eusebius hath presented Libels: I make a request again, that my Cause may be examined before the Judges and Senate. Then, after other things of this nature, which are put into the *Acts*; those were again sent, who might persuade Dioscorus to be present at what was transacted. Which having been done, those who had been sent returned, and said, that they had taken Dioscorus's answer in Notes, which [Notes] do manifest, that he said these words. I have already signified to Your piety, that I am afflicted with a distemper, and that 'tis my request, that the most Magnificent Judges, also and the Sacred Senate may now likewise be present at the Judgment of those things which shall be inquired into: but in regard my distemper hath increased, upon that account I have made a delay. And the *Acts* do manifest that Cecropius said unto Dioscorus; that a little before

he had not made the least mention concerning his sickness; and that therefore he ought to satisfy the Canons. To whom Dioscorus made this return, I have said once, that the Judges ought to be present. Then, that Rufinus Bishop of Samosata said unto Dioscorus, that the \* Agitations and Debates [in the Council] were Canonical, and that Dioscorus, if he were present, might freely speak what he should have a mind to. And when Dioscorus enquired, whether Juvenalis and Thalladius and Eustathius were come [to the Synod,] ' he answered, that

that was nothing pertinent to the business. To which words the *Acts* do set forth, that Dioscorus subjoyned these, that he had requested the Christ-loving Emperour, [that he would give order] that the Judges also might be present [in the Council,] as likewise those [Prelates] who together with him \* had been \* Or, had Judges. And, that hereto the [Synod's] Messengers said, that Eusebius had accused him only, and that all the rest ought not to be present. And, that to these words Dioscorus replied, that those other persons ought also to be present who had been judged together with him: for, that Eusebius had no private † Cause against him, but † Or, business. [a common one, to wit,] concerning those things on account of which all of them had been judged. And again, when the [Synod's] Messengers persisted || in the same things, Dioscorus made answer, what || Or, concerning the same matter.

I have said, I have said once; nor have I any thing further to say. To which words [when declared to the Synod,] Eusebius [Bishop] of Dorylæum said, that he had [matter of accusation] against Dioscorus only, and against no person else: and he desired that Dioscorus might be cited in by a third Summons. [After this] Aetius gave information, that some persons who stiled themselves Ecclesiasticks, together with some others who were Laicks, coming from the City Alexandria, had lately presented Libels against Dioscorus, and that these men were now standing before [the doors of] the Council, and \* crying \* Or, made use of outcries. When therefore Theodorus, a Deacon of the Holy Church of Alexandria, had in the first place presented [Libels;] and then Ischirio, who was a Deacon likewise; and after him Athanasius a Presbyter and Cyrillus's sisters son; and lastly Sophronius; in which [Libels] they accused Dioscorus partly for Blasphemies, and partly on account of bodily [damages] and † violent exaction of moneys: a third Citation is issued out, wherein Dioscorus is admonished to come [to the Synod.] The Messengers therefore appointed for this business, being returned, made report that Dioscorus had said [these words:] I have sufficiently informed Your Piety; nor can I add anything else thereto. Again, when the persons sent upon this account had continued to be very urgent in their persuasives to Dioscorus [that he would come,] and he having always given the same answer; Paschasius the Bishop said [these words.] Dioscorus having now been thrice Summoned, hath not appeared, being prick'd in

\* *Κανονικὰ τὰ κινήματα καὶ διαβάσεις*. Valefius renders it thus; *Canonicum constitutum esse iudicium*, that a Canonical Judiciary was constituted.

† *Ἀπὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ*, He answered: in Robert Stephens's Edition, the reading is, *Eustathius answered*: In Valefius's Version 'tis, *respondit Pergamius*, Pergamius answered.

|| Or, concerning the same matter.

\* Or, made use of outcries.

† I am of the same opinion with Learned men, who instead of [*βίαια ἀπαρτήσεις*] had mended it thus, *βίαια ἀπαρτήσεις*, violent exaction; by conjecture, as I think. For our Copies have no alteration here. Yet the Tellurian Manuscript (which I procured opportunely, whilst our Edition was in the press,) has it plainly written, *βίαια ἀπαρτήσεις*. Valef.



in conscience: and he asked what [punishment] he deserved. Whereunto when the Bishops had returned answer, that he had \* offended against the Canons, and when Proterius Bishop of Smyrna had said, at such time as the Holy Flavianus was murdered, nothing had been agreeably and orderly done against him: they who supplied the place of Leo Bishop of the Elder Rome, † made this Declaration in these express words.

\* Or, made himself obnoxious to. † Or, pronounced Sentence.

What Dioscorus who hath been Bishop of the Great City Alexandria has audaciously attempted against the Order of the Canons, and the Ecclesiastick Constitution, hath been made manifest, both by those things which have already been enquired into at the First Session, and also from what hath been done this day. For this person, (to omit many other things,) making use of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to communion Eutyches, (a man that embraces the same Sentiments with himself, who had been deposed canonically by his own Bishop of Holy Memory, we mean our Father and Arch-Bishop Flavianus;) before \* his sitting [in the Synod] at Ephesus together with the Bishops beloved by God. But the Apostolick See has granted a pardon to those [Prelates,] for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who also to this present continue of the same opinion with the most Holy Arch-Bishop Leo, and with all the Holy and Oecumenical Synod. On which account, he hath received them to his own communion, as being asserters of the same faith with himself. But † this man till this very time hath not desisted from boasting of these things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himself prostrate on the earth. Besides, he permitted not the Letter of the most Blessed Pope Leo, to be read, (which had been written by him to Flavianus of Holy Memory;) and this [he did,] notwithstanding he was several times entreated by those persons who brought the Letter, to suffer it to be read; and notwithstanding he had promised with an Oath that it should be read. The not reading of which Letter has filled the most Holy Churches over the whole world with scandals and detriment. Nevertheless, although such things as these have been audaciously attempted by him, yet we had some thoughts concerning the vouchsafing to him something of compassion in relation to his former impious Fact, as also to the rest of the Bishops beloved by God, although they had not the same authority of judging that he was invested with.

But, in the Chalcedon Acts, and in the fourth chapter of this book, (where this sentence of condemnation occurs,) it is more truly written, *ἐκείνη ἡμετέρα*, it was our design. But, by transposing the prepositions, I had rather write it thus, *ἐκείνη ἡμετέρα ἐν τῇ*, &c. we had considered in relation to, &c. which writing is far more elegant.

But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his \* latter facts, (for he has audaciously pronounced an excommunication against the most Holy and most Pious Leo Arch-Bishop of Rome the Great; and moreover, (when Libels stuffed with Crimes were preferred to the Holy and Great Synod against him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Bishops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prick'd by his own conscience; [Lastly,] he has illegally received [to Communion] those, who have been justly deposed by several Synods: [on these various accounts we say] he himself

hath pronounced sentence against himself, having many ways trampled under foot the Ecclesiastick Rules. Wherefore, the most Holy and most Blessed Leo Arch-Bishop of the Greatest and the Elder Rome, by Us and the present Synod, together with the thrice Blessed and most eminent Apostle Peter, who is the \* Rock and basis of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath divested him of the Episcopal dignity, and hath \* removed him from [the performance of] every Sacerdotal Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it self will Decree those things concerning the forementioned Dioscorus, which shall seem agreeable to the Canons.

Matth. 16. 18. As a Comment on which Text take these words of Saint Cyprian, in his book de Unitate Ecclesie, termed also Tractatus de Simplicitate Prelatorum, pag. 113. Edit. Basil 1558. Loquitur dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & Super istam Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, &c. The Lord speaketh to Peter, I say unto thee, says he, that Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. And after his Resurrection he says to the same person, Feed my sheep. And although he gives an equal power to all the Apostles after his Resurrection, and says, As the Father hath sent me, so also I send you, &c. Yet that he might manifest the Unity, by his own authority he hath disposed the original of the same Unity as beginning from One. For the rest of the Apostles were the same also, that Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power; but the original proceeds from Unity, that the Church may be shown to be one.

When therefore these things had been confirmed by Anatolius, Maximus, and the rest of the Bishops, excepting those [Prelates] who together with Dioscorus had been deposed by the Council; a Relation concerning these [Transactions] was by the Synod written to [the Emperour] Marcianus, and by the same Synod a deposition was sent to Dioscorus, the Contents whereof were these.

Know, that by reason of Your contemning the Divine Canons, and on account of Your contumacy [Shown] towards this Holy and Oecumenical Synod, because (besides other Crimes whereof You have been convicted,) having been the third time called by this Holy and great Synod, according to the Divine Canons to answer to those Accusations brought against You, You have not appeared; on the thirteenth day of this instant month October, You are deposed from your Bishoprick by this Holy and Oecumenical Synod, and are \* estranged from every Ecclesiastick duty.

This word [ἀπέχεσθαι] is variously rendred by Translators. For Langus renders it *Consuetudinem*, Custom. Musculus and Christopherson have translated it thus; *ab omni Ecclesiastico Jure esse abalienatum*, and are alienated from all Ecclesiastick Right. The Old Translatour of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 214. renders it *Functionem*, Function; which, in my judgment is the truer Version. In the Libel of Deposition of the same Dioscorus, which the Chalcedon Synod sent, almost in the very same words, to the Clergy-men of the Alexandrian Church who were then at Chalcedon, instead of ἀπέχεσθαι, it is βιβλῆς, Degree. In the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the same Dioscorus by the Legates of the Romish See, instead of this word, ἐπίσκοπος, Office, is made use of. Now, these words are therefore added by the Synod, that they might shew, that Dioscorus was reduced to a Laick communion. For he is not only said to be divested of the Episcopal dignity, but is also removed from every Ecclesiastick Office: least any one should think him to be removed from the Episcopal Act: [or, acting as a Bishop.] and thrust down into the degree of the Presbyterate. For to do that, is sacrilege, as 'tis said in the fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 247.

Then



Then, having written concerning these things to the pious <sup>2</sup> Bishops of the most Holy Church at Alexandria, and when the <sup>3</sup> Edict against Dioscorus had been proposed, this Session was ended.

<sup>4</sup> It should (as it seems) be written *κληρικῶν*, Clergy of the most Holy, &c. For Dioscorus's Libel of Deposition was sent to the Clergy-men of the Alexandrian Church, who were then at Chalcedon, as may be seen in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 214. Due order did require indeed that Dioscorus's Deposition should be declared by the Synod to the Bishops of Egypt also. But the Bishops of the Chalcedon Council were to perform that afterwards, in their Synodick Letter. At that time they had done sufficient, in declaring Dioscorus's Deposition to the Alexandrian Ecclesiasticks who were then at Chalcedon, to wit, to Eleemosynus the Presbyter and Oeconomus [or, Steward,] and to Euthalius Arch-Deacon, and to the rest of the Clergy. 'Tis certain, Evagrius's words do sufficiently declare, that there is no mention here concerning the Bishops of Egypt. For he calls them Bishops of the Alexandrian Church: which appellation agrees not with the Bishops of Egypt. Valef.

<sup>5</sup> In Nicephorus 'tis *ἐκδομένη*. But in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, the reading is *ἐκδομένη*. In the Tellerian MS. I found it written *ἐκδομένη*. Valef. And so 'tis in Robert Stephens's Edition.

\* Or, convened. The foregoing \* Session having been thus ended, after this [the Bishops] being again convened, returned answer to the Interrogation of the Judges (who had requested that the true Faith might be expounded,) [in this manner,] <sup>b</sup> that nothing further ought to be established, the matters against Eutyches having been fully finished, and determined by the Bishop of Rome, to which [determinations] they had all given their assent. Again, when all the Bishops cried out, that they all said the same things, and when the Judges by making an Interlocution had pronounced, that each Patriarch, having chosen one or two persons of his own Diocesis, should come forth into the midst, to the end that the opinion of every one might be made manifest: Florentius Bishop of Sardis required a \* Truce, to the end that with consideration they might arrive at the Truth. And Cecropius Bishop of Sebastopolis spoke these words. The Faith hath been well expounded by the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, and hath been confirmed by the Holy Fathers, Athanasius, Cyrillus, Celestinus, Hilarius, Basilus, Gregorius, and now again by the most Holy Leo. And our request is, that the [words] of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, as also those of the most Holy Leo, may be recited. Which having been read, the whole Synod cried out, in these words; This is the Faith of the Orthodox: Thus we all believe, Pope Leo believes thus, Cyrillus believed thus, the Pope hath expounded it thus. And when there had been another Interlocution, that the Exposition of the Faith [set forth] by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers might be recited also, that was likewise read. To which the Synod again cried out, and said: This is the Faith of [us] all: This is the Faith of the Orthodox: Thus we all believe. <sup>a</sup> After whom Aetius the Arch-Deacon said, that he had at hand the Epistle of the Divine Cyrillus to Nestorius, which all [the Fathers] convened at

Ephesus had confirmed by their own Subscriptions; and that he had likewise another Letter of the same Cyrillus's, which had been written to Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch, and which had likewise been confirmed: and his request was, that both these Letters might be read. And after an Interlocution had been made concerning these [Letters,] they were both recited. Part of the Contents of the former Epistle run word for word thus.

Cyrillus, to the most Pious Nestorius,  
[my] Fellow-Minister.

Some persons, as I understand, \* reproach my Reputation in the presence of Your Piety, and against that frequently, taking an occasion [to do thus] most especially, at such time as those of the Magistracy, are met together; and peradventure they suppose, that Your ears are even delighted [with such discourses as these.] And after some words. The Holy and Great Synod therefore hath said,

† that He the only begotten Son hath been begotten of God and the Father according to Nature, very God of very God, the Light of the Light; that He, by whom the Father hath made all things, descended, as Incarnate, made man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens. These Expressions and Forms we also ought to follow, considering with our selves, what is meant by this [proposition,] God the Word was incarnate and was made man. For we do not affirm, that the Nature of The Word having been changed, was made Flesh: nor that it was converted into whole man, who [consists] of Soul and Body. But [We say] that rather, that when The Word had personally united to himself the Flesh enlivened with a rational soul, he was ineffably and incomprehensibly made man, and he hath been styled the Son of man, not according to will only, or good pleasure; nor yet as it were in the Assumption of the person only. And, that the Natures [are] diverse, <sup>c</sup> which have come together into a true Unity: but, that of both [Natures there is] one Christ and [one] Son; not as if the diversity of the Natures were destroyed by the Union: but rather, \* that the Divinity and Humanity have perfected to us one Lord, and Christ, and Son, by an ineffable mystical and secret course to an Unity. And after some few words. But, in regard having personally united the humanity to himself on our account and for our salvation, he proceeded from a woman, for this reason he is said to have been born according to the Flesh. For he was not at first born a common [and ordinary] man of the Holy Virgin, and after that The Word

descended upon him: but having been united from the very womb, he is said to have undergone a Carnal Nativity, that he might procure [to himself] the Nativity of his own Flesh. After the same manner we say he suffered, and rose again; not as if God The Word, as to his own Nature, suffered either the Stripes, or the

<sup>c</sup> For the divine and humane Nature being joyned together, having constituted to us one Christ and Lord. And so that is true which Cyrillus says, viz. that two Natures diverse amongst themselves, have come together into a true unity: which, nevertheless, Christophorus understood not. Not that of two Natures one is made, in such manner as Eutyches asserted: But, that of two Natures one Christ hath existed. And thus Cyrillus has explained his own opinion a little after these words; whereas he saith, διὰ τῆς ἀσώτου καὶ ἀσώτου καὶ ἐνὶ τῇ σαρὶ ἐσώτου, by an ineffable mystical and secret course to an unity. From hence it appears, that Johannes Langus, otherwise the Learned Translator of Nicephorus, hath mistook here, who has rendered ἐνὶ τῇ (not unity, but) Union. Valef.

\* Or, that by the divinity and humanity they [the Natures] have perfected, &c.

† Or, came. † Or, made one. \* Or, united. \* Or, came. † Or, made one.

<sup>a</sup> This place is also extant in the Second Act of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 160. Valef.



terlocation,



terlocution [had given order,] that an Inter-  
val of five days might be allowed them; wherein  
they might have a meeting [and conferr] with  
I assent to the Anatolius Prelate of Constantinople: All the  
Learned, who (instead of *αὐτὸν ἀνασθίον*  
about Anatolius,) before us had  
mended it thus, [*παρὰ ἀνασθίον*,  
with Anatolius.] 1. Nicephorus  
the preposition is wanting, which  
nevertheless seems to me altoge-  
ther necessary. *Valeſ.*

necessity that you should all meet. But, in regard  
'tis agreeable, that those who doubt should be con-  
firmed, let the most Pious Bishop Anatolius choose  
out of their number who have subscribed, such  
persons as he shall think fit to teach and inform  
those that doubt. Whereto those of the Synod  
subjoyned these Acclamations: We entreat <sup>m</sup> for  
the Fathers: [Let] the Fathers, who are of  
the same Sentiment with Leo, [be restored] to  
reading is the Synod; The Fathers to the Synod: These  
*αὐτὸν τὸν* Words to the Emperour: These Supplications to  
*πατέραν* The Orthodox: These Supplications to Augusta:  
for, or, con- We have all sinned: Let us all be pardoned.  
cerning the Fa- But the Clergy of the Constantinopolitan Church  
thers; exclaim'd [in these words,] They are but few  
which is who cry out: The Synod says not this. After  
better than whom, the Eastern Bishops cried out, The E-  
*παρὰ τὸν* gyptian to Banishment. But the Illyricians ex-  
Sec. from claimed: We entreat [you,] have mercy upon  
the, &c. all. After whom the Eastern Bishops cried out,  
And the same with

that first mentioned, is the reading in the Second Action of the Chal-  
cedon Council. Further; who these Fathers should be, for whom  
the Bishops entreat, that they may be restored to the Synod, 'tis not  
difficult to guess. For they are these, Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusa-  
lem, Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius, Eustathius,  
and Basilus; who had been deposed in the First Action together  
with Dioscorus, by an Interlocution of the Judges and Senators.  
On account therefore of this Deposition which the Bishops had ap-  
proved of by their Suffrages, these five Bishops, were present neither  
at the Second nor Third Action, as 'tis apparent from the Catalogue of  
the Bishops which is prefix'd before those Actions. Besides, in the Third  
Action, when the Legates of the Apostolick See had pronounced a  
Sentence of Deposition against Dioscorus, the rest of the Bishops con-  
firmed it by their own Subscriptions: excepting these five, as Evagrius  
has truly observed above. In the Common Editions of the Chalcedon  
Synod, pag. 212. the Names even of these five Bishops occur written  
also: but, out of order, and after all the other Bishops. Whence  
it appears, that they had not subscribed at such time as the Sentence  
was pronounc'd, but a long while after, when they had been restored,  
and had recovered their former Dignity. Moreover, it may be mani-  
festly concluded from what is said above, that that is most true which  
I have already remark'd, viz. That the Second Action of the Chalcedon  
Synod is by Evagrius taken for The Third, and The Third for The Se-  
cond. But, which Copies are worthiest to be believed, whether those  
which Evagrius made use of, or them which we have now extant,  
'tis not easy to pronounce. To me, the Copies made use of by Eva-  
grius seem more certain. First, on account of their Antiquity; for  
doubtless they were older than those we now use. Secondly, by rea-  
son of their legitimate and true Order of Matters transacted. For,  
after an accurate Examination of Dioscorus's Cause, and after the In-  
terlocution of the Judges, who had pronounced him to have offended  
against the Canons, and that he was to be deposed; all which was  
done in the First Action: it remained, that Dioscorus by a Canonical  
Judgment of the Bishops should be condemned. Wherefore, that  
Action, wherein Dioscorus was deposed by the Bishops by a synodick  
Sentence, ought immediately to follow The First Action. Therefore  
Evagrius and Nicephorus have rightly placed it in the second place.  
A third Reason is drawn from the Third Action it self, pag. 177. where  
Dioscorus is said to have answered the Legates sent to him from the  
Holy Synod, in this manner: *Quoniam ante hæc in congregatione, &c.*  
In regard before this, the most magnificent Judges sitting in the Con-  
vention, have determined some things, after a large Interlocution of  
every one of them; but now a second meeting calls me out, in order to the  
mulling of what has been said before. Nevertheless, that is in the way,  
which occurs at the close of the Second Action, viz. that the Bishops of  
Illyricum cried out thus, Dioscorus to the Synod, Dioscorus to the Churches.  
Which doubtless they would not have dared to say after Diosco-  
rus's Deposition, to which themselves had subscribed. Therefore, the  
Second Action, where this Acclamation occurs, ought necessarily to  
precede The Third Action; in which Dioscorus was Canonically deposed.  
And this I think to be truer. *Valeſ.*

The Egyptian to Banishment. And when the Illy-  
ricians had made the same request which they had  
made before, the Clergy of Constantinople cried  
out, Dioscorus to Banishment; The Egyptian to  
Exile; The Heretick to Banishment. Christ hath  
deposed Dioscorus. After whom, the Illyricians,  
and those Bishops of their Party [exclaimed,]  
We have all sinned; pardon all: Dioscorus to the  
Synod, Dioscorus to the Churches. And when  
such like Words as these had preceded, this Session  
was ended. At the Session after this, when the  
Senate had made an Interlocution, that the De-  
crees which had already been <sup>n</sup> given forth should  
be recited, Constantinus the Secretary  
read these express Words out of a \* Sche-  
dule.

crees;] it must undoubtedly be *τὸ δὲ δέδοται τῶν* the Decrees  
which had been given forth; which is the reading in Nicephorus. And  
this reading is confirmed by the Fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod,  
pag. 218, &c. *Valeſ.*

We perceive, that a more exact Scrutiny concern-  
ing the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be  
made to morrow, when the Synod will be more com-  
pleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus of Pious  
Memory, and the most Religious Bishop Eusebius  
(from a search made into the Acts and Decrees, and  
also from their Testimony by Word of Mouth, who  
presided in the Synod then convened; who have  
confessed that they have erred, and have deposed  
them without cause, when they had in no wise erred  
in the Faith: ) have, as 'tis evidently known,  
been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable  
to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just,  
(provided it shall please our most Divine and  
most Pious Lord,) that Dioscorus the most Reli-  
gious Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenalis the most  
Religious Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most  
Religious Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Euse-  
bius the most Religious Bishop of Ancyra, Eusta-  
thius the most Religious Bishop of Berytus, and  
Basilus the most Religious Bishop of Seleucia in  
Isauria, which [Prelates] had power, and presided  
over the then Synod, should lye under the very same  
punishment, [and] according to the Canons \* Or, made  
\* be removed from the Episcopal Dignity: all strangers  
things which have been consequently done, being to  
made known † to his most sacred Imperial Ma- † Or, to the  
jesty. Divine  
height.

Then, after the Reading of some other things,  
the Bishops assembled were asked, whether Leo's  
Letter agreed with the Faith of the Three hun-  
dred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at  
Nice, and with that of the Hundred and fifty  
[Holy Fathers assembled] in the Imperial  
City [Constantinople;] whereto Anatolius, Pre-  
late of Constantinople, and all the Bishops present  
returned answer, that Leo's Letter agreed with  
the foresaid Holy Fathers:

and <sup>o</sup> he subscribed to the  
forementioned Letter of Leo.  
These things having proceed-  
ed thus, those of the Synod  
cried out, We all consent, We  
do all approve, We all be-  
lieve alike, We all think the same things, We  
all believe thus. [Let] the Fathers [be re-  
stored] to the Synod; [Let] those who have sub-  
scribed [be restored] to the Synod: Many years \* Or, of the  
\* to the Emperour: Many years † to Augusta, Emperour.  
The Fathers to the Synod, those of the same Faith † Or, of  
to the Synod: Many years to the Emperour: those Augusta;  
of the same Sentiments to the Synod: many years that is,  
to the Emperour. We have all subscribed to the Pulcheria:  
Faith: see chap.

Instead  
of [*τὸ δὲ δέδοται*]  
the Decrees  
which had been  
given forth

\* Or, Pa-  
per.

the Decrees  
which had been  
given forth

\* Or, made  
by strangers  
to  
† Or, to the  
Divine  
height.



Faith: as Leo, so we think. After this an Interlocution was made [by the Judges,] in these express Words: We have given a Relation concerning these things to our most Divine and most Pious Lord, and we expect the answer of his Piety. But your Reverence shall render an account to God, as well concerning Dioscorus, who hath been deposed by You, (his Imperial Majesty and we

† Instead of [καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, concerning all those other things,] the Reading in the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. is true, thus, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, concerning those [other] five persons; in the Fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 232. the reading is the same with this last mentioned; as likewise that in Nicephorus. Valef.

being ignorant thereof,) as concerning those [other] five persons for whom you have entreated, and concerning all other matters which have been transacted in the Synod. [Hereupon they all] cried out, saying, God hath deposed Dioscorus: Dioscorus hath been justly deposed: Christ hath deposed Dioscorus. Then after these things, an Answer being brought from Marcia-

nus, which gave the Bishops permission to determine according to their own discretion, concerning the persons who had been deposed, in such manner as the Judges have declared by an Interlocution; [the Bishops] made their Request, saying these express Words: We entreat that they may come in. [Let] those of the same Opinion [be restored] to the Synod: those of the same Sentiments, to the Synod: those who have subscribed to Leo's Letter, to the Synod. Which persons, after an Interlocution, were admitted into the number of the Synod. And after this, the Supplicatory Libels, which had been presented by the Bishops of the Ægyptick Diocesis to the Emperour Marcianus, were read; wherein, besides other matters, these things were contained: Our Sentiments are the same with those Expositions which the Three hundred and eighteen [Holy Fathers] set forth at Nicæa, and [with those embraced by] the Blessed Athanasius, and Cyrillus of Holy Memory: We Anathematize every Heresy, that of Arius, that of Eunomius, of Manes, of Nestorius, and that of those who assert, that the Flesh of our Lord is from Heaven, and not from the Holy Theotocos, and Ever-Virgin Mary; \* whom [we affirm] to be like to us all, [but] without sin. Then, all [the Bishops] present in the Synod cried out, saying, Why do they not Anathematize Eutyches's Opinion? Let them subscribe to Leo's Letter, and Anathematize Eutyches and his Opinions: Let them give their Assent to Leo's Letter: they are desirous to impose upon us and be gone. Here- to the Bishops of Egypt returned answer, That there were many Bishops in Egypt, and that †twas impossible [for them] to represent the † persons of those who were absent: and they requested, that the Synod would expect their Arch-Bishop, to the end that (according as Custom required,) they might follow his Opinion. For [they said,] that if they should do any thing before the † Election of their Arch-Bishop, all persons of the whole Ægyptick Diocesis would fall upon them. And when they had made many entreaties concerning these things, and those of the Synod had vigorously resisted them; by an Interlocution †twas ordered, that an \* Interval should be granted to the Bishops of Egypt, till such time as an Arch-Bishop could be ordained over them. And after this, were presented Supplicatory Libels of some Monks; the sum of which was this, That they might in no wise be forced to

subscribe † to certain Papers, † till such time as † Or, in the Synod (which the Emperour had ordained to be certain Papers convened,) should meet, and take cognizance of those things which had been decreed. After the recital of these [Libels,] Diogenes Bishop of Cyzicus declared that Barsumas, one of those Persons, who were come into the Council, had murdered Flavianus: for,

that he had cried out kill him. And that, although he was not named in the Libels, yet (contrary to what was right and fitting,) he had gotten entrance [into the Council.] Whereat all the Bishops exclaimed, Barsumas hath ruined all Syria, he hath brought a thousand Monks against us. And when an Interlocution had been made, that the [Monks] who were come together should expect the Synod's determination; the Monks requested, that the Libels composed by them might be read: part

whereof was this, That Dioscorus, and those Bishops with him, might be present at the Synod. At the hearing whereof, all the Bishops exclaimed. Anathema to Dioscorus: Christ hath deposed Dioscorus: thrust these persons out of doors: take away the Injury of the Synod: remove the Force of the Synod: [Relate] these words to the Emperour: remove the Injury of the Synod: take away the Disgrace of the Synod. In opposition to whom the Monks cried out, Remove the Injury of the Monasteries. And when the same Exclamations had been made again by the Synod, †twas ordered by an Interlocution, that the rest of the Libels should be recited. In which †twas affirmed, that Dioscorus's Deposition had not been duely and orderly made; and that, the Faith being proposed, \* he ought to be admitted to the Session of the Synod. And unless this were done, they would shake their Garments, [and recede] from the Communion of those Bishops who were convened. After the Recital of these words, Aetius the Arch-Deacon read the Canon concerning those who separated themselves [from Communion.] And again, when the Monks were divided at the Questions [put to them] by the most Holy Bishops, and afterwards, at the Interrogatory of Aetius the Arch-Deacon made as from the Synod; and when some of them Anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches, and others refused to do that: an Interlocution was made by the Judges, [who declared,] that the Supplicatory Libels of Faustus and the other Monks should be read; wherein they requested of the Emperour, that those Monks should not have any further Countenance shown them, who had lately appeared in opposition to Orthodox Sentiments: amongst whom, one Dorotheus a Monk, had termed Eutyches Orthodox. Against him divers Questions concerning Eutyches's Doctrine were proposed by the Judges. After this, when the Fifth Session was begun, the Judges by an Interlocution declared, that what had been determined concerning the Faith, should be promulged. Then Asclepiades, a Deacon of Constantinople, read the Determination, which they were pleased not to have inserted into the Acts. Against which [Determination] some made opposition; but more consented to it. And when Exclamations had been made on the one

to the Emperour Marcianus by the Monks, in the Fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 237. In this Libel the Monks request of the Emperour, that the Oecumenical Synod might be convened, (which the Emperour had before given order to be assembled;) which might consult the safety of all persons, and that the Monks might not be compelled by Violence to subscribe. Those Monks, belike, did not believe that Synod to be Oecumenical, at which Dioscorus and the other Bishops of Egypt were not present. They requested therefore, that Dioscorus might be wholly restored, as may be seen in another Libel which is recited afterwards. Valef.

\* Or, he ought to partake of the Synod

\* That is, Cery?

† Or, persons.

|| Or, nomination.

\* Or, delay.

side



And



And the Emperour commanded the Bishops to stay three or four days, and that every one should propose [questions] concerning what he had a mind to, in the presence of the Judges;

\* Or, what was fitting should be done.

† In Nicephorus, instead of [εἰς ἄλλα, other things,] it is righter thus, εἰς τὰς, with the accent in the last syllable save one; understand, Councils, Session, or Convention. I wonder, that neither Musculus nor Christophorus perceived this. Valef.

have the two Phœnicia's, and Arabia; and the [Bishop] of Jerusalem the three Palestines [subject to his See.] And after an Interlocution of the Judges and Bishops, they confirmed [this agreement.] And at the 2<sup>d</sup> ninth Session Theodoret's Cause was discussed. Who had Anathematized Nestorius, in these words; Anathema to Nestorius, and to him who denies the Holy Virgin Mary to be Theotocos, and to him who divides the One Only-begotten Son into two Sons: moreover, I have subscribed to the Definition of the Faith, and to Leo's Epistle. After an Interlocution therefore made by them all, he recovered his own See. In another Session, Ibas's Cause was examined, and those things were read which had been transacted and pronounced against him; the Judges whereof were Photius Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius Bishop of Berytus. And Sentence was deferred to the following [Session.] At the Eleventh Convention, when many of the Bishops had voted

† In the Tenth Action of the Chalcedon Council, and in Nicephorus, the Preposition is wanting. But in the Florentine Manuscript, I found it written εἰς ἰερέα; which is the same as if he should have said ἐν ἰε-

ρέῳ, among, or, of the number of the Bishops. Valef. The Reading in Robert Stephens is εἰς ἰερέα ἔδ.

Bishops opposed it, and said, That his Accusers were without, and they requested that they might be ordered to come in. Those things therefore were read which had been transacted against Ibas. And when the Judges by an Interlocution had given order, that the Acts at Ephesus against Ibas should be read; the Bishops said, that all things which had been done, at the Second Ephesine Synod, were void and null; except only the Ordination of Maximus [Bishop] of Antioch. And they made a request to the Emperour concerning this matter, that by a Law he would decree, that nothing of those things [which had been done] at Ephesus after the First Synod (over which Cyrus of blessed Memory, Prelate of Alexandria, had presided;) should be valid. And Ibas had his Bishoprick adjudged to him. At another Action, the Cause of Bassianus Bishop of Ephesus was discussed; and 'twas decreed, that as well he, as Stephanus, should be deposed, and another substituted in their room. And at another Session, the same thing was put to the Vote and confirmed. In the Thirteenth Action, the Cause between Eunomius [Bishop] of Nicomedia, and Anastasius Bishop of Nicæa was inquired into, who were at strife amongst themselves concerning their own Cities. Moreover, there was a Fourteenth Action, wherein the Cause of Sabianus [the Bishop] was examined. And in fine, it was determined, that the Constantinopolitan See should have \* precedence immediately after that of Rome.

made; as may be seen in the Eleventh and Twelfth Action. This place of Evagrius therefore is to be made good thus; Ἐρεχθῶναι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ σέβανον, ἔρεχθον ὃ ἐρεχθῶναι, that as well he as Stephanus should be ejected, or deposed, and another substituted in their room. Valef.

‡ Instead of Bassianus, it must be made Sabinianus from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council. Of this Sabinianus Bishop of the Perrenses (which is a City in the Euphratensian Province) Liberatus makes mention, in the twelfth chapter of his Breviarium. Also, there is an Epistle of Theodoret's extant, written to this Sabinianus, which is reckoned the 126<sup>th</sup> amongst his Epistles. Valef.

‡ The Bishops decreed, that as well as Stephanus, should be removed from the Bishoprick of Ephesus; and that in their place should be placed.

\* Or should another be placed.



# THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF

*EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,*  
And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning Zeno's Empire, and concerning  
his Life.*

\* Viz. Leo  
the second;  
See book  
2. ch. 17.

**B**UT Zeno, after the death of his own  
\* Son, was invested with the sole Ad-  
ministration of the Empire; suppo-  
sing as it were that he could not be  
possess of the Dominion of the whole  
World, unless with [an uncountroulable] Li-  
berty he might prosecute all manner of plea-  
sures which occurred; at his first entrance he  
yielded himself so wholly up to the attempts

<sup>a</sup> In the most excellent Flo-  
rentine MS. at this place some  
Learned Scholiast had set these  
words; *παρὰ τὴν ὁμοιωσιν*,  
Oh, the likeness to what it is  
now! Valef.

\* Or, was conversant.

and allurements of Lufts,  
these things in darkness and obscurity: but [to  
perpetrate them] openly and in the sight of  
all [was in his judgment] Royal and be-  
coming only an Emperour. But, his Senti-  
ments [in this matter] were ill and \* abso-  
lutely servile. <sup>b</sup> For an Emperour is not taken

\* Or, like  
those of  
slaves.

<sup>c</sup> *Ὁν ἐκ  
ἐξ ὧν*. In  
the Kings,  
Tellerian,  
and Flo-  
rentine  
MSS. and

in Stephens's Edit. the Adverb *ὅν* is wanting, which Learned Men had  
put in by conjecture, unhappily enough. But, I doubt not but it should  
be written, *ἐκ τῶν ἐξ ὧν*, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Instead of [*παρεῖσθαι*], entrance, in my judgment it ought to  
be *παρεῖσθαι*, to creep into: and this Reading is confirmed by Nice-  
phorus, book 16 chap. 1. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Ὁὕτως ὡς ἀνάγκη*; I assent to the Learned, who have long  
since mended it thus, *ὡς ἀνάγκη*, &c. But continues so impreg-  
nable, &c. although the Manuscript Copies vary not here. But Nice-  
phorus, when he perceived this place to be corrupted, interpolated it  
after this manner; *καὶ συνεῖθεν ἀνάγκη*, &c. whence he continues so  
impregnable, &c. Valef.

be] a living Image of Virtues, instructing his  
Subjects to an imitation [of Himself.] But he  
who has prostituted himself to pleasures, by de-  
grees is imprudently made the vilest of Servants,  
and becomes a Captive not redeemable, \* fre-  
quently changing his Masters, like the unuse-  
fullest sort of Slaves. For innumerable plea-  
sures are made his Mistresses, which can never  
have an end of their Train and Coherence, and  
of their succeeding one another: the pleasure  
which is at hand never stopping, but becomes  
the Incentive and Preface of another; till such  
time as any Person, <sup>e</sup> really and truly made an  
Emperour [over himself,] can expel that tur-  
bulent and tumultuous government of pleasures,  
reigning in future, and not oppress with Ty-  
ranny: otherwise, continuing a Slave to his last  
breath, he must possess the infernal Pit.

\* Or, chan-  
ging his  
frequent  
slaveries.

<sup>e</sup> *Ἀποσπῶν  
τὸν πῦρ  
τὸν πῦρ  
τὸν πῦρ*, any  
Person thus  
made an  
Emperor:  
doubtless  
and so the

it should be, *ὡς ἰσως γινόμενος*, really and truly made, &c.  
Reading is in Nicephorus. Valef.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Incursions of the Barbarians  
both in the East, and in the West.*

**S**UCH a Person was Zeno at the beginning [of  
his Government,] <sup>a</sup> a Man of an intemperate  
and dissolute life. But those who were his Sub-

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐκτετα-  
μένον  
τὸν βίον*.

Christophorson understood not this Phrase, as 'tis apparent from his Ver-  
sion. For he has rendred it thus; *Ad hunc modum Zeno in initio im-  
perii sui vitam instituit*, After this manner Zeno at the beginning of  
his Empire ordered his life. Græcians take *ἐκτεταμένον βίον*, for a  
dissolute and intemperate life. Which word does frequently occur in this  
sense in Dion Cocceianus and others. Hence *ἐκτεταμένος* is taken for  
Luxury and Delights, as Suidas attests. Further, the Greeks do term  
Dissolute and Luxurious Persons thus, because they are wont to observe  
no rule of living. So Dionysius Halicarnassensis in his fifth book,  
speaking of a just King, says these words, *μηδὲν ἐκτεταμένον*  
*παιδείων*, Not at all receding from the Institutions of his Ancestors.  
Nicephorus therefore has rightly expounded this place of Evagrius thus,  
*ἀρρυθμὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκη*, καὶ τὸν βίον μάλα ἐκτεταμένον,  
incomposed and disorderly Person, and most extravagantly dissolute in  
his life. Valef.

jects,



ἔως ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸν, καὶ συζῆσαι κατέχευεν, And having gathered an Army fit for an Engagement, he sent it to besiege Zeno at Seleucia in Isauria. Which Country had given Zeno Birth, and at that time hid the Fugitive. Valef.

*That Basiliscus recalled Timotheus Ælurus, and, induced thereto by him, sent his Circular Letters to all places, in order to the \* abrogating of the Chalcedon Synod.*

[ I Nduced thereto ] <sup>a</sup> by an Embassy therefore <sup>a</sup> *Ἐκ πρεσβείας* *Ἰσ.* of some Persons [sent to him] from *Alexandria*, he recalls *Timotheus* from Exile, (who had been banished eighteen years;) *Acacius* [at that time] administering the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. When therefore *Timotheus* was arrived at the Imperial City, he perswades *Basiliscus* || to send his *Circular Letters* to the Prelates in all places, and to *Anathematize* what had been done at *Chalcedon*, and *Leo's Book*. The † Contents of the *Circular Letters* run thus. Without doubt it must be written thus, *Ἐκ πρεσβείας* *Ἰσ.*, by an Embassy therefore. Which though it

a small and trivial Emendation, is yet altogether necessary. In Nic-  
phorus, 'tis *Ἰνδῶν*, to wit, or, therefore. Valeſ.  
|| Or, To make use of his Circular Syllables.  
† Or, Compoſure of which Letters ſay theſe words.

BUT when *Basiliscus Verina's* Brother made an Insurrection against him, (For even his own Relations were enemies to *Zeno*, all Persons equally abominating his debauch'd Life;) he had not so much as a thought in him that was manly and courageous: (For wickedness is a cowardly thing, which breed desperation and despondency; and gives a sufficient indication of an unmanliness of mind, from its being vanquished by pleasures:) but flies with all the haste imaginable, and without a Battel yields so great an Empire to *Basiliscus*. He endured also a tedious <sup>a</sup> Siege <sup>b</sup> in the Country of the *Isaurians*, where he himself had been born, having his Wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [her Husband's flight] had left her Mother,) and as many of his Friends as had continued faithful to him. *Basiliscus* therefore having thus encircled himself with the Crown of the *Romans*, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Cæsar*, took a contrary course, both to *Zeno*, and to those who had been Emperours before [ *Zeno*. ]

a tedious <sup>a</sup> Siege <sup>b</sup> in the Country of the *Isaurians*, where he himself had been born, having his Wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [her Husband's flight] had left her Mother,) and as many of his Friends as had continued faithful to him. *Basiliscus* therefore having thus encircled himself with the Crown of the *Romans*, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Cæsar*, took a contrary course, both to *Zeno*, and to those who had been Emperours before [*Zeno*.]

self to a most strong Castle, the name whereof was *Ubara*: but afterwards, when *Basiliscus* had sent *Hillus* and *Trocondus* with vast Forces against him, he went to *Tessedes*, or rather as *Nicephorus* says, to the City *Selencia*, which was the Head City of all *Isauria*. There he was a long while besieged by *Hillus* and *Trocondus*, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, pag. 104. *Cedrenus* also and *Nicephorus* do affirm the same. But in *Theophanes*, the name *Trocondus* is corrupted. For the Common Editions have it *Ἰλλος καὶ Σεκένδρος*, *Hillus* and *Secundus*, whereas it should be *Τροκένδρος*, *Trocondus*, as it is rightly written in *Nicephorus*. Indeed the same *Theophanes*, pag. 106. terms him *Procundus*; which comes nearer to the true Reading. This Person was Brother to *Hillus*, and bore the Consulate in the year of Christ 482, as it occurs in *Marcellinus's Chronicon*: but at length, when *Hillus* had set up for a Tyrant, *Trocondus*, who had been sent by his Brother to gather Forces, was taken by *Johannes* a Master of the Milice, and beheaded; as *Theophanes* informs us, pag. 112. Notwithstanding at that place of *Theophanes*, the name *Trocondus* is likewise corrupted. *Valeſe.*

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἡ' ἰσχύων. The words are transposed; and are to be restored to their pristine order, in this manner, κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν. In the Country of the Maurians where he himself had been born: which words of Evagrius, Nicephorus has express'd thus: ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ἀξίωμαχον ἀντιπρίστου, εἰς πολλοὺς κίον ζυγῶν· ἐπιμπνεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχυρίας (ἐξουσίας) ἧς περὶ τὸν εἰ

Emperour Cæsar Basiliscus, Pius, Victor,  
Triumphator, Maximus, *always Ado-  
rable, Augustus: and Marcus the most  
Noble Cæsar, to Timotheus the most Re-  
verend and \* most Pious Archbishop of  
the Great City Alexandria.*

Whatever Laws the most Pious Emperours our Predecessours have made in defence of the true and Orthodox Faith, whosoever [ of them ] have persisted truly to worship the Blessed, Immortal, and vivifick Trinity; Our Will is, That those Laws, in regard they have always been salutary to the whole World, should at no time be abrogated, and made void: but rather, We promulge those Laws as our own. But We, who give Piety and a Zeal for God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath made Us and advanced us to Glory, a preference before [ all care and sollicitude ] about Humane affairs; and moreover, who believe, that the \* Concord of Christ's Flocks is the † safe- \* Or, Con-  
ty of the Flocks themselves, and of every Subject, Junction,  
and is the firm and solid Foundation; and immo- or, binding  
vable Wall of our Empire; being || on this account together.  
deservedly moved with a divine zeal of mind, and † Or, Sal-  
offering to God and our Saviour Jesus Christ the || Or, From  
uniting together of the holy Church, as the First- hence.  
fruits of our Empire, do Enact, That the \* Basis \* Or,  
and Foundation of Humane Felicity, that is the Ground  
Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Ho- and Fir-  
ly Fathers heretofore convened at Nicea † by maments  
the Instinct of the Holy Ghost ( unto which † Or, To-  
[ Creed ] We and all our Ancestours, after gether  
our Belief thereof, have been baptized,) shall with the  
only be made use of, and || obtain in all God's Holy Spi-  
most Holy Churches [ and in the Assemblies rit.  
of ] the Orthodox People; in regard that only || Or, Hold  
is the Definition of the true and sincere Faith, Orthodox [ oblige,  
and is sufficient both for the destruction of any bind, ] the  
Heresie of what sort soever, and also for the all God's  
compleat and perfect uniting of God's Holy Churches. most holy  
Yet so, that those things also shall retain Churches.  
their



their own Strength and Validity; which have been done in this Imperial City by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, in confirmation of the same divine Creed, against them who have uttered Blasphemies against the Holy Ghost: and moreover, all those things which have been done in the Metropolis of the Ephesians, against the Impious Nestorius, and those who \* since that have embraced his Sentiments. But We Decree, That those things which have broke the Concord and good Order of God's Holy Churches, and the Peace of the whole World, to wit, that termed Leo's Tome, and all things which in the definition of the Faith at Chalcedon, or in the Exposition of the Creeds, have been spoken or done, on account either of Interpretation or Doctrine, or Disputation, in order to the Innovation, of the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, shall be Anathematized both here, and every where else, throughout every Church, by the most Holy Bishops in all places, and shall be committed to the flames by whomsoever they shall be found. For thus the Emperours of Pious and Blessed Memory [who lived] before Us, to wit,

<sup>b</sup> There is <sup>b</sup> Constantine and Theodosius Junior, have indeed ex-decreed concerning all Heretical Opinions. Be-

tant a Constitution of the Emperour Constantine's, wherein the Dogmatical Book of Arius, are ordered to be burnt; which Constitution occurs at page 221. of our Socrates. Nevertheless, the Emperour Basiliscus seems here to mean another Law, which had been promulged by Constantine against all Hereticks in general. But that Law hath perished by the injury of time. Yet part of it is still remaining in Eusebius, in the Third Book of his Life of Constantine, chap. 64, and 66. But, there are two Constitutions extant of Theodosius Junior's, concerning the Burning of Nestorius's Books. The former of which makes mention of the Law of Constantine of Blessed Memory, against Arius's impious Books. Further, these Constitutions of Theodosius occur in the third part of the Ephesine Council. Basiliscus had subjoyned these Laws of Theodosius to his own Circular Edict, as 'tis hereafter attested. Valef.

ing therefore after this manner abrogated, let them be wholly cast out of the one and only Catholick and Apostolick Orthodox Church; in regard they alter the eternal and salutary \* Terms of the 318

\* Or, Limit. Holy Fathers, and those of the [150] Blessed Fathers, who † have published express Declarations [concerning] the Holy Ghost,

† Or, Have made San-  
ctions [concerning] the, &c.  
c *Κατὰ τὴν ἐφεσίωον*. At this place Nicephorus has rightly added two words, in this manner; *καὶ ὅς τις τῶν ἐφεσίωον*. But I affirm that a third word is to be added, thus; *καὶ τὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐφεσίωον*. For the word [*δέξα*, terms] is understood; which occurs in the foregoing Clauses. Valef.

as likewise the [Terms] of those at Ephesus. It shall therefore be lawful for no Person whatever, whether Priest or Laick, in any wise to transgress that most Divine Constitution of the Holy Creed. [Further,] together with all those Innova-

tions made at Chalcedon, against the Divine Creed, [We Decree] that their Heresy shall be Anathematized, who deny that the Only-begotten Son of God was really and truly incarnate and made man by the Holy Ghost, and of the Holy and ever-Virgin Mary the Theotocos, but in a false and monstrous manner assert [that he took Flesh]

\* Or, Out of. either \* from Heaven, or imaginarily and in shew only and appearance; in fine, every Heresy, and if there hath been any other Innovation made, at what time soever, in whatever manner, or place of the whole World, either in sense and meaning, or in words, [framed] in order to a transgressing the said Divine Creed. But in regard 'tis the property of an Imperial providence, by a foreseeing consideration and inspection liberally to distribute security to his Subjects, not only at the present, but for the future also; We Decree that the most Holy Bishops in all places shall subscribe to

this Our Divine Circular Letter when \* exhibited \* Or, shewn to them, and shall plainly declare, that they adhere or, declare solely to the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers have since confirmed; in such manner as those most Holy Fathers afterwards convened at the Metropolis of the Ephesians have definitively Decreed, to wit,

<sup>a</sup> That we ought only to follow the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers; in regard it is the Boundary and Limit of the Faith: Anathematizing what ever hath at Chalcedon been made the stumbling-block of the Orthodox Laity, and wholly ejecting it out of the Churches, as being become the impediment of the \* universal and our own [private] felicity. But whosoever after these our Divine Syllables (which, we believe,

<sup>a</sup> *Ὁν δὴ μὴν, &c.* In Nicephorus 'tis truer written thus, *ὅν δὲ μὴν, &c.* that we ought only to follow, &c. which Reading Christopherson and Sir Henry Savil have embraced. A little after this, where the Reading before was, *ὡς δὲν μισῶν, &c.* as the Boundary and Limit of the Faith; from the Florent. and Tellerian MSS. I have made it, *εἰς δὲν μισῶν, &c.* in regard it is &c. as 'tis in Nicephorus. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *τῇ οὐνοῦ καὶ ἡμετέρας ἀπαλαί.* In the Tellerian MS. and in Nicephorus, I found it written, *τῇ οὐνοῦ καὶ ἡμετέρας ἀπαλαί, &c.* Valef.

are promulged agreeable to [the mind of] God, in regard they procure an Union to God's Holy Churches, wist-for and desired by all men;) shall at any time attempt to produce, or so much as to name, either by way of dispute, or in their teaching, or writing, at what time, in what manner or place soever, the Innovation which hath been made at Chalcedon against the Faith; our Command is, That such Persons as these (in regard they are the occasioners of Disquietude and Tumult to all God's Holy Churches, and to every one of our Subjects, and are enemies to God and to our safety, according to those Laws promulged long before our time by Theodosius of Blessed and Divine Memory, against this manner of \* impro-  
\* Or, Ma-  
bity, which [Laws] we have subjoyned to this  
Our Divine Circular Letter; ) if they be Bishops or Clergymen, shall be deposed: but if Monks, or Laicks they † shall be lyable to Banishment, to a † Or, Shall  
Confiscation of all their Goods, and to the ex- fall under  
treamest punishments. For thus the Holy and Banish-  
ment, &c.  
Consubstantial Trinity (at all times adored by Our Piety,) the Framer and Enlivener of all things, being by Us now also worshipped, by an abolition of the forementioned || Darnel, and a || Or, Tact.  
confirmation of the true and Apostolick Traditions of the Holy Creed, and rendered propitious and candid, both to Our Souls, and to every of Our Subjects; will ever in future together with Us Govern Humane Affairs, and render them composed and peaceable.

## C H. A. P. V.

Concerning those Persons who consented to Basiliscus's Circular Letters, and rejected the Synod [of Chalcedon.]

AS therefore 'tis related by Zacharias the Rhetorician, Timotheus, newly returned from Exile (as I have said,) gave his consent to these Circular Letters: as did likewise Peter Bishop of Antioch, surnamed \* Fullo, who toge-  
\* Or, The  
Fuller.  
ther with Timotheus was present at the Imperial [City Constantinople.] These things having been performed in this manner, † they vote † See ch. 6.  
note (a.)  
that Paulus also should recover the Archiepiscopal Chair of Ephesus. Further, [the same Zacharias] affirms, that Anastasius, who had succeeded



ceeded *Juvenalis* [in the See] of Jerusalem, subscribed the same *Circular Letters*, as likewise very many others: infomuch that they were in number about Five hundred, who condemned *Leo's* \* Letter, and the *Chalcedon Synod*. [The same Author] \* does also some where record the *Supplicatory Libel* presented by the Bishops of Asia <sup>b</sup> convened at *Ephesus*, to *Basiliscus*; it must be part of the Contents of which [Libel] run thus. *Leo's* does record; which I admire Translatours perceived not. *Zacharias* is understood, who in his *Ecclesiastical History* had recorded this *Libel* entire, which the Bishops of Asia, convened at *Ephesus*, had sent to the Emperour *Basiliscus*. Valef.

Concerning this *Ephesine Council* which was held in the times of the Emperour *Basiliscus*, *Baronius* in his *Annals*, at the year of Christ 476, writes very slightly and negligently: remarking this only, that it was celebrated by the *Eutychians*. But he mentions neither upon what account it was assembled, nor what was transacted therein: it is our office therefore, by our care and diligence to supply what he has omitted. After the *Circular Letters* sent forth by the Emperour *Basiliscus* against the *Chalcedon Council*, *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the only person of the *Patriarch's* subject to the *Eastern Empire*, refused subscribing to these Letters, nor would ever endure to expunge the *Chalcedon Synod* out of the *Ecclesiastical Tables*. Moreover, the Monks of *Constantinople* resolutely opposed *Basiliscus*. Lastly, the *Constantinopolitan* populacy began to be most grievously tumultuous, threatening to fire the City and the Palace, if the Emperour should persist to put a force upon *Acacius* and the Catholics. *Basiliscus*, terrified hereat, flies from the Imperial City; took from the *Constantinopolitan* Church their Rights and Privileges, and forbade the Senators to speak to [or salute] *Acacius*. But afterwards, when he heard that *Zeno* was on his return out of *Isauria*; being stricken with fear, he came into the Church together with his wife and children; and excusing himself to *Acacius* and the Clergy of the Imperial City, restored their Rights to the *Constantinopolitan* Church, and set forth his *Anti-Circular* [that is, Letters contrary to his *Circular*] Letters: thus *Theodorus Lector* informs us, *Book 1*. The *Eutychians* therefore, (when they saw *Acacius* contend with so much fierceness for the confirmation of the *Chalcedon Synod*; and that not only the Monasteries, but the people also of the Imperial City, and other Priests every where, were excited by *Acacius* against *Basiliscus*) convened a Council of Bishops of their own party in the City *Ephesus*: in which Council they condemned and deposed both *Acacius*, and some other Bishops who embraced the same Sentiments with him: and then they entreated the Emperour *Basiliscus*, that he would persist in his former opinion, and would not promulge a Constitution Contrary to his own *Circular Letters*. In the same Synod, *Paulus* is ordained Bishop of *Ephesus* by the Bishops of the same Province, and the *Patriarchal* privilege is restored to the *Ephesine See*, as our *Evagrius* relates in the sixth chapter of this book. Further, this *Ephesine Council* was held on the year of Christ 477, after the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Armarus*. Which I gather from hence, because this Synod was assembled a little before *Basiliscus* promulged his *Anti-circular Letters*. Now *Basiliscus* published those Letters on that year I have mentioned; when he understood that *Zeno* was returning out of *Isauria* with an Army; as I have observed above out of *Theodorus Lector*. Indeed, the *Asian Bishops* seem to intimate this in their Letter to *Basiliscus*, in these words: *μὴδὲν ἔν ἐπεὶ τὰ θεῖα ὑμῶν ἐγκύκλια περὶ ἐκείνου δελήσατε*, Be pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your *Divine Circular Letters*. Moreover, *Timotheus Elurus* seems to have presided at this Council. For he came to *Ephesus* in the Reign of *Basiliscus*, and seated *Paulus* in his Episcopal Chair, as *Evagrius* relates from *Zacharias*. Nor is it likely, that *Acacius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* should have been deposed by any other person than the *Alexandrian* Bishop, who held the dignity of a Patriarch equal to *Acacius*. For who can believe that the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop was deposed by the Bishops of *Asia*, who long before this, [from the times of *John Chrysostom*, were subject to the Bishops of *Constantinople*? Valef.

To the most Pious in all things, and the Lovers of Christ, our Lords *Basiliscus* and *Marcus*, perpetual Victors, \* Augusti. And after some words. You have always seemed (Most pious and Christ-Loving Emperours!) to be divers ways assaulted, together with the Faith which *Basiliscus* is hated and opposed. And after other words. *Marcus* was first created Caesar by his Father *Basiliscus*, as *Marcellinus* relates in his *Chronicon*, *Theophanes*, and others. 'Tis certain, in *Basiliscus's* *Circular Letters* he is only termed the most noble Caesar. But afterwards he was styled *Augustus* by his Father, as this Letter of the Bishops of the *Ephesine Council* doth inform us. Also, in the *Anti Circular Letter* of *Basiliscus*, the same *Marcus* is named Emperour with his Father. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken therefore, who relates that *Basiliscus*, as soon as he was proclaimed Emperour, crowned his Son *Marcus* Emperour. *Candidus* says truer, in the second book of his *History*, in *Photius*. Valef.

A certain terrible expectation of Judgment; and an \* Ardour of Divine Fire, and the just \* Zeal, and † Resentment of Your Serenity, will in a short fervency, time || Seize the Adversaries; who with a certain arrogant folly, as it were with Darts, attempt to make an attack against the powerful God and your Empire fortified by the [true] Faith; nor do they in any manner spare our Tenuity: but continually assault us with reproaches and lyes as if by a necessity and a force we had subscribed to your Divine and Apostolick Circular Letters; whereas we have set our hands thereto with all imaginable joy and alacrity of mind. And after some other words. Be pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your Divine Circular Letters; knowing for certain what we have already said, that the whole world will be overturned again, and that the mischiefs done by the Synod at *Chalcedon* will be found small and trivial, which [yet] have effected these innumerable murders, and have unjustly and illegally poured forth the blood of the Orthodox. And after other words. We protest before our Saviour Jesus Christ, \* We entreat Your piety to be free from that just Canonical and Ecclesiastick \* condemnation and deposition inflicted on them, and especially [from that inflicted] on him, who by many [evidences] has been detected not to have governed the Bishoprick of the Imperial [City] holily.

Contrary to the Faith and Authority of all Copies, and without any sense. Besides, he has rendred the following words very badly. Whence it hapned, that *Baronius*, who every where follows *Christophorus's* Version, could in no wise understand the translatours of this *Ephesine Council*. So great a hindrance is an ill Rendition. Nor has *Johannes Langus* translated this Clause more happily. For he hath rendred it thus: *Attestamur coram Salvatore Nostro Jesu Christo, &c.* We attest before our Saviour Jesus Christ, that your piety is free and innocent. From which we request, that a just and Canonical and Ecclesiastick Sentence of Condemnation and Deposition may be pronounced against them, and especially against him who hath been many ways found out to have administered the Bishoprick in the Imperial City impiously. But the Bishops of *Asia* do not say this: but request of the Emperours, *Basiliscus* and *Marcus*, that they would not communicate any more with *Acacius* and the other Bishops, whom they themselves had condemned and deposed by an Ecclesiastick Sentence: For this is the import of these words, *ἡλδοῦμεν τὸν ὑμῶν ἐπισκοπὸν ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπερχομένου, &c.*; which are to be written in one entire Clause, without any distinction. But Translatours, following *Nicephorus*, and the Edition of *Robert Stephens*, have placed a distinction after the *ἐν*, which led them into a mistake. Valef.

\* In this Edition of *Valesius's*, 'tis *καταχρηστικῶς*, abuse: it is, I suppose, an error of the Press, put instead of *κατακρίστικῶς*, condemnation; which is the reading in *Stephens's* Edition.

[Further] the same *Zacharias* writes word for word thus. As soon as the Circular and Imperial Letters were published, those persons in the Imperial [City] who were distempered with *Eutyches's* Opinion and followed a Monastick life, Translatours understood not these words of *Zacharias Rhetor*. Nor does *Nicephorus* seem to have understood them. For, instead of them, he has substituted these; *οἱ τὰ ἐσυχῆς φανταστικῶς*, those who imagine [or fancy] *Eutyches's* Tenets. By *φανταστικῶς* [Phantastic,] or, [Imagination,] *Zacharias* means the opinion of *Eutyches*, who asserted, that the flesh of Christ was not true nor substantial with us, but Phantastical or imaginary; as may be seen in the Acts of the *Chalcedon Council*. Hence the Epistles of *Avitus* Bishop of *Vienna*, wherein he confutes *Eutyches's* Error, have this Title, *Contra phantasma, against the Phantasma*; as *Sirmondus* attests. Further, from this place it may be gathered that *Zacharias Rhetor* was not an *Eutychian*, as *Baronius* thought at the year of Christ 476. For he would never have expressed himself thus, had he been a follower of *Eutyches's* Sect. It must therefore either be said, that these are not the words of *Zacharias Rhetor*, (which notwithstanding *Evagrius* affirms;) or else, that he was not an *Eutychianist*. See chap. 14. Valef.



supposing they had met with Timotheus as with some unexpected gain, and hoping to reap a great advantage to themselves from the Circular Letters, in great haste betook themselves to Timotheus. And when they had been convinced by him, that the Word of God was of the same substance with us according to the flesh, but Consubstantial to the Father in relation to the Deity, they went back [to their own homes.]

## CHAP. VI.

That Timotheus Ælurus recovered the [Bishoprick] of Alexandria, and having restored the privilege of a Patriarchate to the [Church] of Ephesus, Anathematized the Chalcedon-Synod.

THE same [Zacharias] says, that Timotheus leaving the Imperial [City Constantinople,] arrived at Ephesus, and [there] placed <sup>a</sup> Paulus in the Archi-Episcopal See of the Ephesians. This [Paulus] had long before this been ordained by the Bishops of that Province, <sup>b</sup> agreeable to the more ancient usage: but had been ejected out of his See. Timotheus also restored to the Ephesine Church the <sup>c</sup> Patriarchal privilege, which the Synod of Chalcedon had deprived it of, as I have said. Removing from thence, he comes to Alexandria, and persisted to request those who came to him, to Anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon. Nevertheless, many others of his own Faction receded from him (as 'tis related by the same Zacharias,) as did likewise Theodotus one of those that had been ordained at Joppa by <sup>d</sup> Theodosius, who was made Bishop of Jerusalem by some persons, at such time as Juvenalis went to Constantinople. Decreed that this nople.

Paulus should be restored to the See of Ephesus, out of which he had been ejected. For these are Evagrius's words of the fifth chapter of this book, Ἀντίστοιχον δὲ παύλον τῆς ἐφεσίων ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὑπελθεῖν δεῖνον, they Vote that Paulus also should recover the Archiepiscopal Chair of Ephesus. Which place Christopherson has not rendered truly, in this manner; His rebus ita constitutis Paulus ad sedem Archiepiscopatus Ephesiani capeffendam deligitur, These things having been thus constituted, Paulus is chosen to take the Archiepiscopal See of Ephesus. For Paulus was not elected by Ælurus and Petrus Fullo at Constantinople, that he should take the Ephesine-See: but having been expelled out of the See of Ephesus, he came to Constantinople: where a Council of Eutychianists being convened, it was Decreed that he should recover the Archiepiscopate of the City Ephesus. In the fifth chapter of this book, the reading in the vulgar Editions was, ἐπελθεῖν δεῖνον, Come into the Chair. But from the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. I have mended it, ὑπελθεῖν enter upon. Yet I had rather add a preposition, and write it thus, ἐπαυελθεῖν return to, recover, or, re-enter upon. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων συνόδων. I had rather make it καὶ τῶν, &c. agreeable to, &c. Further, what Zacharias says here is most true, to wit, that it was the ancient usage, that the Bishop of Ephesus should be ordained by the Bishops of his own Province. For, from St. Timothy who was the first Bishop of the Ephesians, until Callistus, and Heraclides, whom John Chrysostom ordained, all the Bishops of the Ephesians were ordained in the same City by the Bishops of that Province, as 'tis apparent from the Eleventh Action of the Chalcedon Council. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Zacharias does here call the Patriarchal privilege the Right of Primacy, or the privilege of Ordaining Metropolitans. For in this the Patriarchal privilege did properly consist, as I have observed in my Little Book concerning the interpretation of the Sixth Canon of the Nicene Council, which is published at the close of Our Socrates. Now whereas Zacharias, or rather Evagrius, adds, that this privilege had been taken away from the See of Ephesus by the Chalcedon Synod; he means the Sixteenth Action of the Chalcedon Synod; wherein it was Decreed, that the Constantinopolitan Bishops should Ordain Metropolitans in the Asian Diocesis. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

That the Monks having raised a Sedition by the persuasion of Acacius, Basiliscus was put into a fear, and wrote and promulged Circular Letters contrary to those he had published before.

THE same Zacharias relates likewise, that Acacius Bishop of Constantinople <sup>a</sup> was extremely troubled at these things, and <sup>b</sup> that he incited the Monks and Populacy of the Imperial [City] against Basiliscus, as being an Heretic. And, that Basiliscus, at length <sup>c</sup> renounced his Circular Letters, and wrote a Constitution, that what had been surreptitiously [and rashly] done, should be wholly vacated and made null; and, that he sent abroad Letters contrary to his former Circular Letters, wherein he confirmed the Synod at Chalcedon. And these Anti-Circular-Letters (as he terms them,) Zacharias has omitted, who hath written his whole History with partiality and in favour to his own party. But the Contents of them run word for word thus.

## Basiliscus's Anti-Circular-Letter.

Emperours, Cæsars, Basiliscus and Marcus. We Decree, that the Apostolick and Orthodox Faith (which originally and from the beginning hath flourished in the Catholick Churches, which hath obtained even until our Empire, which doth now obtain under our Empire, and which ought forever to obtain, into which we have been baptized, and which we believe) shall only continue inviolate and unshaken, and shall for ever be prevalent in all the Catholick and Apostolick Churches of the Orthodox; and, that nothing else shall be required. For this reason therefore We command, that all things which have been done on account of the faith or Ecclesiastick <sup>d</sup> Discipline under our Empire, whether they be Circular Letters, or other [Letters,] or what ever else, shall be void and null: Nestorius and Eutyches, and every other Heresie, and all those who embrace the same Sentiments with them, being Anathematized. And [tis our will,] that concerning this Subject, neither any Synod should be convened, nor any other question [started:] but, that these things should continue firm and unshaken. Moreover, [We command,] <sup>e</sup> that those Provinces (the Ordination whereof the Chair of this Imperial and Glorious City hath had,) shall be restored to the most pious and most Holy Patriarch and Archbishop Acacius: to wit, the most pious Bishops, that now are, continuing in their own Sees; [yet so] that after their deaths on prejudice from this business may arise to the Right of Ordination [belonging to] the Holy Chair of this Imperial and famous City. Now, <sup>f</sup> it is dubious to no person, that this our Divine Decree has the force of a Divine Constitution. And these things proceeded in this manner.

published in that Council, seemed to have been taken away by that same Sanction. By which thing Acacius was chiefly moved, and used his utmost endeavour, that the Emperour Basiliscus should revoke his own Constitution. Besides, in the Ephesine Synod, the Patriarchal privilege had been restored to the See of Ephesus by Timotheus Ælurus, <sup>g</sup>

had conjectured long since, that it should be <sup>h</sup> extremely troubled. The Tellerian MS. has at length confirmed this my conjecture; wherein I found it written <sup>i</sup> *ἐπελθεῖν*. Valef.

<sup>j</sup> Or, Denied; that is, repealed, or revoked.

<sup>k</sup> Or, Constitution.

<sup>l</sup> When by the Emperour Basiliscus's Circular Letters, the Chalcedon Synod had been wholly abrogated, the privileges of the Constantinopolitan See which had been established in that Council, seemed to have been taken away by that same Sanction. By which thing Acacius was chiefly moved, and used his utmost endeavour, that the Emperour Basiliscus should revoke his own Constitution. Besides, in the Ephesine Synod, the Patriarchal privilege had been restored to the See of Ephesus by Timotheus Ælurus, <sup>m</sup>



we have seen before. Which having been done, the *Asian Diocesis*, the ordinations whereof had been given to the Bishop of Constantinople by the Decree of the *Chalcedon Synod*, was taken away from that See. There was therefore need of a new Constitution, whereby its Rights and Privileges might be restored to the *Constantinopolitan Sec.* This therefore the Emperour *Basiliscus* now performs, by the publication of these his *Anti-Circular-Letters*. *Theodorus Lector* does likewise attest the same, in his first *Book Colletan*, about the close thereof. *Valef.*

## CHAP. VIII.

### Concerning Zeno's Return.

**B**UT Zeno having (as'tis reported) [seen in his sleep] the Holy <sup>a</sup> *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, famous for her many Conflicts, who incited him, and made him a promise that his Empire should be restor'd to him; marched his Army towards *Byzantium*. And having with gifts, corrupted those who besieged him, he drives out *Basiliscus* who had held the Empire two years; and delivers him to the enemy after he had made his escape to the Holy Rails [of the Altar.] On this account Zeno dedicated a spacious Church, eminent for its <sup>\*</sup> splendour and beauty, to the *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, at *Seleucia* situate in the Country of *Isauria*, and beautified it with many and Imperial

<sup>a</sup> The Greeks who delight much in Epithets, are wont to grace each Saint with proper and peculiar Titles. Thus they commonly term *Thecla* the *Apostle* and *Proto-Martyr*. They call her an *Apostle*, because, like an *Apostle*, she had preach'd the Faith of Christ in many places: and they style her *Proto-Martyr*, in regard as *Stephen* was the first Martyr of Christ amongst men, so was she the first amongst women; as *Basiliscus Seleuciensis* does attest in his first book concerning the Life and Miracles of the blessed *Thecla*. She is called *Thecla* by way of contraction, instead of *Theoclia*. For thus the same *Basiliscus* does frequently term her. *Valef.*

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Excellency.

Sacred gifts; which are preserved till these our times. Further, *Basiliscus* is sent into the Region of the *Cappadocians*, <sup>†</sup> in order to his being put to death: but he is <sup>b</sup> slain in that Station named <sup>c</sup> *Acusus*, together with his wife and children. And Zeno makes a Law, which abrogates what had been constituted by the Tyrant *Basiliscus* in his *Circular Letters*. Then also *Petrus* surnamed *Fullo* is driven from the Church of the *Antiochians*; and *Paulus* from that of the *Ephesians*.

<sup>†</sup> Or, being about to die. <sup>b</sup> *Ἀπὸ τοῦ φάσματος*. With *Evagrius* agrees *Malchus* in the first book of his *Byzantine History*, and *Candidus Isaurus* in the second book of his *Histories*; both which Authors relate, that *Basiliscus* was killed by the sword. But the other *Historians* tell us, that he dyed by hunger and cold, together with his wife and children. This disagreement of Writers in reference to *Basiliscus's* death, is taken notice of by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ἐν ἀκυσῷ*. So also the name of this Station is written in *Nicephorus*. But *Cedrenus* and *Theophanes* term it *Cucusus*. *Marcellinus* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* call it *Leminis* and *Limne*, a *Castrum* [or, Castle] of *Cappadocia*, into which *Basiliscus* was thrust together with his wife and children; and the gate of one of the Towers, wherein he was inclosed, being stop'd up, he perished there by hunger and cold. *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

That after *Basiliscus's* death, the Bishops of Asia, that they might appease *Acacius*, sent him a Penitentiary-Libel, [craving pardon] for their offence in rejecting the Synod of Chalcedon.

[IN the Interim,] the Bishops of Asia, in order to their appeasing *Acacius*, excused themselves, and craved pardon, sending a Penitentiary-Libel [to him,] wherein they affirmed, that they had subscribed to the *Circular-Letters* by force and constraint, not voluntarily; and they swore, that the thing was so,

and that they had not believed, nor did believe otherwise than agreeable to the Synod at Chalcedon. The <sup>\*</sup> purport of their Letters is this. <sup>a</sup> Or, forces. The Epistle, or Petition, sent to *Acacius Bishop of Constantinople*, from the Bishops of Asia. To *Acacius the most Holy and most Pious Patriarch of the most Holy Church at the Imperial [City] Constantinople, New Rome*. And after other words. <sup>a</sup> He hath arrived amongst us and does <sup>b</sup> what is right and fitting; who also shall fill your <sup>c</sup> place. And after a few words. By these <sup>d</sup> Libels we signify to you, that we have subscribed, not according to the intent of our minds, but by <sup>e</sup> force and constraint, giving our consent thereto in words and Letters, but not in heart. For by [the assistance of] your acceptable intercessions, together with the assent of the Deity, we believe in such manner as we have received from those Three hundred and eighteen Luminaries of the world, and from the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers. Besides, [we believe] those matters also, which have been piously and rightly determined at Chalcedon by the Holy Fathers convened there. Further, whether *Zacharias* the Rhetorician has illuminated these [Bishops of Asia,] or whether they themselves have lyed, in averring that they subscribed involuntarily, I cannot affirm.

ought to be made *ὑμῶν τὸν τόπον*, your place, instead of *ὑμῶν τὸν τόπον*, our place. *Johannes Langus* perceived this before us, who has rendered this passage transcribed out of *Evagrius* thus, *Recede sane ad nos venit, qui locum etiam vestrum obtinebit*. He hath indeed come rightly unto us, who shall also possess your place. By which words the Bishops of Asia mean the Legate, which *Acacius Bishop of Constantinople* had sent to them, to wit a *Presbyter* or a *Deacon* of the *Constantinopolitan Church*. But if any one had rather, with *Christophorion*, read *ἐφ' ὑμῶν*, amongst you; we must understand it of the Legate which the Bishops of Asia had sent to *Acacius*, that he might present the *Libel of satisfaction* to him. And this I think is truer. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Instead of [ὑμῶν, our] doubtless it must be [ὑμῶν, your.] as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. From whom an amendment must be made a little after this, thus, *οὐν ἐκπεύσας*, by dividing the words, which were erroneously made one word. Each emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. X.

### Concerning those who governed the Bishoprick of Antioch.

**A**FTER therefore *Peter* [was ejected,] *Stephanus* assumes the Chair of *Antioch*: *Petrus* whom the children of the *Antiochians* slew with *Fullo*, *Johannes* the Rhetorician has related. But after *Stephanus*, the Government of that same See was committed to *Calendion*, who excited those that came to him to *Anathematize* *Timotheus*, together with *Basiliscus's Circular Letters*.

into his place, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, page 107: to which Writer agrees *Gelasius* in *Gestis de nomine Acacii*, and *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. Pope *Felix* has mentioned the same *Johannes*, in the Sentence of Condemnation which he dictated against *Acacius*, and in the Epistle which in the name of the Roman Synod he wrote to all the *Presbyters* and *Archimandrites* in *Constantinople* and *Bithynia*. *Valef.*



## CHAP. XI.

*That the Emperour Zeno took a resolution of persecuting Ælurus: but by reason of his age he had compassion on him and let him alone. And how after Ælurus's death, Petrus Mongus was ordained by the Alexandrians. But Timotheus, Proterius's successor, by the order of the Emperour, obtained the Chair of the Alexandrians.*

**M**oreover, Zeno was resolved to have expelled Timotheus out of Alexandria: but understanding from some persons that he was now very aged, and would soon go the way of all men, he altered his resolution. And not long after [Timotheus] paid the common debt [of Nature:] whereupon those of Alexandria by their own authority elect Petrus, surnamed Mongus, Bishop. Which, when it came to Zeno's hearing, disturbed him extremely. Wherefore Zeno punished Petrus with death: but he recalled Timotheus [Salophaciolus,] Proterius's successor, who then lived at Canopus on account of a Sedition raised by the people. Timotheus therefore by the Emperour's order recovered his own See.

<sup>a</sup> Or, enter the Inn, or, house of all men. <sup>b</sup> Or, forbad. <sup>c</sup> Oī tīs d' alexandriōn ἐπισκοποι, &c. the Bishops of Alexandria elect, &c. I had rather write ἐπισκοποι, and so read the whole clause thus, καὶ πάλιν ἀνδρείου ἀπεχέλειζον οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδριᾶς ἐπισκοποι; whereupon those of Alexandria by their own authority elect Petrus surnamed Mongus Bishop: and I am of opinion that Evagrius wrote thus. 'Tis certain, these words οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδριᾶς ἐπισκοποι cannot be spoken of the Suffragan Bishops. Besides, Petrus Mongus was ordained but by one Bishop, as 'tis related in Gestis de nomine Acacii, and in Acacius's Epistle to Pope Simplicius. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ζημιῶν ποσὶ μισθῶν. I doubt not but it should be written ποσὶ μισθῶν, punished. For ποσὶ μισθῶν signifies mulctare, to punish. Whence ποσὶ μισθῶν imports Punishment, as Suidas attests. But ποσὶ μισθῶν (which is the reading in Robert Stephens's Edition) signifies quite another thing. Nicephorus having found this fault in his Copy, expunged the Proposition, and worded this place of Evagrius thus, καὶ μὲν ἡμετέριον δαπάνη Ζημιᾶ ἐπέτα, that is He punished those who had elected [Petrus Mongus Bishop] with a capital punishment. And yet Evagrius does not say so. For he relates, that Mongus himself was condemned by Zeno, not the Bishops who had chosen Mongus. 'Tis apparent therefore that Nicephorus had read thus in our Evagrius; καὶ καὶ μὲν ὁ ζήνων δαπάνη Ζημιᾶν ποσὶ μισθῶν, wherefore Zeno punished those with death; and that he understood it as spoken of the Heretical Bishops who had elected Mongus. Doubtless, the Bishops who had chosen Mongus deserved a sorer punishment than Mongus himself, who was elected by them. For they had done that on their own authority, without the Emperours advice and direction: whereas it had been customary, by reason of the largeness of the City Alexandria, that the Bishop thereof should not be elected, unless the Emperour's mind were first known. Besides, they had presumed to elect another Bishop when the See was not void, but whilst Timotheus Salophaciolus as yet survived. Whereupon the Seditions and Divisions, which seemed to have been extinguished by the death of Timotheus Ælurus, were rekindled. For these reasons, those Bishops were to be punished with a capital punishment, rather than Mongus. Nevertheless, in my judgment neither is true. For Mongus was punished only with banishment. But the Bishops who had ordained him, are ordered to be punished by Anthemius the Augustus; as Liberatus affirms in his Breviary, chap. 16. Valef.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning Johannes who obtained the Presidency over the Alexandrian Church after Timotheus, and how Zeno outed him in regard he had forsworn himself, and restored the Chair of Alexandria to Petrus Mongus.*

<sup>a</sup> I am of the same mind with Christopherson and Sir Henry Savil, who instead of [ἐκβολῆς δὲ ἐνίων] have mended it thus, ἐκ βολῆς δὲ ἐνίων, but by the advice of some persons: which amendment is confirmed by Nicephorus and the Tel-

lerian Manuscript. Moreover, Liberatus in his Breviary chap. 16, affirms that Johannes the Oeconomus [Or, Steward] was sent to Constantinople on a far different account. For he says, that Timotheus Salophaciolus, after he had recovered his Episcopal Chair by the Decree of Zeno Augustus, sent some Ecclesiasticks to Constantinople, amongst whom was Johannes the Oeconomus, who might give the Emperour thanks for his own restitution. They also made a request to the Emperour at the same time, that if any thing should happen to Timotheus otherwise than well, no other person but a Catholick might be put into his See by the Clergy and people of Alexandria; as we are informed in Gestis de nomine Acacii. Which thing Zeno in his answer to Salophaciolus's advices, ordered to be done by a Letter written to the Alexandrian Clergy; as Felix attested in his first Epistle to Acacius, and Gelasius in Gestis de nomine Acacii. Further, in the Florentine Manuscript, at the Margin here, these words occur, καὶ ἰωάννης τὸ ταβεννέσιον, concerning Johannes Tabennesiota. 'Tis certain, this Johannes is termed Tabennesiota by Theophanes also in his Chronicon, because he had been a Monk in the Monastery of the Tabennenses at Canopus, where Timotheus Salophaciolus had likewise formerly followed a Monastick life and discipline; as Theophanes relates Valef.

nes a Presbyter, appointed to be the Steward of the venerable Church of the Holy Forerunner and Baptist John, makes a journey to the Imperial City [Constantinople,] being sent on an Embassy [to make an address to the Emperour,] that if it should happen that their Bishop should die, the Inhabitants of Alexandria might have a liberty of Electing one to preside over their Church whom they should have a mind to. This person, as Zacharias affirms, was by the Emperour discovered to have a design of procuring the Bishoprick for himself. and when he had obliged himself by oaths, that he would never seek to get the Alexandrian Chair, he returned into his own Country. But the Emperour promulged a Law, that after Timotheus's death, that person should be Bishop whom the Clergy and people [of Alexandria] should Elect. Timotheus having ended his life not long after, this Johannes (as

tholicus. Why therefore does Evagrius (or rather Zacharias, out of whom Evagrius took it,) say here, that Johannes was Oeconomus of Saint John's Church? For he was not Steward of this Church only; but he look'd after the revenues and money of all the Churches which were under the Bishop of Alexandria, as Liberatus informs us in his sixteenth chapter, in these words: Porro Johannes ex Oeconomus factus est Hillo Magistro; qui cum reliquis descendit Alexandriam. Factusque est iterum Oeconomus, habens causas omnium Ecclesiarum. Further Johannes of an Oeconomus is made a friend to Hillus the Magister; who together with the rest went down to Alexandria. And he is made Steward again [or, the second time,] having all the Causes of the Churches. Instead of [habens causas omnium Ecclesiarum,] I think it should be habens gazas omnium Ecclesiarum, having the treasure or riches of all the Churches. This emendation, Liberatus's following words do confirm, which run thus: Qui multa & pretiosa xenia direxit Hillo Magistro, &c. Who directed [or sent] many and those pretious presents to Hillus the Magister, &c. Or mult it be said that the Church of Saint John Baptist was then the Greatest Church of Alexandria? Indeed, heretofore the Greater Church of Alexandria was termed the Casarea, as I have observed at Socrates. But 'tis possible, that the Church of Saint John, which had been built there by Theodosius after the demolishment of the Serapium, might become the Greater Church, the Episcopal Chair being removed thither. Concerning this Church of Saint John Baptist, Rufinus speaks in chap. 27. of his second book Eccles. Histor. And in the following chapter he adds concerning the Reliques of Saint John Baptist, that in the time of Athanasius they were brought to Alexandria. To which afterwards, the Serapium [or, Serapis's Temple] being demolished, Golden houses (that I may use Rufinus's words, which are Aurea Tecta,) were erected in the reign of Theodosius. 'Tis certain in this Church of Saint John, the Patriarch of Alexandria performed the Religious assemblies, as Theophanes informs us concerning Dioscorus, pag. 139. Valef.

The power therefore of Electing their Bishops had been taken from the Clergy and people of the City Alexandria, and the Emperour had removed the privilege of nominating the Bishop of Alexandria to himself, as 'tis apparent from this place. Which, we deny not, was done by force and against the Ecclesiastick Laws. Nevertheless, the Roman Emperours not without reason challenged that power to themselves after the murder of Proterius the Alexandrian Bishop, in regard the City of Alexandria, by its own inclination prone to Seditions, had several times raised vehement disturbances in the Election of Bishops. Valef.



the same *Zacharias* has related, gave money <sup>a</sup> disregarding the Oaths wherein [ he had bound himself ] to the Emperour, is constituted Bishop of *Alexandria*. Which when the Emperour understood, he ordered him to be Ejected. And by the perswasion of some Persons, the Emperour wrote an *Exhortatory Edict* to the *Alexandrians*, which he termed his *Or, Uni- \* Henoticon*; and ordered, that the Chair of *Alexandria* should be restored to *Petrus*, provided he would subscribe to His *Henoticon*, and receive those of *Proterius's* Party to Communion.

<sup>a</sup> Kai os oi duo p... In the excellent Florentine Manusc. I found it written thus: *καὶ οἱ δύο*, &c. and we have rendered it accordingly. Further, concerning this Oath wherein *Johannes Tabennesiora* had formerly bound himself in the Emperour's presence, that he would never climb up into the *Alexandrian* See, Pope *Simplicius* speaks in his seventeenth Epistle to *Acacius*. *Liberatus* also attests the same, in his *Breviary*, chap. 17. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIII.

That *Petrus Mongus* embraced *Zeno's* *Henoticon* and joined himself to the *\* Proterians*.

<sup>a</sup> Or, Those of *Proterius's* party. <sup>b</sup> *Tobias* & *Proterius*. To wit, *Zeno's* *Henoticon*, which a little before *Evagrius* has termed a *μεσοφωνος*. And 'tis therefore called a *μεσοφωνος* here and hereafter by *Evagrius*, because the Emperour in that *Edict* speaks to whercof were these.

<sup>a</sup> His Disposition, which had been made by the advice of *Acacius* Bishop of the Imperial City, <sup>b</sup> *Pergamius*, who was constituted *Præfect* of *Egypt* carries along with him. He being arrived at *Alexandria*, and finding *Johannes* fled, held a Conference with *Petrus*, and perswades him to admit of *Zeno's* *Exhortatory Edict*; and moreover [ to receive ] those who had dissented from him. He admits therefore of the forementioned *Exhortatory Edict*, and subscribes to it. He promises also that he would receive those who were of the contrary party. Wherefore not long after this, when a publick Festivity was celebrated at *Alexandria*, and all Persons by a general consent agreed to that termed *Zeno's* *Henoticon*, *Petrus* likewise admitted [ to Communion ] those of *Proterius's* party. And having made an *Exhortatory Oratio* to the People in the Church, he recited *Zeno's* *Exhortatory Edict* also, the Contents whercof were these.

Clergy and Laity, and by Preaching as it were, exhorts them, like a Priest, to embrace unity. But, 'tis termed an *ἡνωτικὸν* for this reason, because by a wholesome Dispensation ( as at the first blush it appears, ) it invites all Catholics to one and the same Communion, the mention of the *Chalcedon* Synod being suppressed. Further, this *Edict* of *Zeno* bore date on the year of Christ 482; *Trocodus* and *Severinus* being Consuls, as *Baronius* writes. Which is evidently confirmed by *Victor Turonensis* in his *Chronicon*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. relates that *Pergamius* was not *Præfect* of *Egypt*, but *Dux* [ or Commander of the Milice : ] his words are these; *Acacius persuasit Zenoni, &c. Acacius persuaded Zeno, that he should write to Apollonius the Augustalis, and to Pergamius the Dux, that they should drive Johannes out of the Alexandrian See, as having seized it contrary to his own Oath, which he had given in the Imperial City; and that they should give their assistance to Petrus Mongus, that he might continue in that See.* *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIV.

## Zeno's Henoticon.

Emperour *Cæsar Zeno*, Pius, Victor, Triumphant, Maximus, always Adorable, Augustus; To the <sup>a</sup> most Reverend Bishops, Clergy, Monks, and Laicks, in *Alexandria*, and throughout Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

<sup>a</sup> *Facundus Heremianensis*, out *Egypt*, Libya, and Pentapolis. *Edict* of *Zeno's* in his twelfth Book, reads *ὁρθόδοξοις*, to the Orthodox Bishops. For the words are these: *Flavius Zeno Pius, Victor, Triumphant, Maximus, always Augustus, to the Orthodox Bishops, &c. Then Facundus finds fault with that term Orthodox, and expresses his anger*

against it in many words; that the Emperour should not be afraid of giving the title of *Orthodox* to a company of Hereticks who had no head. Further, this *Edict* of *Zeno* was promulged in the year of Christ 482, as *Baronius* has recorded. *Valef.*

Knowing the only right and true Faith ( which the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at *Nicæa* by a Divine Influence have set forth, and which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers in the like manner assembled at *Constantinople* have confirmed; ) to be the Beginning and *\* Consistency*, and the power and invincible Defence of our Empire: We have made it Our business night and day, by all imaginable Attention and Diligence, and by Our Laws, that God's Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, which is the incorruptible and immortal Mother of Our Scepters, should every where be multiplied and enlarged by that [ Faith : ] and that the pious People continuing in Peace and that Concord [ which bears a relation ] to God, together with the Bishops most dear to God, and with the most Religious Clergy, Archimandrites, and Monks, might offer up their acceptable Prayers for Our Empire. For whilst the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who was incarnate and born of the Holy Virgin and Theotocos Mary, approves of and readily accepts our concordant Glorification and Worship, all sorts of Enemies shall be consumed and extinguished: and all Nations will submit their Necks to Our Power which is *\* according to God*: *\* Or, Next* [ In fine, ] Peace, and those Goods that are the Product thereof, temperateness of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are useful and advantageous, shall be conferred upon men.

Whereas therefore the irreprehensible Faith doth in this manner preserve Us and the Roman Affairs, Addresses have been presented to Us by the most Religious Archimandrites, Hermits, and other Reverend Persons, who with tears made supplication, that an Unity might be made in the most Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joyned to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long since been very solicitous to disjoyn: assuredly knowing, that <sup>c</sup> should he make war against the entire Body of the Church, he might with ease be vanquished. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable *\* multitudes* of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the space of so many years, a part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciously committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it self also hath been defiled by an abundant effusion of blood. What man is he, who will not pray, that these things might be changed into a better State

and

<sup>c</sup> *Σώματι πολεμῶν, waging war against the [ entire ] Body.* Doubtless it must be *πολεμῶν*, should he make war, &c. as it is in *Nicephorus*, and in the *Tellerian MS.* Sir Henry Savil also, at the Margin of his Copy, had remark'd, *forte πολεμῶν*, perhaps it should be *πολεμῶν*. *Valef.*

*\* Or, Generations.*

<sup>a</sup> To this place of *Zeno's* *Edict* Pope *Felix* alludes, in his Epistle to *Zeno Augustus*, where his words are these: *Dolet certe pietas tua, quod per diuturnos partis alternæ gravesque conflictus, multi ex hoc seculo videantur ablati, aut baptismatis aut communionis expertes; Your piety doubtless is griev'd, that by reason of the long and sore conflict of each party, many may seem to have been taken out of this world, without being partakers of Baptism or the Communion.* *Val.*

*\* Or, Next* [ In fine, ] Peace, and those Goods that are the Product thereof, temperateness of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are useful and advantageous, shall be conferred upon men.

Whereas therefore the irreprehensible Faith doth in this manner preserve Us and the Roman Affairs, Addresses have been presented to Us by the most Religious Archimandrites, Hermits, and other Reverend Persons, who with tears made supplication, that an Unity might be made in the most Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joyned to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long since been very solicitous to disjoyn: assuredly knowing, that <sup>c</sup> should he make war against the entire Body of the Church, he might with ease be vanquished. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable *\* multitudes* of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the space of so many years, a part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciously committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it self also hath been defiled by an abundant effusion of blood. What man is he, who will not pray, that these things might be changed into a better State

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*\* Or, Next* [ In fine, ] Peace, and those Goods that are the Product thereof, temperateness of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are useful and advantageous, shall be conferred upon men.

Whereas therefore the irreprehensible Faith doth in this manner preserve Us and the Roman Affairs, Addresses have been presented to Us by the most Religious Archimandrites, Hermits, and other Reverend Persons, who with tears made supplication, that an Unity might be made in the most Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joyned to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long since been very solicitous to disjoyn: assuredly knowing, that <sup>c</sup> should he make war against the entire Body of the Church, he might with ease be vanquished. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable *\* multitudes* of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the space of so many years, a part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciously committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it self also hath been defiled by an abundant effusion of blood. What man is he, who will not pray, that these things might be changed into a better State



and Condition? On this account therefore, We have made it Our business to certify You, that neither We, nor the Churches in all places, either have had, or have, or in future will have, nor do We know any Persons that have, any other Symbol, or Creed, or Definition of the Faith, save the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the foresaid Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers confirmed. Moreover, if any one hath [any other Creed,] We account him a Person estranged [from the Church.] For by this Creed only (as we have

\* Or, Be-  
girt.  
† Or, Ba-  
ptism.

*said, ) We are confident Our Empire is <sup>a</sup> preserved. And all Persons vouchsafed the Salutary <sup>†</sup> Illumination, receiving this only [ Creed ] are Baptized. The same [ Creed ] hath been followed by all the Holy Fathers convened at Ephesus; who likewise deposed the impious Nestorius, and also those that afterwards embraced his Sentiments. Which Nestorius together with Eutyches, in regard they held Opinions contrary to the fore-said [ Fathers, ] We do Anathematize, and do*

\*Or Chapters.

also admit of the Twelve \* Heads, which were dictated by Cyrillus of holy Memory, who was heretofore Archbishop of the Holy Catholick Church of the Alexandrians. But we confess the only Begotten Son of God and God, (who was truly and really made Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, Consubstantial to the Father according to the Deity, and of the same substance with us as to his Humanity; who descended and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of Mary the Virgin and Theotocos,) to be one, and not two. For we affirm, that the Miracles, and Sufferings which he voluntarily underwent in the Flesh, are of one.

† See ch 5  
note (f.)  
\* Unfin-  
ning, or,  
without  
Sig.

But we in no wise admit of those who divide, or confound, or introduce a † Phantastic. In regard the \* impeccable and true Incarnation from the Theotocos hath not made an accession of [another] Son. For the Trinity hath ever continued the Trinity, although one of the Trinity, [is] God the Word, hath been incarnate. Assuredly knowing therefore, that neither the Holy Orthodox Churches of God in all places, nor the Prelates most beloved by God who preside over them, nor yet Our Empire, hath received, or doth admit of any other Creed, or Definition of the Faith, save the foresaid holy Creed; without ma-

ε' Ἐρατώμεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ; so 'tis also written in Nicephorus. But *Facundus* and *Liberatus* seem to have read otherwise. For *Facundus* (pag. 551.) renders this place thus : *Adunate ergo vos in nullo dubitantes, &c. Unite your selves therefore, being doubtful in nothing.* For we have written these things to you, not to innovate the Faith, but that we might satisfy you, &c. And *Liberat.* translates it in this manner : *Unite vosmetipsos, nihil dubitantes, &c. Unite your selves, doubting nothing, &c.* Whence it appears, that they read *Ἐρατώμεθ' ἑαυτοὺς, &c.* But the Reading in our Copies is better : For soon after it follows, *ἀναθεματίζομεθ', We Anathematize. Valef.*

king doubts or delays, ° We have united our selves. Now, We have written these things [ to you, ] not that We might innovate the Faith, but in order to the giving you full satisfaction. But We Anathematize every Person, who has thought, or thinks otherwise, either now, or at any other time, whether at Chalcedon, or in any other Synod whatever : but more especially the foresaid Persons Nestorius and Eutyches, and such as embrace their Sentiments. Be ye joyned therefore to [ Your ] Spiritual Mother

the Church, and together with Us enjoy that same divine Communion therein, according to the fore-mentioned one and only Definition of the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers. For your most Holy Mother the Church expects to embrace You <sup>as</sup> Her genuine Sons, and after a long time earnestly desires to hear Your sweet Voice. Make all imaginable haste therefore. For by doing

hereof, you will procure to your selves both the frequently  
Benevolence of our Master and Saviour and God happens in  
Jesus Christ, and shall also be praised by Our Im- these  
perial Majesty. After the reading hereof, all the Books of  
Inhabitants of Alexandria were united to the Evagrius,  
Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church. occurs  
here also,

ἡ is put instead of ὡς. 'Tis certain *Liberatus* reads ὡς here, as 'tis ap-  
 parent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Sanc̃tissima namque*  
*Mater nostra Ecclesia, &c.* For our most Holy Mother the Church, as  
 being the Person who hath begotten you, from a long time expects to  
 embrace Her Sons, and earnestly desires to hear your sweet voice. Nor did  
*Facundus* read otherwise, in his twelfth Book. For thus his Version runs;  
*Sanc̃ta enim Mater nostra Ecclesia, &c.* For our Holy Mother the Church  
 receives you as Her own Sons. Embrace her; for She desires after a long  
 time to hear Your sweet Voice. Moreover, *Nicephorus* has it written,  
 ἡ ὡς γυνώσκεις. Further, from the forecited passages 'tis apparent, that  
*Facundus* and *Liberatus* in *Xeno's* Edit had read *μήτηρ ἡμῶν*, Our  
 Mother; which Reading I am most pleased with. Besides, *Facundus*  
 read *ἡμῶν ἡμῶν*, Embrace Ye Her; not as 'tis commonly read, *ἡμῶν*.  
*ἡμῶν ἡμῶν*, to embrace. Which Reading nevertheless is intolerable. Lastly,  
*Liberatus* seems to have read *ἐκ τῆς χρόνιου*, from a long time; not *ἡμῶν*  
*χρόνιου*, and after a long time. Vale.

## CHAPTER XV.

*That Johannes [Bishop] of Alexandria coming to Rome, persuades Simplicius to write to Zeno concerning what had hapned; [and what] Zeno [wrote back in answer to him.]*

**B**UT *Johannes*, of whom we have made mention \* before, after he had fled from *Alexandria*, <sup>a</sup> arrives at the *Senior Rome*: and there raised disturbances, affirming that he had been ejected out of his own Chair, on account of his defending *Leo's* \* *Dogmata*, and the \* *Opinion* of the *Chalcedon Synod*: and, that another *on*, or, *De-* was substituted in his room, who was *crees*. an enemy to those *Dogmata*. Hereat *Simplicius* Bishop of the *Elder Rome* was troubled, and wrote to *Zeno*; whereto *Zeno* returned answer, accusing *Johannes* of Perjury, and [affirming] that on that account, and for no other reason, he had been ejected out of his Bishoprick.

Letters of *Intercession* from *Calendion* Patriarch of *Antioch*, came to *Rome*, and appealed to *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, as the Blessed *Athanasius* had also done before. But in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*, which in my judgment were written by Pope *Gelasius*, he is said to have requested the Refuge only of the Roman Church, in such manner as his predecessors had done; which I think is truer. For *Johannes* appealed not from any Ecclesiastical Judicature to *Simplicius*, in regard he had not been expelled out of his own See by the Sentence of a Synod, but by force: nor did he present a *Libel* to Pope *Simplicius*, but to *Felix* his Successour, as we shall see afterwards. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Calendion [Bishop] of Antioch;  
and that he was condemned to be banished on  
account of the friendship he was suspected [to  
have held] with Illus and Leontius; also  
that Petrus Fullo entred into an Union with  
Mongus, and with the [Bishops] of Con-  
stantinople and Jerusalem.

Moreover, *Calendion* Bishop of *Antioch* wrote [Letters] to the Emperour *Zeno*, and to *Acacius* Prelate of *Constantinople*, wherein he termed *Petrus* an <sup>a</sup> Adulterer; affirming that when he was at *Alexandria*, he had *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. <sup>a</sup> So also *Pope Simplicius*, in his Epistle to *Acacius*, terms *Petrus* *Mongus*; as *Liberatus* attests in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. To wit, because he had invaded the *Alexandrian Church*, whilst *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, who had been legally ordained, was alive, *Valesius*.

<sup>f</sup> Καὶ γινώσκουσιν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὢν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ὢν ὁ υἱός. That which fre

**Some**



Some time afterwards, *Calendion* is condemned to be banished into *Oasis*, being supposed to have favoured *Illus*, *Leontius*, and *Pamphilius*, in relation to a Tyranny raised by them against *Zeno*. But *Petrus Fullo*, who [had been Bishop of *Antioch*,] before *Calendion* and *Stephanus*, as I have said, recovered his own [Chair.] Who both subscribed to *Zeno's Henoticon*, and also sent *Synodical Letters* to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*.

<sup>b</sup> That this was the pretext of no. But *Petrus Fullo*, who [had been Bishop of *Antioch*,] before *Calendion* and *Stephanus*, as I have said, recovered his own [Chair.] Who both subscribed to *Zeno's Henoticon*, and also sent *Synodical Letters* to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*. <sup>c</sup> *Liberatus* nodical Letters to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*. in his Breviary, chap. 18. But the true cause of his being condemned and deposed, was this, because he would defend the *Chalcedon* Synod, nor would acquiesce in *Zeno's Edict*. *Liberatus's* words are these: *Inter ea Calendion Archiepiscopus Antiochenus deponitur, &c. In the interim Calendion Archbishop of Antioch is deposed. Being accused in publick as having been undevout [indecent, without devotion] to his Prince, drawing the People into a Rebellion with Illus; but secretly, because he would not keep himself from the Communion both of Pope Felix and Johannes.* *Gelasius* also in his thirteenth Epistle to the *Dardani*, says, that *Calendion* was therefore ejected by *Zeno*, because he had razed his Name out of the *Diptychs*, and instead thereof put in *Leontius's*. *Valef*.

<sup>c</sup> *Illus*. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. I found it written *Illus*. This is the *Hillus*, by Country an *Isaurian*, in Dignity *Magister Officiorum* [Master of the Offices,] as *Marcellinus* tells us in his *Chronicon*: who after he had been in great favour with the Emperour, at length was incensed against him, for what reason I know not; and together with *Leontius* engaged himself in a Tyranny in the East, on the year of Christ 484, as *Marcellinus* records; or rather 483. as *Baronius* has rightly observed. Further, this *Hillus* is by *Candidus Isaurus* and by *Damasius* in the Life of *Isidorus the Philosopher*, always called *Illus*, with the Accent in the last Syllable. So 'tis also written in *Suidas*: *Ἰλλός, ὁ ὄνομα ἦν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσουλίας βασιλέως. ὁ καὶ Ἰλλός. Διὰ τὸν δὲ Ἰλλόν τὸν φθόνον ἐκράσαντο ἐπὶ διδύμῳ Ζήνῳ.* So that place of *Suidas* is to be read. *Valef*.

<sup>d</sup> *Petrus Fullo* was ejected out of the See of *Antioch* a little after the return of *Zeno Augustus*, on the year after the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Armarus*. One *Johannes* whom *Petrus* had ordained [Bishop] of *Antioch*, invaded his See, as I observed before at chap. 10, note (a.) He having been ejected, an *Oriental* Synod ordained *Stephanus*, as *Theophanes* tells us in his *Chronicon*. This *Stephanus*, when he had governed the See of *Antioch* about a year's space, was most barbarously murdered by Hereticks in the Church, on the year of Christ 479, after the Consulate of the most Famous *Illus*; as *Baronius* has rightly observed from *Pope Simplicius's* Epistles. *Zeno* being highly incensed on account of this murder, sent some Persons to *Antioch*, who might revenge this Fact, and punish the Authors of the Sedition. Moreover, to avoid Tumults, he commanded *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, to ordain a Bishop of *Antioch* in the Imperial City. And this thing, done on account of preserving the Ecclesiastick Peace, as well the Emperour as *Acacius* excused to *Pope Simplicius*, promising that in future the Ordination of the Prelate of *Antioch* should be made by the *Comprovincial* Bishops, according to the Prescripts of the Canons. *Stephanus Junior* therefore is ordained by *Acacius*, and after he had late three years, *Calendion* is created Bishop in his stead by an *Oriental* Synod, in the Consulate of *Trocodus* and *Severinus*, on the year of Christ 482; as *Baronius* has learnedly observed from *Pope Simplicius's* Epistle. *Theophanes* does indeed affirm, that *Calendion* was ordained by *Acacius* at *Constantinople*, by the Emperour *Zeno's* order. *Theophanes's* Opinion seems to be confirmed by *Candidus* in the third Book of his History; whose words are these, *ὡς περὶ τῆς συνόδου τῆς τῆς ἀντιοχείας τελευτήσας ἐκκλησίας καλεσθῆναι ζῶντων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἐκδοῦν ἀποδείξας ἀπέσταλκε.* In like manner as the Emperour *Zeno*, when the Impious *Petrus* disturbed the Churches of the East, sent *Calendion* to be Consecrated [Bishop] of *Antioch*. Besides, in the *Gesta de Nomine Acacii*, 'tis in express words written, That *Calendion* was Ordained by *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Simplicius* also affirms the same in the cited Epistle, if we weigh his words more attentively. For, what else is the meaning of these words: *Antiochenum exordium Sacerdotis quâ ratione servius fuerit, Indicatum, quamvis minime nos latere potuerit, tamen & ipse vel Synodus ejus indicavit. Quod sicut non optavimus fieri, ita faciles excusationi quam necessitas fecit extirimus; quia quod voluntarium non est, non potest vocari in reatum, &c.* For what Guilt, what necessity was to be excused before *Simplicius*, unless *Acacius* had Ordained *Calendion* at *Constantinople* contrary to the Ecclesiastick Laws? But now, what the same *Theophanes* adds concerning *Johannes Codonatus*, who was Ordained Bishop by the *Antiochians* knowing nothing of the Ordination made at *Constantinople*, and whom *Calendion* afterwards removed to the See of *Tyre*: I fear *Theophanes* is mistaken herein. For, not *Calendion*, but *Acacius* removed *Johannes* to the See of *Tyre*; as 'tis attested by *Pope Felix* in the Libel of Condemnation of *Acacius*, and by *Gelasius*, and *Liberatus*. *Valef*.

<sup>e</sup> *Kai Cwvδικὸς ὁ πῶς περὶ τῆς συνόδου. Doubtless it must be written, καὶ Cwvδικὸς ὁ πῶς περὶ τῆς συνόδου καὶ τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκκλησίας, And also sent Synodical Letters to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*. Thus *Nicephorus* read; and yet *Christophorus*, and *Sir Henry Savil* at the Margin of his Copy; mend it very simply, thus, *πῶς περὶ τῆς συνόδου, to Proterius*. For *Proterius**

was dead long before this. 'Tis manifest from *Pope Gelasius's* Epistles, that *Petrus Fullo* held Communion with *Petrus Mongus*. *Valef*.

*Acacius* also Bishop of *Constantinople* entered into a Communion with the same [ *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: ] as did likewise *Martyrius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who sent his *Synodical Letters* to the same *Petrus*. After this, some Persons separated themselves from *Petrus's* Communion: so that from that time *Petrus* Anathematized the Synod of *Chalcedon* publicly. Which news coming to the hearing of *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, troubled him [not a little.] *Acacius* therefore caused some Persons to be sent, who might enquire into the truth hereof. When *Petrus* being desirous fully to satisfy, that no such thing had been done by him, \* framed *Acts*, wherein some Persons affirmed, that to their knowledge no such thing had been done by *Petrus*. \* Or, *wrote*.

To wit, with *Petrus Mongus*. For with him, after the ejection of *Johannes Tabennesiota*, *Acacius* held Communion, and received from, and sent to him *Synodical Letters*, as *Liberatus* informs us.

But *Acacius* never held Communion with *Petrus Fullo*: yea, he was wont to boast, that he had never been joyned in Communion with him: whereas yet, by this that he communicated with *Petrus Mongus* who maintained a Communion with *Petrus Fullo*, *Acacius* himself also might hold Communion with *Fullo*; as *Pope Gelasius* says in his Epistle to the *Orientalis*, which was first published by *Jacobus Symondus*. *Valef*.

<sup>f</sup> *Evagrius* gives no reason, why these Men separated themselves from the Communion of *Petrus Mongus*. Besides, *Liberatus* in his Breviary, chap. 18. does relate this matter very obscurely, in these words; *Ignitur Petrus Mongus ab Abbate Ammone & Johanne Episcopo Magileos, &c. Therefore Petrus Mongus, having undergone wars from the Abbot Ammon and Johannes the Bishop of Magila, and from the Abbots of the Monks of the lower Egypt, and a Sedition having been raised against him in the Cathedral Caesarea, as 'tis called, [or, as 'tis reported;] anathematized the Chalcedon Synod, and Pope Leo's Tome. And these things he did, after he had written to Acacius and Simplicius that he held Communion with them and with the Holy Synod. And these matters having been in this manner performed, some Persons departed from Petrus's Communion, and declared [them] to the Roman Bishop at Rome. Which words, in themselves obscure enough, are in my judgment to be explained thus. *Petrus Mongus*, after he had been restored to the *Alexandrian* See upon *Johannes's* Ejection, at first used dissimulation, and sent *Synodical Letters* to *Acacius* and *Simplicius*, wherein he affirmed that he held Communion with the Synod of *Chalcedon*. He also admitted those to Communion who were of *Timotheus Salophaciolus's* party, as *Liberatus* attests. But afterwards, when he had been vexed by the *Eutychian* Monks on account of his dissimulation, he anathematized the *Chalcedon* Synod publicly in the Church. *Valef*.*

<sup>h</sup> *Τελεσθόν, had been written*: in my judgment it should be *τελεσθόν, had been done*. And so *Nicephorus* read; book 16. chap. 13. *Valef*.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning those things written by *Petrus*, to *Acacius* who had embraced the *Chalcedon* Synod.

[FOR] this *Petrus*,<sup>a</sup> in regard he was a *πῶς* person that could cloath himself in any *ὁ σκόθης* dress, of a mind mutable and crafty, and one that *ἔμελλεν* could conform to the times; persisted not in the least in one and the same Opinion. But sometimes he Anathematized the *Chalcedon* Synod; at others retracted, and embraced that Council, with all Suffrages. He wrote a Letter therefore to *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Contents whereof run word for word thus:

partly from *Nicephorus*, and partly by the Authority of the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. Further, concerning this wavering and fraudulent humour of *Petrus's*, we have the attestation of *Liberatus* in these words: *Sed permansit Petrus in Episcopatu, &c. But Peter continued in his Bishoprick, and wrote to Acacius, that he was a Communicator of [or, held Communion with] the Synod, and deceived the Alexandrians; because he would not communicate with the Synod: so that some Ecclesiasticks who were his Communicators, some Monks and Laicks; perceiving his fallaciousness, separated themselves from his Communion: And holding separate assemblies, would not endure to communicate with his Name.* *Valef*.



The most high God will reward your Holiness; for those great Labours and troubles, which for so many years space you [have undergone,] continuing serving and defending the Faith of the Holy Fathers, which by an uninterrupted Preaching you have confirmed. In which Faith we have found the Creed also of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers rightly and orderly placed, in which instead of Creed we were heretofore baptized, and which we have and do believe: which Creed the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers assembled at Constantinople have confirmed. You therefore without intermission leading all Men the way, have united the Holy Church of God, and by the weightiest and most convincing Instances and Arguments have persuaded us, that nothing contrary hereto hath been done in the most Holy and Oecumenical Synod convened at Chalcedon, which agrees with, and hath confirmed the Determinations of the Holy Fathers at Nicæa. For, having found nothing of any Innovation therein, we have given our absolute and perfect assent thereto, and believed it. But we understand, that certain Monks, envying Our Fraternity, have conveyed some Calumnies to your holy Ears; which could not readily induce your Holiness to be incensed [against us.] And in the first place [they affirm,] that we have removed the Reliques of our Father of holy Memory the Blessed Archbishop Timotheus, to some other place. Which Fact is neither acceptable to God, nor agreeable to the Laws. Then they pass to another [Crime,] which is inconsistent with it self, and much worse than the former. For, how could we Anathematize the Holy Synod at Chalcedon, which we have believed and confirmed? But ye are not ignorant, nor is it concealed from your Piety, how great the Heat and Levity of the People amongst us is, as also [that] of the Monks who are desirous of change and innovation. Who having entered into a consult together with some malevolent Persons that have severed themselves from the Church, attempt to draw the People after them. But, by the assistance of your Prayers, we have found a Way how to cure [this mischief,] that Fact was impious in the presence of God and Men. For humane Laws do severely punish the disturbers of Sepulchers. 'Tis certain Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon writes thus concerning Mongus: *Post Consulatum Zenonis tertium, &c.* After Zeno's third Consulate, — He condemns the Chalcedon Synod out of the Pulpit before the People. He takes the Names of Proterius and Timotheus Salophaciolus out of the Ecclesiastick Diptycks, and writes therein those of Dioscorus and Eulurus, who had murdered Proterius; and having cast Timotheus Salophaciolus's Body out of the Church, he threw it into a desert place without the City. Liberatus also attests the same in his Breviary, chap. 18. in these words: — *Sed et Petrum Alexandrinum, &c.* — Moreover, Petrus Alexandrinus anathematizing the Chalcedon Synod and Pope Leo's Tome, who having expunged the Names of Proterius and Timotheus Catholicus out of the Diptycks, inserted those of Dioscorus and Eulurus; who took the Body of the same Timotheus Catholicus out of the Earth, and cast it forth, who had been buried amongst the Catholick Bishops, Acacius has in a strange manner praised him, concerning whom he had remembered before, that himself had related so great Crimes. Lastly, Pope Felix in the Sentence of Condemnation against Acacius, does expressly confirm this very thing. So that now there can be no further doubt of the truth of this Fact. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ λόγον* Translatours have rendered this place variously. For Musculus translates it thus; *Libellum consideratè concinnavimus, &c.* We have with consideration composed a Libel. Christophorson, in this manner; *Literas hæc excogitavimus, quæ huic malo remedio sint, &c.* We have found out these Letters, which may be a remedy for this mischief. But Johannes Langus, Nicephorus's Translatour, has rendered it thus; *Re deliberatâ, rationem quæ mederi malo imminenti posset, invenimus, &c.* Having considered the business, we found out a way, which might cure the imminent evil. Of these three Renditions, the second is wholly to be rejected; but the first and third are tolerable. Nevertheless, it seems to me more fit, to render *λόγον* the Oration, or, Speech to the People, which Petrus made in the Church at such time as he ordered the Ecclesiastick Acts to be made up before Acacius's Legates; concerning which Acts Evagrius has spoken before, at the close of the foregoing Chapter. Valef.

without doing any prejudice to the holy Synod of Chalcedon; for we have been certainly informed, that nothing new hath been done there. And in order to the perswasion and \* satisfaction of the more simple, we have taken care that the same thing should be said by those who hold Assemblies together with us. And to this business, after I had been wholly intent upon it, I soon put a stop. Further, I do signify to your Sanctity, that even at this very instant the Monks cease not, who sow Tares, intermixing some Persons amongst themselves, who never dwell in \* Monasteries [as] instruments [of Seditious] and run up and down scattering various Rumours against Us, and against the Peace of Christ's Church, and permitting us to perform nothing Canonically and in a manner befitting God's Holy Catholick Church: making it their business, that the People committed to our care should rule over, rather than obey us; [in fine,] \* they attempt the doing of whatever [actions] are unseemly [in the sight] of God. But we are confident, that Your Sanctity will give the Most divine Lord of the World an account of all things, and will take care, that [such an] Order shall be issued forth to them from His Serenity, as may be necessary in relation to the Ecclesiastick Peace, and befitting God and the Emperour: so that all Persons may acquiesce in what [shall be established.]

*mus, We have made those, who have come to us, say the same thing.* Christophorson's Translation runs thus: *Tum ut illi qui nobiscum unâ accerserantur, pro defensione idem ipsum dicerent, effecimus, &c.* And also we have procured, that they who were sent for together with us, should for a defence say the very same thing. They thought therefore, that the word *ἐπισυναχθέντες* signified no other thing than *ἑνωθέντες*. But by the term *ἐπισυναχθέντες*, 'tis my judgment that the Ecclesiasticks and Laicks of Timotheus Salophaciolus's party are understood, who by the order of Zeno Augustus were associated and joined to Petrus Mongus. For the Emperour Zeno, by the perswasion and advice of Acacius, had written to Apollonius the Augustalis, and Pergamius the Dux, that they should eject Johannes Talata, and install Petrus, provided he would admit of the Henoticon, and receive [to Communion] the Clergy of Timotheus Catholicus; as Liberatus relates in his Breviary, chap. 18. Zeno had likewise written Letters to Petrus Mongus, wherein he ordered him, that he should give reception to the Clergy of Timotheus's party, who were of the same Opinion with himself; as the same Liberatus affirms in these words; *Et quidem Petrus inthronizatur ab omnibus, &c.* And Petrus is installed by all Persons. 'Tis written from the Emperour, that he should receive those that agreed with him who had been of Timotheus Catholicus's Party. That is, as well the Clergy as Laity, who were willing to agree to Zeno's Edict. When therefore Petrus Mongus made up his Ecclesiastick Acts, wherewith he would prove to Acacius that he had never condemned the Chalcedon Synod; he made use of these Persons as Witnesses, and caused them to confirm this with their own Testimony, That the Chalcedon Synod had never been condemned by Petrus. Further, their Testimony seemed worthy to be credited, because they had been of Timotheus Catholicus's party, who had always defended the Chalcedon Synod. See the Close of the sixteenth Chapter. Pope Felix speaks concerning these very Persons in the Sentence of Condemnation against Acacius; where his words are these: *Quid enim sunt aliud, qui post obitum sanctæ memoriæ Timothei, ad Ecclesiam sub Petro redeunt, &c.* For what are they else, who after the death of Timotheus of holy memory, return to the Church, under Petrus, &c. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> That is, that Crime which by some ill-minded Persons was objected against me; to wit, that the Chalcedon Synod is rejected and condemned by me. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> *Τινὼν μοναχῶν.* The Learned have long since made it *μοναχῶν*; which is the Reading in Nicephorus. Valef.



C H A P. XVIII.

In what manner *Johannes* [Bishop] of Alexandria persuades *Felix* Pope of Rome to send a Deposition to *Acacius* [Bishop] of Constantinople.

[IN the interim] *Johannes* having fled to Rome, [desisted not from] troubling *Felix*, who had succeeded *Simplicius* in the Bishoprick of Rome, about those things done by *Petrus*; and [at length] prevails [so far,] as *Zacharias* affirms, that a Deposition was sent from *Felix* himself to *Acacius*, on account of his holding a Communion with *Petrus*. Which Deposition, in regard it was a thing done <sup>a</sup> contrary to the Prescript of the Canons, as the same *Zacharias* <sup>a</sup> In the Condemnation and Deposition of *Acacius*, the Greeks found fault chiefly with two things. First, because he had not been condemned and deposed in a Synod; but only Pope *Felix* had prefixed his own Name before the Sentence of Deposition. The other thing was, because *Acacius* having been neither convicted nor examined according to the Ecclesiastick Canons, had received a Sentence of Condemnation. To the former Objection those of the Church of Rome returned this Answer: That there was no need of a new Synod for the condemning of *Acacius*. For all Followers and Communicators [that is, those that held Communion] with Hereticks, who had heretofore been condemned by a special Sentence, are to be understood as condemned together with the same Hereticks. So says Pope *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the Orientals (which was first published by *Jacobus Symondus*,) in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*. I know what Answer is given by *Baronius* at the year of Christ 484, chap. 21: to wit, that *Gelasius* speaks concerning an Oecumenical Synod. But by *Baronius*'s favour, this Answer is not satisfactory. For the Greeks in this affair made no difference between a General and a particular Council. But in general they affirmed, that *Acacius* had been condemned in no Synod particularly convened upon his account. For thus Pope *Gelasius* writes in the forementioned Epistle, speaking to the Orientals, in these words: *An de uno dolet Acacio, quod specialis Synodo non fuerit confutatus, &c. Are you troubled about one Acacius, because he has not been confuted in a special Synod; whereas he himself in his own Letters hath detected his own Crime; nor having already voluntarily confessed, ought he to be heard; and are you not troubled about so great Catholick Prelates without any Examination secluded?* Pope *Gelasius* confesses ingenuously, that *Acacius* had been convicted and heard in no special Synod. 'Tis certain, neither of those two Roman Synods, wherein *Acacius* was condemned, were convened upon his account. For the former was assembled on the account of *Vitalis* and *Misenus* the Legates of the Apostolick See; wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were indeed condemned: but *Petrus* Bishop of Alexandria and *Acacius*, were only reprehended and by the by reproved, as *Evagrius* tells us a little after this. But the latter Synod was assembled on the account of the Antiochian Church, on the same year, as Pope *Felix* informs us, in his Synodick Letter to all the Presbyters and Archbishops at Constantinople and throughout Bithynia. In which Synod *Petrus* Bishop of Antioch was indeed chiefly and most especially condemned; who having ejected *Calcedion*, had invaded the Antiochian See. But *Petrus* Bishop of Alexandria and *Acacius* Bishop of Constantinople, were only condemned as the Associates and Communicators of the same *Petrus*; as the Subscription annexed to the same Letter doth declare [in these words] *Candidus Tiburtine Civitatis Episcopus, &c. I Candidus Bishop of the Tiburtine City, following the authority of the Apostolick See, set forth by the Catholick deliberation of us all, according to the State of the Church; pronouncing an Anathema to Petrus the breeder of the Alexandrian Church, and to Acacius sometime of the Constantinopolitan Church, also to Petrus [Bishop] of Antioch, who have heretofore been rightly and deservedly separated from the Episcopal [Dignity] and number of Christians, and to all their followers, have subscribed, &c.* But whereas the Greeks complained that Pope *Felix* had prefixed his own Name only before that Sentence; *Felix*, in the forecited Letter, answers this Objection thus, in these words: *Unde nec causa Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ apud B. Petrum Apostolum collecta, &c. Whence being at this present convened before the Blessed Apostle Peter on account of the Antiochian Church, we have again insisted to shew your love the usage which was always obtained amongst us. As often as the Lords and Prelates are convened within Italy on account of Ecclesiastical Causes, especially of Faith, an usage is retained, that the Successor of the Prelates of the Apostolick See, in the Name [or Person] of all the Prelates of all Italy, agreeable to the Case of all the Churches appertaining to them, should constitute all things.* Pope *Julius* had said the same long before *Felix*, in his Letter to the Orientals, which *Athanasius* records in his Apologeticke. But now, as to the second Objection <sup>a</sup> of the Easterns, concerning *Acacius*'s being condemned without any Examination; that is sufficiently answered by Pope *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the Orientals, the words whereof we have produced above. *Vales.*

has related; for (some of those Persons who lead a Monastick Life in that termed *The Monastery of the \* Acæmeti*, delivered it;) *Acacius* would not admit of, nor acknowledge. And these things have indeed [in this manner] been written by *Zacharias*: but he seems to me, to have had no exact knowledge of the matters at that time transacted; but, to have given us a very lame, maimed, and imperfect account; to wit, those things only which he had from Report and Hear-say. I my self therefore will give an accurate Narrative of that whole Transaction. <sup>b</sup> Libels having been presented to *Felix* by *Johannes* against *Acacius*, because he illegally held Communion with *Petrus*, and on account of other things done by him contrary to the Canons; the Bishops *Vitalis* and *Misenus* are sent <sup>c</sup> from *Felix* to [the Emperour] *Zeno*, [with the requests,] that the Synod at *Chalcedon* might be confirmed, that *Petrus* might be expelled [from his See] as being an Heretick, and that *Acacius* should be sent to *Felix*, to give an account of those matters; whereof *Johannes* (of whom we have made frequent mention) might accuse him.

\* That is, the Monks who did not sleep.

<sup>b</sup> Some time before this, *Johannes Tabennesi-ora* (after he had been ejected out of his See,) had come to Rome, and had made his Case known to

Pope *Simplicius*. But he had not presented a Libel to him; but had only persuaded him, that he would write to *Acacius* in defence of his Cause. Which thing Pope *Simplicius* performed with a ready and willing mind. But *Acacius*, having received *Simplicius*'s Letters, returned Answer, that he in no wise acknowledged *Johannes* Bishop of Alexandria: but, had received *Petrus Mongus* to Communion, by order of the Emperour *Zeno*. At which Letters *Simplicius* being highly incensed, wrote back, that *Acacius* had not done what was regular and orderly, in that he had received *Petrus* to Communion, who stood condemned by the common Sentence of them both. And when *Johannes* was preparing to offer a Libel to the Pope, containing various Crimes against *Acacius*; in the interim *Simplicius* was prevented by death, before *Acacius* had given Answer to his last Letters, as *Liberatus* tells us in his *Breviarium*. But after *Felix* had been put into *Simplicius*'s place, *Johannes* presented that Libel to Pope *Felix*, which he had before made ready to offer to *Simplicius*. Who forthwith sent a Libel of Citation to *Acacius* by the Bishops *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, ordering him to come to Rome immediately, and give in his Answer before the Apostolick See, to the Libel of *Johannes* the Bishop; as 'tis recorded in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*, and in the Libel of Citation transmitted to *Acacius*. *Vales.*

<sup>c</sup> Περὶ τῶ φιλανθῶ ὡς τὸν ζῶονα. The words are transposed; which I restore thus; εἰλλον ὡς τῶ φιλανθῶ πρὸς τὸ ζῶονα, are sent from Felix to [the Emperour] *Zeno*. *Vales.*

C H A P. XIX.

Concerning *Cyrillus* Governour of the Monastery of the *Acæmeti*, how he sent some Persons to *Felix* at Rome, inciting him to revenge what had been committed against the Faith.

<sup>a</sup> BUT before their arrival at the Imperial City, *Cyrillus* Governour of those [Monks] termed the *Acæmeti*, sends [some Persons] to *Felix*, complaining of his slackness, in regard so great offences were committed against the true Faith. *Felix* therefore writes to *Misenus* and those who accompanied him, [ordering them] to do nothing before they should have had a Conference with *Cyrillus*, and might be informed from him what was to be done.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ ἧ δὲ τέρους φιλῶναι τὸ βασιλείαν. *Nicephorus* has excellently well explained this place of *Evagrius*, in these

words: Περὶ ἧ βασιλείαν καὶ μισθόνον τὰ ἐν παλαιῇ ἡλικίᾳ φιλῶναι τὸ βασιλείαν, &c. But before *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, coming from Rome, had arrived at the Imperial City, &c. In *Evagrius* therefore it must be written thus; πρὶν ἢ τῶ φιλῶναι τὸ βασιλείαν. For so *Evagrius* does usually call Constantinople; as hereafter, at chap. 25. *Vales.*

<sup>b</sup> There were two Monasteries at Constantinople which were termed [The Monasteries] of the *Acæmeti*, to wit, [The Monastery] of *Bassianus*, and that of *Dius*. They had taken the Name of *Bassianus* and of *Dius* from their Founders. But they had the Appellation of *Acæmeti*, [or, *Acæmetia*,] given them, because they celebrated



e All other  
Authors  
relate, that  
*Mongus*  
was ordai-  
ned by  
one Ei-  
shop, and  
he an He-  
retick. So  
says *Aca-*  
*cius* in hi

accounts *Misenus* and *Vitalis* were removed from the Sacerdotal Function, and separated from the undefiled Communion; the whole Synod having given their vote in these express words: *The Church of the Romans doth not receive [to Communion] the Heretick Petrus, who hath long since been both condemned by the Vote of the Sacred Chair, and also Excommunicated and Anathematized. Against whom (though nothing else were objected, yet) even this would be sufficient, that having been ordained by Hereticks, he could not preside over the Orthodox.* This also was contained <sup>b</sup> *But, that Acacius* [in the said Sentence:] <sup>b</sup> *But, that Acacius* [Bishop] of Constantinople deserves a severe reproof, the thing it self has demonstrated; because in his Letter to Simplicius he has termed *Petrus an Heretick, but at this present hath not*



*Florentine MS.* detected it to the Emperour: for he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this; but he loves the Emperour with a greater ardency of affection, than he has for the Faith. But let us reduce our Relation to the following Series of affairs. There is extant an Epistle of Acacius's, [written in ten] to the Bishops in Egypt, and to the Eccle-

*Florentine Manuscript* at the side of these words, this Scholion was written; Οὐ λήγῃ ἐπὶ ἐπαύδῃ τῶς πρῶτης τῶν Ἀκακίου ὑπὸ τῆς ῥήσεως καὶ ἀποδοχῆς. Θεόδορος δὲ ὁ μὲν καὶ ὁ κίλιξ βασιλεῖς πρῶτος αὐτὸ φασί. That is, This Author does not say here expressly, that Acacius was deposed by the [Bishop] of Rome: but Theodorus and Basilus Cilix do manifestly affirm this. Nicephorus (book 16 chap. 17.) attests the same concerning Basilus Cilix. Further, our Evagrius is undeservedly reproved by that Scholiast, because at this place he speaks nothing of Acacius's Deposition. Evagrius does here relate all things that were transacted in the Roman Synod, which was convened in the year of Christ 484. against Vitalis and Misenus Legates of the Apostolick See. In that Synod Vitalis and Misenus were indeed deprived of the honour of the Priesthood. But Acacius was only reprehended and rebuked, as 'tis apparent from the Decree of the Synod, here recorded by Evagrius. After this, Felix sent his Synodick Letters to Acacius; wherein these words occurred; Peccasti, ne adjicias, & de prioribus supplica, You have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for [your] former [failings.] After receipt of which Letters, when Acacius still stood out, and committed Facts worse than the former; Pope Felix (the Bishop's being a second time convened,) promulgated a Sentence of Deposition against Acacius, and directed it to Acacius, by Tutus Defensor of the Roman Church; which [Sentence] begins thus: Multarum transgressionum reperis obnoxius, You are found guilty of many transgressions. That these things were transacted in this manner, Pope Felix informs us in his Synodick Letter, to the Presbyters and Archimandrites at Constantinople and throughout Bithynia. For, after he had written concerning Vitalis and Misenus, and concerning Acacius, who were condemned in the Roman Synod, he adds these words: Post illam sententiam quæ in Acacium perturbatores totius Orientis Ecclesie dicta est, &c. After that Sentence which hath been pronounced against Acacius, the disturber of the whole Eastern Church, being now also convened, we have added to these Letters, &c. And a little after; Unde nunc causâ Antiochene Ecclesie, &c. Wherefore being at this present convened in the presence of the Blessed Apostle Peter on account of the Antiochian Church, we do again hasten to declare to your love the Custom which hath always obtained amongst us. From which words it appears, that this Letter was written by Felix, in the name of the third Roman Synod, which had been assembled on account of the Antiochian Church; which after Calcedon was ejected, Petrus Fullo had invaded. In this Synod therefore Felix had dictated the Sentence against Acacius, (which begins thus; Multarum transgressionum reperis obnoxius, You are found guilty of many transgressions;) and had transmitted it to Acacius, by Tutus the Defensor. Nor can any one say, that that Sentence was pronounced before in the second Roman Synod, at such time as Vitalis and Misenus were condemned; but was sent a little afterwards by Felix, by the order of the Third Roman Synod. For Evagrius refutes this, who does not say, that the Sentence of Deposition was pronounced against Acacius in that Roman Synod wherein Vitalis and Misenus were condemned. Besides, Liberatus in his Breviarium (chap. 18.) does manifestly declare, that that Sentence of Deposition against Acacius was pronounced long after the Condemnation of Vitalis and Misenus. For hear what Liberatus says; Rediunt aliquando Legati. Sed præcesserunt Monachi, &c. At length the Legates return. But the Monks had gone before, who in a grievous manner accused them of Treachery. Having been forthwith heard and convicted from those Letters which they had brought, they were removed from their own places. And after some few words; Ubi ergo ad plenum detectus est Acacius Hæreticus, &c. When therefore the Heretick Acacius was fully detected, Pope Felix put these words in his Synodick Letters: You have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for [your] former [failings.] Acacius having received these Letters, persists in the same mind, neither receding from Petrus's Communion, nor yet persuading him openly to embrace the Chalcedon Synod and the Tome of Pope Leo. Pope Felix understanding this, sent a Writing of Condemnation to Acacius by Tutus the Defensor; the beginning whereof is this, You are found guilty of many Transgressions. Valef. Καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπᾷ. In the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. and in Nicephorus, the Reading is, ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἀγαπᾷ, Loves not the Faith. But it would be better written thus; ἢ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἀγαπᾷ. Thus Christopherson seems to have read, and so we have rendered it. At the Clause immediately foregoing, instead of [λέον ἐπὶ ἡγάπα τὴν ζωὴν τὸ τοῦ πρῶτου, For he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this;] I would rather read thus; ἐπεὶ ἡγάπα τὸ πρῶτον μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ζήνῳ, &c. Whereas, if he had loved the Faith rather than Zeno, he ought to have done this. After the Roman Synod which was convened on the account of Vitalis and Misenus, and wherein Vitalis and Misenus had been condemned; but Petrus and Acacius were only reproved and rebuked; it was consequent that Evagrius should have spoken concerning the

Sentence of Deposition pronounced against Acacius, and sent to Constantinople by Tutus the Defensor. And yet Evagrius has not done this here. Whereof two Reasons may be assigned. For, either this was done by Evagrius in Reverence to the Constantinopolitan See; or else, because Evagrius had related that before from Zacharias Rhetor; as may be seen in the eighteenth Chapter. What therefore he had declared there, he look'd upon as superfluous to repeat at this place. Valef.

fasticks and Monks, and to the whole Body of the Laity; wherein he has attempted to repair and make up the Schism which had hapned. Concerning which affair he wrote also to Petrus Bishop of Alexandria.

## CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Disturbances at Alexandria, and in several [other] places, on account of the Synod at Chalcedon.

THE Schism therefore increasing at Alexandria, Petrus (after he had again <sup>a</sup> Anathematized Leo's Epistle, and the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod, and those Persons who would not embrace the Writings of Dioscorus and Timotheus;) persuaded some of the Bishops and Archimandrites to communicate with himself. And because he could not induce others [to do the same,] he drove most of them from their own Monasteries. For which Reasons <sup>b</sup> Nephalius <sup>b</sup> Liberatus made a journey to the imperial City, and gave Zeno an account of these matters. Whereat Zeno was sorely troubled, and sends Cosmas, one of his own Protectors [to Alexandria;] who gave forth many and great Menaces against Petrus on account of [procuring an] Unity, in regard by his own roughness he had raised a great Dissension. But Cosmas, when nothing succeeded according to his wish and design, returned to the Imperial City, having only restored the ejected Monks to their own Monasteries. Again therefore the Emperour sends Arsenius, whom he had preferred to be Prefect of Egypt and Dux of the Companies of the Militia. He being arrived at Alexandria in company with Nephalius, made a Speech concerning Unity. But when he could not persuade [them to it,] he sent some of them to the Imperial City. Moreover, many Disputes were held before Zeno concerning the Synod at Chalcedon: but nothing was brought to effect, because Zeno did not \* wholly assent to the \* Or, fully, Synod at Chalcedon.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Fravita and Euphemius [Bishops] of Constantinople; and concerning Athanasius and Johannes [Bishops] of Alexandria: also concerning Palladius and Flavianus [Prelates] of Antioch; and concerning some other Persons.

BUT Acacius [Bishop] of Constantinople having <sup>a</sup> in this interim gone the common way [of Mankind,] Fravita succeeded him in his Bishoprick. Further, 'tis to be observed; that Evagrius does in the first place relate Acacius's death. For, of those three Schismatics who rent in sunder the Oriental Church, (to wit, Acacius Bishop of Constantinople, Petrus of Alexandria, and Petrus of Antioch;) the first that departed out of this Life (says Evagrius) was Acacius; then Petrus [Bishop] of Alexandria, who was termed Mongus; and last



last of all died *Petrus Fullo*. But *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon* relates, that the first that died of those three I have mentioned, was *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Antioch*. For his words are these: *Post Consulatum secundum Longini, &c. After Longinus's second Consulate, Petrus [Bishop] of Antioch dies under condemnation, and in his place Calendion is ordained. But the Eastern Bishops, as Persons ignorant, consecrate Johannes surnamed Codonatus, Bishop over the said Antiochian Church, to whom succeeded Petrus the Heretick. This was the year of Christ 488. Dynamius and Sifidius being Consuls. But on the year following, wherein Probinus and Eusebius were Consuls, the same Victor Tunonensis records Acacius's death in these words: Eusebio V. C. Cos. Acacius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus sub damnatione moritur, &c. The most famous Personage Eusebius being Consul, Acacius Bishop of Constantinople dies under condemnation, and in his room Flavita is ordained Bishop; to whom (he dying in the third month of his Promotion,) Euphemius Keeper of the Decrees of the Chalcedon Synod was successor in the Bishoprick. And on the next year, Longinus and Faustus being the second time Consuls, the same Victor relates, that Petrus [Bishop] of Alexandria died under Condemnation. But Baronius, in his *Ecclesiastick Annals*, relates indeed the death of these three Schismatics in the same order with *Victor Tunonensis*, but not on the same year. For he says, that *Petrus Fullo* died on the year of our Lord's Nativity 486. And, that *Acacius* died two years after that, that is, on the year of Christ 488: But in *Mongus's* death he agrees exactly with *Victor*. But I had rather follow *Victor's* Opinion, who places *Fullo's* death on the year of Christ 488. For *Calendion* was created Bishop of *Antioch* on the year of our Lord's Nativity 482, as 'tis manifest from Pope *Simplicius's* Epistle; and in regard he held that Bishoprick four years, as *Theophanes* does attest; it must necessarily be said that *Petrus Fullo*, who on *Calendion's* being ejected was put into his place, had possession of the See of *Antioch* on the year of Christ 486. But who can believe that *Petrus Fullo*, who committed so many and such notorious Facts during the time of his Episcopate, should have died a few months after his promotion? *Petrus Fullo* therefore died not on the year of Christ 486, as *Baronius* thought. But this Argument is with ease refuted; for 'tis grounded barely on *Theophanes's* Authority, who attributes four years to *Calendion's* sitting Bishop. But *Calendion* sat Bishop during the space of one year only. For he was ejected by the treachery of his Ordainer *Acacius*, a little after the *Roman Synod*, on the year of Christ 483; as we are informed from Pope *Felix's* Letter to all the Presbyters and Archimandrites at Constantinople and throughout Bithynia, and from the Author of the *Gesta de Nomine Acacii*. But *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* are notoriously mistaken who relate that *Petrus Fullo* departed this life after *Petrus Mongus*. Whom Pope *Gelasius* has refuted in his Epistle to the Orientals, who does attest that of those two *Petrus Fullo* died first. *Valef.**

<sup>b</sup> *Theophanes* Bishoprick. And when this <sup>b</sup> *Flavita* had sent *nes* relates, *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, *Petrus* on his part returned him answer that *Flavita* wrote *Synodick Letters* to things [with what I have mentioned] concerning *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, wherein he denied that he communicated with *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*. And on the other hand, that he sent *Synodick Letters* to *Felix*, wherein he declared to him, that he had no society or Communion with *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*. *Theophanes* attests only three months continuance in his Bishoprick to the same *Flavita*; as does likewise *Victor Tunonensis*; and not four, as *Evagrius* affirms in this Chapter. *Valef.*

Both these [Prelates] Letters are extant, as well that from *Flavita* to *Petrus*, as that from *Petrus* to *Flavita*; which, by reason of their prolixity, I have omitted. When therefore *Euphemius* and *Petrus* were about to contend one with another, and to convene Synods one against the other; *Petrus* is prevented by death, and *Athanasius* succeeds him in his Chair. He attempted to unite the dissenting Persons; but could not effect it, the disagreeing Parties being divided into <sup>c</sup> various Opinions.

<sup>c</sup> There were at *Alexandria* two sorts of Hereticks; to wit, the *Dioscorita*, and the *Esfaziani*: concerning whom *Liberatus* speaks in his *Breviary*. The *Dioscorita* wholly condemned and anathematized the *Chalcedon Synod*. But the *Esfaziani*, following *Zeno's* Edict [that is, his *Henoticon*,] did not indeed in any wise admit that Synod; yet they pronounc'd not an *Anathema* against it. *Valef.*

This *Athanasius* having after this sent *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Successor to <sup>a</sup> *Petrus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, did the same [that *Petrus* had done] in relation to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The very same was likewise performed by *Johannes*, who after *Athanasius* succeeded in the *Alexandrian* Chair. And after the death of *Palladius* Prelate of the Church at *Antioch*, when *Flavianus* had succeeded him in his Chair, *Solomon* a Presbyter of *Antioch* is sent by him to *Alexandria*, who carried <sup>\*</sup> his *Synodick Letters*, and <sup>\*</sup> *Flavianus's* Letter in answer to *Flavianus*. But after this *Johannes*, another *Johannes* succeeds in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And these things proceeded in the same manner [as I have mentioned] † till the beginning of [the Emperour] *Anastasius's* Reign. For he ejected *Euphemius* [out of his Bishoprick.] Which [transactions] I was necessitated to joyn together in one continued series, both for perspicuity's sake, and also that they might with more celerity be understood.

had survived *Petrus Alexandrinus*, doubtless *Athanasius*, who succeeded *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, would have sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For these *Synodick Letters* were wont to be sent by the Patriarchs at the very beginning of their Patriarchate. In regard therefore *Athanasius* sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Bishop of *Antioch*, it appears from thence, that *Petrus Antiochenus* died long before *Petrus Alexandrinus*. Further, concerning *Athanasius's* *Synodick Letters*, *Liberatus* in his *Breviary* says these words, *Non post multum tempus, &c. No long time after dies also Petrus Mongus at Alexandria, and after him Athanasius is ordained in that See: who himself also communicated with the Constantinopolitan, Antiochian, and Hierosolymitan Church in the Edict. Valef.*

## CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the slaughter of *Armatus*, who was kinsman to the Empress *Verina*.

BUT *Zeno*, by the perswasion of *Illus*, slew *Armatus* also, who was the Empress *Verina's* kinsman, whom, when he sent [against him] <sup>a</sup> *Zeno* by *Basiliscus*, *Zeno* had <sup>a</sup> ensnared with gifts, brought over *Armatus* to his own side, not only by gifts and presents, but by promises also. For he promised, that as soon as he had recovered the Empire, he would make *Armatus* Perpetual Magister [or Master,] of the present Milice; and his Son *Basiliscus*, *Cæsar*, and his own *Assessor*; as *Theophanes* tells us in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107. Whose words, because they are corrupted, nor could be understood by the Translatour, I will annex here. *Ἄλλο δὲ ποτὶ τοὺς παρὰ Ζήνωνος, καὶ ἔτι ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ πωλεῖται, καὶ ἰσχυρὰ διαδίδεται ἐπιμαχίας, καὶ τὸν ὕδιν αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν καὶ αἰσχροπρεπὲς ἐπιμαχίας (ὡς καὶ δεδωκεν αὐτῷ, σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικὴ ἐπαγγελία). That is, But he also (as it frequently [happens,]) being blinded with gifts [sent] from *Zeno*, and with a promise of the perpetual Mastership of the Milice, and that *Zeno* would make his Son *Basiliscus*, *Cæsar*, and his *Assessor*; returned with *Zeno* against *Basiliscus*. I write therefore, καὶ ἰσχυρὰ διαδίδεται ἐπιμαχίας, and with a promise of the perpetual Mastership of the Milice. *Theophanes* terms the perpetual Mastership of the Milice ἀδιάδοχον ἐπιμαχίαν. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* does fully confirm our Emendation. For he writes, that *Zeno* had made a promise to *Armatus*, that he would grant to him the Magisterial power of the present Milice as long as he should live. *Suidas* relates much concerning this *Armatus*, in the word ἀρμάτω; which seems to have been taken out of *Damascius* in the Life of *Hysdorus* the Philosopher. *Valef.**



CHAP. XXV.

\*Or, Theodoricus. Concerning the Rebellion of \* Theodoricus the Scythian; and concerning the same person's death.

**T**heodoricus, by Nation a Scythian, made an insurrection also against Zeno: and having gathered together his own Forces in the [Country] of the Thracians, undertakes an Expedition against † him. And when he had ruined all the Countries before him, as far as the mouth of Pontus, he wanted but little of taking the Imperial City it self; [and had seized it,] had not some of his Greatest Confidants, induced thereto [by gifts,] entred into a Consult || about taking him off. Being informed therefore of this ill design of his own friends against him, he marched back; and not long after this is numbred amongst those departed this life. Moreover, I will declare the manner of his death, which hapned thus. <sup>a</sup> A Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with, was hung up before his Tent, agreeable to the mode of the Barbarians. Having therefore a mind to exercise his body, he ordered his horse to be brought to him. And it being not customary with him to make use of a <sup>b</sup> Strator, he mounted his horse without any help. But the horse, being a beast unmanaged and fiery, before Theodoricus had bestridden him and settled himself, rises with his fore-feet, and began to go forwards upright on his hinder feet only. So that Theodoricus striving with his horse, and not daring to curb him with the Bridle, least he should fall backwards upon him, nor yet being firmly seated in his Saddle, was tossed this way and that way, and thrown upon the point [of his Javelin,] which ran obliquely into him, and wounded his side. Being conveyed from thence therefore to his bed, and having continued alive some few days, he died of that wound.

the Greek one. But Christopherson has rendred it worst of all, thus, *Hastam cuspidē bifidā, a Javelin with a double point.* I have translated it *Hastam amentatam, a Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with.* For ἀσπίς is the same with Amentum; to wit, the thong wherewith Darts or Javelins were bound about, that they might be cast against the Enemy. The Old Glosses out of the Library of Petrus Daniel quoted by Turnebus, explain it thus: *Amentum, corrigia lanceæ, quæ etiam ansula est ad jactum, that is, Amentum, the Latchets of a Lance, which is also a little handle to cast it.* Where ansula is the same with ἀσπίς, to wit, that whereby a Dart is held that it may be thrown. Hesychius expounds ἀσπίς thus, τὸ ἐνέσσει τὸν ἀσπίδα τῇ ἀσπίδι τὸ ἀσπίς. Τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτοιμῷ ἔῃ, to fit [or clasp together] the fingers about the leather-latchet of a missile-weapon. It is likewise used to signifie, to be ready. So Æschylus made use of this phrase, ἀσπίς καὶ κότλας, sounds made by the lashings of leather-thongs. [See Hesychius, in the word κότλας:] a Metaphor taken ἀπὸ τοῦ δρεπάνου, ἀπὸ ἀσπίδος καὶ ἀσπίδος ἐνέσσειν, from those Javelins, which they termed amentata [that is, fitted with loops of leather to sling them with;] as Eustathius tells us, at the Second Book of the Iliads. Now, there was a double use of the Amentum. For, it conduced both to the holding of the Dart, and also that it might be thrown against the Enemy with a greater force. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀναβολὴ δὲ ἐκ εἰσῶς χειρὸς. In the incomparable Florentine MS. I found it plainly written ἀναβολῆς, as Learned men had conjectured the reading should be. Now, ἀναβολῆς is the same with him whom the Latines term a Strator, who is wont to lift his Master on horseback; as Suidas attests: in which Author there is a passage extant of an ancient Writer, who says these words concerning King Massanissa, δὲ μασσανισσῶς ἡγεστὸς ἵππῳ χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς ἐπέβαινε, But this Massanissa when he was old mounted his horse without a Strator. Where Suidas seems to have taken the word ἀναβολῆς for a Scale which we vulgarly term a Stirrup. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀνασείζειν. I think it must be made ἀνασείζειν, as 'tis in the Tellerian MS. For so the Analogy requires it should; as from πείζει is derived πείζειν. Suidas expounds ἀνασείζειν thus, ἀνδράκειν,

ἀναχάινειν, to pull back, to curb. But Nicephorus, instead of this word, made use of ἀνασείζειν, to repress, or, to draw back. Further, the death of Theodoricus hapned on the year of Christ 481, as Marcellinus in his Chronicon attests, in these words: *Placidio solo Coff. Theodoricus Triarii filius Rex Gothorum, &c. Placidius being Consul alone Theodoricus Triarius's Son King of the Goths, taking his Forces [along with him] as far as Anaplum, arrives at the distance of four miles from the City; but having done no harm to any of the Romans, returned forthwith. Further, hasting into Illyricum, whilst he was going between the moving Carriages of his own Army, he is wounded and stricken thorow with the point of a dart lying upon one of the Wagons, [occasioned] by the motion of his own horse who started, and dies. Valef.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Marcianus's Insurrection; and what hapned in Relation to him.

**A**fter these things, Marcianus (the Son of <sup>a</sup> Anthemius who had been Emperour of <sup>b</sup> Theophanes relates Rome, a kinsman by marriage to Leo Zeno's predeceffour in the Empire; for he had married Leontia Leo's younger daughter;) having disagreed with Zeno, made an attempt [to set up for a Tyrant. [And a sharp engagement hapning about the Palace, wherein many fell on either side; Marcianus routs his opposers. And [by that attack] had posselt himself of the Palace, had he not let that opportunity slip, by deferring that action till the morrow. For, Opportunity is a swift-wing'd Bird, and, whilst she flies at your feet, may peradventure be taken. But after she has avoided your hands, on a sudden she mounts on high, and derides those who pursue her, not suffering her self to be catcht by them in future. On which account therefore \* Statuaries \* Or, I and Painters make her hair long before, but mage-ma-shave the hinder part of her head to the very kers. skin: with great prudence intimating thereby, that as long as Opportunity is behind, she may be perhaps laid hold on by her long hair: but being got before, she makes a perfect escape, not having any thing whereby she may be taken hold of by the Pursuer. Which very thing at that time befell Marcianus, who lost that opportunity which was seasonably offered him, and was not in future able to recover it. For, on the morrow he was betrayed by his own party; and having been wholly deserted, fled to the Church of the Divine Apostles. Whence he was drawn out by force, and banish'd to Cæsarea a City of the Cappadocians. Where keeping company with some Monks, he was afterwards found out to design a private escape. On which account he was by the Emperour sent to Tarsus of Cilicia, and having had his hair shorn, is ordained a Presbyter. These Transactions are with great elegancy written by Eustathius the Syrian.



## CHAP. XXVII.

## Concerning the Tyranny of Illus and Leontius.

THE same *Eustathius* relates, that *Zeno* framed innumerable designs and intrigues, even against *Verina* his own mother in Law; and, that after these things, he banish'd her into the Country of the *Cilicians*: but, that afterward, when *Illus's* Tyranny broke out, *Verina* remov'd to that termed the *Castle of Papirius*, and there ended her life. Moreover, the same *Eustathius* hath written the Affairs of *Illus* with much Eloquence; how, having been treacherously laid wait for by *Zeno*, he made his escape; and, in what manner *Zeno* delivered up that person [to *Illus*] to be put to death, whom he had ordered to murder *Illus*; [paying him with] the loss of his head, which reward *Zeno* gave him for his unsuccessfulness in that attempt. *Illus* also was declared Master of the *Oriental Milice* by *Zeno*, who made made it his business to conceal [those treacherous designs he had framed against *Illus*.] But *Illus*, having taken into an association with himself *Leontius*, and one *Marsus* a person eminent and skilful, and *Pamprepius*, went into the Eastern parts. Then [the said *Eustathius* relates] *Leontius's* being proclaimed Emperour, which was done at *Tarsus* of *Cilicia*; and also, what these persons got by their Tyranny; *Theodoricus* (a person by original extract a *Goth*, and who was a man of eminency amongst the *Romans*,) being sent against them, with an Army consisting partly of *Romans* and partly of *Barbarians*. The same *Eustathius* does very ingeniously describe the slaughter of these persons, which in a cruel manner was effected by *Zeno's* order, [he repaying them with this reward] for their Benevolence [they had shown] to himself: and, that *Theodoricus*,<sup>a</sup> made sensible of *Zeno's* treacherous designs [against himself,] departed to the *Seniour Rome*: (But others affirm,<sup>b</sup> that [Theodoricus made this journey into Italy] by *Zeno's* perswasion:) and having vanquished *Odoacer* in an Engagement, made himself Master of *Rome*, and assumed to himself the name [only] of King.

<sup>a</sup> This is made sensible of *Zeno's* treacherous designs, &c. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> It is truer written, thus, *ἡς ἐνέσταντο*, &c. made sensible of *Zeno's* treacherous designs, &c. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ὁς ἐν τῷ δώμῳ ζήσων*. Translatours saw not the meaning of this place; they were deceived by an ill punctuation. But, by placing a middle distinction after these words, I have cast a light upon this passage. For *Evagrius* says, two reasons were brought, which had moved *Theodoricus* to go into Italy. The first was because *Zeno* plotted against him. The second is assigned in these words, But others affirm that, &c. Indeed, in the *Excerpta* of that old Author, which I publish'd long since at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Theodoricus* is said to have gone into Italy with the consent of *Zeno*. For these are the words there, at pag. 479; *Zeno recompensans beneficiis Theodoricum*, &c. *Zeno recompensans Theodoricum with gifts, whom he made Patricius and Consul, giving him much; and sending him into Italy, made an agreement with him, that if Odoacer should be vanquished, from the merit of his own labours, he should only reign before, in his room whilst he should live. [Loco ejus dum adviveret, in his room whilst he should live; so 'tis worded in this note of Valefius's here: but in the forementioned Excerpta of the old Author, the reading is, loco ejus dum adviveret, in his room whilst he should come.] Jordanes does also attest the same in his Geticks, and in his Book de Successione Regnorum.* *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## Concerning Mammianus, and the \* Structures \* Or, [built by] him.

*Johannes* the Rhetorician relates, that during the Reign of *Zeno*, one *Mammianus*, from being a *Sedentary Mechanick*, became an eminent person, and arrived at the *Senatorian Order*; and, that this *Mammianus* built that Edifice termed The *Antiphorum* in the Suburb *Daphne*, (which place had before had Vines in it, and was fit for Tillage;) opposite to the publick Bath; wherein is erected a Brazen Statue, [with this Inscription,] MAMMIANUS A LOVER OF THE CITY. [The same *Johannes* adds,] that he raised two Royal Porticus's in the City, for building very magnificent, and beautified with the splendour and brightness of Stones. And, that between the two Royal Porticus's, The *Tetrapylum* a middle Edifice was erected by him, most exquisitely adorned with Columns and \* Brass. \* Or, *mar.* I myself have seen the Royal Porticus's, which, together with their name, do still retain the Remains of their former Beauty; their floor being paved with *Proconnesian* Marble. But, the [rest of the] Building has nothing of excellency. For, by reason of those Calamities which have befallen them, they have of late been repair'd, nothing being added that might beautifie them. But, of the *Tetrapylum* erected by *Mammianus* we have not found so much as the very \* Foundation. \* Or, Footstep.

<sup>a</sup> So a certain Building seems to be termed, which served instead of a Forum. *Evagrius* says, this Edifice was in the *Daphnesian Suburb*, over against [or, opposite to] the publick Bath. For that is the import of these words, *ἐν τῷ τῷ ἀντιφωρίῳ βαλανείῳ*. *Musculus* renders *ἐν τῷ*, recta ad publicum Balneum, straightforth to the publick Bath. Which I approve not of: for *ἐν τῷ* is the same with *ἀντιφωρίῳ*, opposite; as *Suidas* attests. Now, in the *Antiforum* (says *Evagrius*,) *Mammianus's* Statue was erected. Whence it is apparent, that The *Antiforum* was the same with what I have said above. For Statues were wont to be erected in the Forum. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> I agree with *Chrysostom* and *Sir Henry Savil*; who indeed of [*ἐν τῷ τῷ ἀντιφωρίῳ*] have mended it *ἐν τῷ τῷ ἀντιφωρίῳ*, &c. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXIX.

## Concerning Zeno's Death, and the Proclaiming Anastasius Emperour.

FURTHER, *Zeno* dying Childless, of a disease [termed] *Epilepsie*, after the seventeenth year of his Empire; his brother *Longinus*, who had arrived at great power, entertained an hope, that he should invest himself with the Empire. But he proved unsuccessful in his desires. For *Ariadne* encircled *Anastasius* with the [Imperial] Crown, who had not yet arrived at the *Senatorian Order*, but was inrolled in that termed \* The Schole of the *Silentiarii*. Moreover, *Eustathius* relates, that from the beginning of *Dioclesian's* Empire to *Zeno's* death and the Proclaiming of *Anastasius*, there passed Two hundred and seven years: from the Empire of *Augustus*, Five hundred thirty two years and seven months: from the Reign of *Alexander the Macedonian* Eight hundred thirty two years, and likewise seven months: from the Reign of the *Romans* and *Romulus*, Onethousand fifty two years, and moreover seven months: from the destruction of *Troy*, One thousand six hundred eighty and six years, with seven months. This *Anastasius*

<sup>c</sup> See Dr. *Howell's* History second part; pag. 51. Or, *Monarchy*.



*Anastasius* had his original extract at the City *Epidamnus*, which is now termed *Dyrrachium*: and [succeeded] *Zeno* in his Empire, and married \* his Wife *Ariadne*. and in the first place he sends away *Longinus* (*Zeno's* brother, who bore the dignity of a *Magister*, which Officer the Ancients termed *The Prefect of the Offices in the Palace*, into his own Country. Then, [he gave] many other *Isaurians* [a like liberty of returning into their own Country,] who requested the same thing of him.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Concerning the Emperour Anastasius; and how, because he would not innovate anything in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution, the Churches over the whole world were filled with infinite disturbances: and many of the Bishops for that reason were ejected.*

[Further,] This *Anastasius*, being a person very \* studious to promote Peace, would permit no innovation whatever to be made, especially in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution: and took all imaginable Courses, both that the most Holy Churches might continue undisturbed, and also that every person subject to his Government might enjoy a profound Peace; all Animosity and Contention being far removed both from the Ecclesiastick, and from the Civil State of affairs. The Synod therefore at *Chalcedon* was in these times, neither publicly asserted in the most Holy Churches, nor yet wholly rejected: but every one of the Prelates acted according to that Sentiment they had embraced. \* And some of them courageously defended what had been expounded in that Synod, nor would they recede even from one syllable of it's determinations, or admit of the alteration of one Letter: but with much confidence \* separated from, and would in no wise endure to communicate with those, who admitted not of that Synod's Decrees. But others, not only embraced not the Synod at *Chalcedon* and the determinations made by it; but also \* *Anathematized* it, together with *Leo's* Epistle. Othersome stiffly adhered to *Zeno's* *Hennicon*; [which they did] notwithstanding their disagreement amongst themselves concerning the one or the two Natures: these being imposed upon by the \* composition of the Letters; and those having a greater inclination to Peace and Unity. In so much that the Churches of the whole world were divided into private Factions; nor would the Prelates hold Communion one with another. Hence hapned many \* Dissentions both in the East, and in the Western parts

and throughout *Africa*; neither the Eastern Bishops keeping up a Society and Amity with the Western or those of *Africa*, nor yet on the other hand these with the Eastern Prelates. More over, the matter proceeded to an higher Degree of absurdity. For, neither did the Eastern Prelates hold a Communion amongst their own selves; nor [would] those who governed the [Episcopal] Chairs of *Europe* or *Africa* [cherish a communion one with another,] much less with Strangers and Foreigners. Which when the Emperour *Anastasius* perceived, he ejected those Bishops who made any Innovation, out of the Church; where-ever he found any such person, either crying up the Synod of *Chalcedon* contrary to the usage in those places, or else *Anathematizing* it. He ejected therefore out of the Imperial City, in the first place *Euphemius*, as we have related \* before, \* *Chap: 23.* and then *Macedonius*; after whom *Timotheus* was made [Bishop.] *Flavianus* also [was by him ejected] out of *Antioch*.

this place of *Evagrius* can't be otherwise explained. For he brings two reasons, why some persons would not acquiesce in *Zeno's* Edict. He says therefore, that some were deceived by that flattering Oration of the Emperour, which was composed to persuade. But that others, allured with a desire of the peace and repose of the Churches, had acquiesced in this Edict. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The Letter of the Monks of Palestine to Alcison concerning Xenaias and some other persons.*

NOW concerning *Macedonius* and *Flavianus*, the Monks in *Palestine*, in their Letter to \* *Alcison*, say word for word thus: But, \* This *Alcison* was *Petrus* being dead, they were again divided amongst themselves; and *Alexandria* and *Egypt* and *Libya* continued within their own Communion. The rest of the East likewise held a Communion separate from others, \* in regard the Westerns refused communicating with them on any terms, unless to their *Anathematizing* of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and *Dioscorus*, they would add *Petrus* *Mongus* also, and *Acacius*. The Churches therefore over the whole world being in this posture, the genuine [followers] of *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches* were reduced to the smallest number imaginable. And when they were now just a-

alone. *Marcellinus* mentions him in his *Chronicon*, who terms him *Alcissus*. See *Baronius* at the year of *Christ* 516. *Valef.*

\* In regard there were two *Petrus's* at one and the same time, the one Bishop of *Alexandria*, the other of *Antioch*; 'tis uncertain which of those two is here meant. But it seems more probable, that *Petrus* of *Alexandria* should be meant here; because the Monks of *Palestine* do immediately speak of *Alexandria*, of *Egypt*, and of *Libya*. Yet, this meaning is hindered by what is objected by the same Monks; to wit, that after *Petrus's* death *Egypt* held a separate communion, and that the Orientals were disjoyned from their communion. For *Petrus Alexandrinus* was succeeded by *Athanasius*, who wrote Synodick Letters to *Palladius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and was joyned in a communion with him, as I have observed above from *Evagrius* and *Liberatus*. But again, if we should say that *Petrus* of *Antioch* were meant at this place, there would be the same difficulty. But, answer may be made, that the Monks do speak here, not of the Patriarchs themselves, but of a whole *Diocesis*; and of the greatest part of the Bishops. 'Tis certain, after *Petrus Alexandrinus's* death, the Eastern Bishops desired the communion of the Church of *Rome*; as 'tis apparent from *Pope Gelasius's* Letter to the Orientals. *Valef.*

\* Τὴν ἀμικὴν ἀνέχοντων. A negative participle is doubtless to be added, in this manner; ἧς ἀμικὴν μὴ ἀνέχοντων, in regard the Westerns refused; which is the reading in *Nicephorus* and in the *Tellerian MS.* *Valef.*



bout vanishing in such a manner as not to appear any more in the world. One <sup>a</sup> Xenaias, [a person agreeable to his name] truly a stranger from God, (on what design we know not, nor what the Greek the grudge was which he would revenge upon word ξένος, which as most do say, begins to move against Flavianus, signifies a stranger, or, an extraneous person. This Xenaias was Bishop of Hierapolis, else, nor whence he had gathered them. Some of ordained whom had in reality been Asserters of Nestorius's Sentiments: but others of them, suspected to have been [Nestorius's followers,] had Anathematized him, and had ended their lives in the Communion of the Church. Unless (says [Xenaias to Flavianus]) you will Anathematize all those persons who are distempered with Nestorius's Tenets, you are an Embracer of Nestorius's Sentiments, although you should Anathematize him a thousand times, together with his Opinion. By Letters also he excites the Favourers of Dioscorus and Eutyches, perswading them to assist himself against Flavianus, and to require him not to Anathematize the Synod, but the forementioned persons [only.] When Flavianus the Bishop had made a long and stout resistance against these men, and against others who together with Xenaias combined against him, to wit, one <sup>b</sup> Eleusinus Bishop of the Second Cappadocia, Nicias [Bishop] of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other places; (to relate the Causes of which persons \* Or, narrow-sons \* hatred against Flavianus, be-  
\* Or, narrow-sons \* hatred against Flavianus, be-  
ness of mind. longs not to us, but to others: ) at the name length [Flavianus] supposing <sup>c</sup> they would not be Diodorus.

For Xenaias, an Enemy of the Chalcedon Synod, would not have Anathematized Dioscorus, but Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, and the rest. So, 'tis certain, Victor Tunonensis [tells us] in his Chronicon. Johanne Gibbo (says he) Coss. Anastasius Imp. Flaviano, &c. When Johannes Gibbus was Consul, the Emperour Anastasius, Flavianus being Prelate of Antioch, and Philoxenus Bishop of Hierapolis, convenes a Synod at Constantinople; and perswades them to pronounce an Anathema against Dioscorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopuestia together with their writings, [also, against] Theodoret of Cyrus, Ibas of Edessa, Andreas, Eucherius, Quirus and Johannes, Bishops, and against all others who asserted two Natures in Christ, and two Forms, and who confessed not one of the Trinity to have been Crucified, together with Leo Bishop of Rome and his Tome, and together with the Chalcedon Synod. Theophanes confirms the same in his Chronicon, pag. 131. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ νέον καὶ εὐδελόν. Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon terms them Quirus and Eucherius, as we saw in the foregoing note; where Quinegius is put for Cinegius. Further, Nicephorus has at this place substituted the name Eleutherius, instead of Eutychius. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> This Eleusinus [or, Eleusinius] is mentioned by Liberatus in his Breviary chap. 19, in these words, speaking of Severus: Ita ut ob hoc scriberet, &c. So that on this account he would write, even to Flavianus himself, as 'tis signified in his own Epistles, and to Maronus Lecter, and to Eleusinus and Eutychius Bishops, and to Oecumenius Scholasticus of Isauria. The same person is mentioned by Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 128 of the King's Edition; whose words Anastasius Bibliothecarius has rendered thus: Anastasius quiete potius a praelis, Macedonium Patriarcham avertere ab orthodoxa fide satagebat. Multi autem Episcoporum Anastasio gratiam præstantes, Chalcedonensi resistebant Concilio, quorum primus erat Eleusius Sasimensis. Theophanes's words in Greek are these; ἐν πρώτῳ ἦν ἐλεῦσιος ἀσιμένω. But it must be written, ἐλεῦσιος ὁ οὐσίμων, which is the reading in the Vatican Copy. Indeed, the Monks of Palestine do affirm, that this Eleusinus was Bishop of the Second Cappadocia. Now, Sasima is a City of Cappadocia Secunda, (whereof Gregorius Nazianzenus was heretofore Bishop;) as the Old Notitia do inform us, and especially Hierocles. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Δὲ τῶν ἐλεῦσιων. It should, as I think, be written ἐλεῦσιων; or rather, a Negative particle is to be added, in this manner; οὐ τῶν ἐλεῦσιων ἀδὲ τῶν μὴ ἐλεῦσιων ἀδὲ τῶν μὴ ἐλεῦσιων; and we have rendered it accordingly. Nor do I doubt but Evagrius wrote it thus. But Antiquaries [that is, Transcribers of Books,] writing hastily, omitted the Negative particle at this place. Further, by τῶν, these persons, he means Dioscorus Bishop of Tarsus, Theodorus of Mopuestia, Theodoret, and the rest mentioned above. See Theophanes, pag. 131. Valef.

quit in behalf of these persons, yielded to their contentious humour: and having in writing Anathematized the foresaid persons, sent [his Libel] to the Emperour: For they had incensed him against Flavianus, as being an Assertour of Nestorius's Opinion. But Xenaias not satisfied even herewith, required again of Flavianus, that he should Anathematize the Synod it self, and those who asserted two natures in the Lord [Christ,] one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Which when Flavianus had refused to do, Xenaias accused him again, as being a Nestorian. After many debates in reference to this matter, when the <sup>g</sup> Patriarch had drawn up an Exposition of the Faith, wherein he profest that he embraced the Synod as to what related to the Deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, but not as to its definition and doctrine of the Faith; they renewed their Accusations against him, as if he were a secret favourer of Nestorius's Sentiments, unless he would add an Anathematism against the Synod it self also, and against those who asserted two Natures in our Lord, one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Moreover, by their many fraudulent words and expressions, they induced the <sup>h</sup> Isauri also to embrace their own Opinion. And having drawn up a Writing concerning the Faith, wherein they Anathematized the Synod together with those who affirmed two Natures, or Proprieties [in Christ;] they withdrew themselves from a Communion with Flavianus and Macedonius; and enter into society with others, who had subscribed to their Writings. During this interrim, they entreated the Bishop of Jerusalem also, that he would draw up in writing the Form of his own Faith. Which he having set forth, sent it to the Emperour by the followers of Dioscorus.

<sup>i</sup> And that [Copy of it] which they produce, does indeed contain an Anathematism of those who assert two Natures. But, the Bishop of Jerusalem himself affirms, that it has been adulterated by them, and produces another without any such Anathematism. Nor, need this seem a wonder. For they have frequently corrupted the Books of the Fathers. And by [false] Titles have ascribed many of Apollinaris's Books, to Athanasius, to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and to <sup>j</sup> Julius. By which [Books] especially, they have induced many persons to [embrace] their own impiety. Further, they requested of Macedonius a Writing concerning his own Faith. Who set forth an Exposition thereof, affirming that he knew no other Faith save that of the Three hundred and eighteen, and hundred and fifty [Holy Fathers;] and he Anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who assert two Sons, or two Christs, or who divide the Natures: but has made no mention of the Ephesine Synod which deposed Nestorius, nor of that at Chalcedon

attributed some Epistles to Julius Bishop of Rome, which in reality were Apollinaris's. Valef.

<sup>k</sup> So indeed Macedonius behaved himself in the beginning of his Episcopate, whilest he was willing to gratifie the Emperour Anastasius, by whom he had been promoted to the Patriarchate. Therefore, many of the Antient Writers have related, that Macedonius at the beginning had subscribed to Zeno's Henoticon. So, 'tis certain, Theodorus Lecter affirms, whom Baronius has causelessly reprov'd on that account. For Liberatus relates the same in his Breviary chap. 18; where he speaks concerning Johannes Hemula Bishop of Alexandria; and a little after that, where he mentions Johannes Nicaota, Hemula's successor. Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon writes thus concerning Macedonius: Anastasio Aug. Coss. &c. In the Consulate of Anastasius Augustus, Macedonius Bishop of Constantinople, a Synod being convened, condemns those who embraced the Decrees of the Chalcedon Synod, and such as defend [the Sentiments] of Nestorius and Eutyches. Lastly, Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 120, does wholly agree with Theodorus Lecter. Valef.

wherein



wherein Eutyches had been deposed. Whereat the <sup>o</sup> Monasteries about Constantinople were highly offended, and separated from the Communion of Macedonius the Bishop. In the mean while, Xenias and <sup>p</sup> Dioscorus having brought over many of the Bishops to their own party, became intolerable; and raised Tumults against those who refused to Anathematize [the Synod.] And against such as would not in the end yield to them, they framed many stratagems, and caused them to be cast into Exile. In this manner therefore, they banish Macedonius, and <sup>a</sup> Johannes Bishop of Paltum, and Flavianus. These are the Contents of the aforesaid Letter.

from the communion of Macedonius, and [the Monasteries] of those who had subscribed Zeno's Henoticon, as Theophanes tells us in his Chronicon pag. 122. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> This, as I think, is Dioscorus Junior, who succeeded Johannes Nicaota in the Bishoprick of Alexandria. Baronius places his ordination on the year of Christ 516, five years after Macedonius's banishment. To whom agrees Theophanes in his Chronicon. But Liberatus contradicts it, who relates Dioscorus's ordination before the deposition of Macedonius. And this Evagrius confirms here. But, after a more accurate examination of the matter, Dioscorus Junior can't be meant here. For Macedonius was ejected out of his Bishoprick on the year of Christ 511, as 'tis manifest from Marcellinus; and in his room was substituted Timotheus, who forthwith wrote Synodick Letters to Johannes Nicaota Bishop of Alexandria; as Liberatus and Theophanes do attest. Whereas therefore Dioscorus Junior succeeded Nicaota, he must necessarily begin his Precedency after Macedonius's deposition. Wherefore, another Dioscorus is meant here. And perhaps, instead of Dioscorus, it must be written Soterichus. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Concerning this Johannes, Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon writes thus: Theodoro Viro C. Cos. Julianus Bostrenus, &c. The most famous Theodorus being Consul, Julianus of Bostri, and Johannes of Paltum voluntarily left their own Churches, and others are put into their places. But Marcellinus in his Chronicon relates that in the Consulate of Paulus and Muffianus, on the year of Christ 512. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Expulsion of Macedonius [Bishop] of Constantinople, and of Flavianus [Bishop] of Antioch.

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> 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<sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

tion into God's Holy Church, if he should obtain the Imperial Scepter. Which paper Euphemius delivered to Macedonius who was intrusted with the custody of the Sacred Vessels. Euphemius had done these things on this account, because Anastasius was by many persons thought to be addicted to the Manichean Heresy. After Macedonius therefore had ascended the Episcopal Throne, Anastasius was desirous of having his own Caution restored to him, saying it would be a reproach to the Empire, if the forementioned Obligatory-Instrument should be kept [laid up in the Church.] Against which when Macedonius made a resolute opposition, and affirmed that he would not betray the Faith; the Em-

perour [Anastasius] framed all imaginable design against him, resolving to eject him out of his [Episcopal] Chair. Certain Boys therefore who were slanderers, were produced, who falsely accused both themselves, and Macedonius of a filthy and unclean act. But, when it was found that Macedonius was deprived of his Genitals, they betook themselves to other Arts and Designs; till at length, by the advices and persuasions of Celer Master of the Offices at Court, Macedonius withdrew privately from his [Episcopal] Chair. But in the Expulsion of Flavianus, they have added other things. For we have received information from some very aged persons, who perfectly remembred what ever had hapned during Flavianus's being Bishop; which persons do affirm, that those Monks [who dwelt] in that Country termed

<sup>b</sup> Cynegica, and what ever other [Monks] inhabited the first Provinces of the Syrians, perswaded thereto by <sup>c</sup> Xenaias a man [by Extract a Persian;] (which Xenaias was Bishop of Hierapolis a City near to [Antioch,] and by a Greek name he was termed Philoxenus,) flock'd together, and in a tumultuous and very disorderly manner made an irruption into the City [Antioch,] where they would compel Flavianus to Anathematize the Chalcedon Synod and Leo's Epistle. Whereat Flavianus being extremely

troubled, and the Monks pressing on with great violence; the populacy of the City made an Insurrection and slew a great many of the Monks; in so much that a vast number of them had the [River] Orontes for their Tomb, their bodies being buried in its waves. There hapned another thing also, not much inferiour to this. For, the Monks of Syria-Cœle (which is now termed Syria Secunda,) having a mighty affection for Flavianus, because he had lead a Monastick life in a certain Monastery which was situate in a \* Country named Tilmognus; \* Field, or Village: came to Antioch, with a resolution to defend Flavianus: so that at that time also some, and those no small [mischievous accidents] hapned. Whether therefore on account of the former [Tumult,] or by reason of [that disorder we have mentioned] in the second place or for both, Flavianus is ejected and banished to Petra, [a Town] situate in the utmost confines of the Palestines.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Severus Bishop of Antioch.

FLAVIANUS therefore having been ejected, Severus is preferred to the Episcopal Throne of Antioch; on the <sup>a</sup> five Hundred fifty first <sup>b</sup> This was the year of Christ 513. For the first year of the Antiochians precedes the vulgar Era of our Lords Nativity 48. years. Severus therefore entred upon the Bishoprick of Antioch on the year of Christ 513, in the month November, in the sixth Indiction. So Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon: Indi. 6. Clementino & Probo Coss. &c. In the sixth Indiction, Clementinus and Probus being Consuls, Severus a worshipper of Eutyches's perfidiousness, by the desire of Anastasius Cæsar, possessed the See of the Prelate Flavianus, and of a Monk was made a Bishop. Valef.

year



\* See book year of *Antioch's* being \* styled a free City, 2. chap. 12. in the month *Dius*, it being the *Sixth Indiction* note (4.) of the *b* Cycle then [current;] but at this present time wherein we write, it is the Six hundred forty first year. This *Severus* had *Sophorion* *zopolis* for the place of his Nativity, which is one of the Cities of the Province *Pisidia*. He had formerly employed himself in the study of the Law at *Berytus*. But, having afterwards soon left \* those studies, when he had received holy Baptism in the sacred Temple of the divine Martyr *Leontius* who is honoured at *Tripolis* a City of the *c* Maritime *Phœnice*, he betook himself to a Monastick life in a *d* certain Monastery situate in the mid way between the small City *Gaza* and that little Town termed *Majuma*.

then was. For, an *Indiction* is a Circle of fifteen years, after the ending whereof, another Circle begins of as many years. *Evagrius* terms the partition of the Circle of fifteen years, *ἐπινέμωσις τῆς κύκλου*, which the Latines call *Indictionem*, an *Indiction*. But, whereas *Evagrius* says, that *Severus* was ordained on the month *Dius* that is, November; that must necessarily have been done in the seventh *Indiction*. For a new *Indiction* was begun on the month *September*. *Evagrius* has expressed himself in the same manner before, at book 2. chap. 12; where he says these words concerning the Earthquake, which happened at *Antioch* in the times of *Leo Augustus*; ἀνὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ἐπινέμωσιν τῆς κύκλου, on the eleventh partition of the Cycle, that is on the eleventh year of the partition of the Circle. So in the thirteenth *Edict* of *Justinian*; μέλει τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπινέμωσιν τῆς παρώχου κύκλου; Until the second partition of the past Cycle. Valef.

*c* There was a twofold *Phœnice*; the one termed *Maritime* [because it lay by the Sea-coast;] in Greek called *παραλία*, or, *παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν*: the *Metropolis* whereof was *Tyre*. The other named *Libanensis*, the head City whereof was *Emesa*; as the Old *Notitia* do inform us. In the *Maritime Phœnice* was the most famous City *Tripolis*. In that City, as *Evagrius* does here attest the Martyr *Leontius* was honoured. This is the *Leontius*, of whom mention is made in the *Menologie*, at the eighteenth day of the month *July*. The Monks, in their *Libel* presented to the Patriarch *Menas*, (which *Libel* is recorded in the fifth *Action* of the *Constantinop. Synod* sub *Mena*,) do attest, that *Severus* was baptized in this Martyr's Church. Valef.

*d* *Liberatus* in his *Berviary* chap. 19. writes thus concerning *Severus*: *Is enim Severus cum federat prius in Monasterio, &c. For this Severus, when he formerly lived [or sate] in the Monasterie, admitted not of Zeno's Edict, nor [received to communion] Petrus Mongus. After this, living in the Monastery of the Abbot Romanus, and of Mamas who presided after him, he was from thence sent to reside as Apocryfarius [that is, Legate] at Constantinople; and becomes one of their number, who were of Petrus Mongus's [party.] This Relation of Liberatus is far different from that of Evagrius. For, Evagrius says, that at first Severus was a Monk in a Monastery which was between Majuma and Gaza. And this is confirmed by Theophanes also. But, that afterwards he resided [or, sate] in the Monastery of the Abbot Nephalius; which was in Egypt, as Evagrius tells us in the two and twentieth chapter of this Book. Out of which Monastery Severus being driven, came (says he) to Constantinople. But Liberatus relates, that Severus sate indeed in two Monasteries: but, attests, that he was not ejected out of any Monastery, but, was made Apocryfarius. But, whose Apocryfarius he was, he says not. I am of Opinion, that he was the Apocryfarius of the Monks of the East, who were of the same Sect with himself. So Theonas is termed the Apocryfarius of the Monasteries in Palestine, in the first Action of the Constantinopolitan Synod under Menas. And that Evagrius confirms here. Valef.*

\* Concer- In which place *c* *Petrus* the Iberian also, who ning this had been Bishop of the same *Gaza*, and was *Petrus Iberus*, *Evagrius* has spoken already, at chap. 8. book 2. There is mention made of the same *Petrus*, in The *Libel* of the Monks to the Patriarch *Menas*, which is recorded in the fifth *Action* of the Constantinopolitan Synod under *Menas*. Valef.

\* Διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλθε σκαμμάτων, Had passed through the same exercises; [to wit] of a Monastick life.

Christ;] but had afterwards united himself to the Defenders of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and to those who asserted two Natures in our Lord

*Jesus Christ*. By this *Nephalius* therefore, and those who were of his party, [*Severus*] is driven out of his own Monastery, together with several others who held the same opinion with himself. From whence he went to the Imperial City, under the notion of an Embassadour, in defence both of himself, and those who had been ejected with him. And there he becomes known to the Emperour *Anastasius*, as He hath related at large who wrote *Severus's Life*. Moreover, the same *Severus*, in the *i* Synodick Letters which he wrote, has in express words *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. Concerning which matter, [the Monks of Palestine,] in their Letter to *Alcison*, say these words. *Severus* *The Synodick Letters* of *Timotheus* now [Bishop] of *Constantinople*, have indeed been approved and admitted of here in *Palestine*: but the *Deposition* of *Macedonius* and *Flavianus*, hath not been allowed of; nor yet *Severus's Synodick Letters*. But, those persons who brought them hither, were disgracefully and contumeliously used, agreeable to their deserts and betook themselves to their heels; the populacy of the City and the Monks having made an Insurrection against them. In this posture was *Palestine*. But, of those who were subject to [the See of] *Antioch*, some, induced thereto by fraud, were prevailed upon, of which number is *Marinus Bishop* of *Berytus*. *Severus* held communion with these Prelates. Indeed, *Theophanes* (in his *Chronicon*, pag 135.) relates, that *Timotheus*, when he would have inserted *Severus's* name into the *Diptychs*, was hindered by the people of *Constantinople*. Valef.

*Theophanes* casts a great light upon this place. He writes (pag. 135.) that *Timotheus* sent his *Synodick Letters*, and the deposition of *Macedonius*, to all the Bishops, that they might subscribe to them: and, that the weaker persons amongst them, afraid of the Emperour, subscribed to each *Libel*. But that those who were of a mind more stout and courageous, would subscribe to neither. Further, that some, taking a middle way, subscribed to *Timotheus's Synodick Letters*, but in no wise subscribed to the deposition of *Macedonius*. Amongst these persons therefore who took the middle way, were the Bishops of *Palestine*, as the Monks do attest here in their Letter to *Alcison*. Valef.

*h* Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κομιδωμένοι. Without doubt the reading must be, οἱ κομιδωμένοι, those persons brought them; as it is in *Nicephorus*. In which Author also the reading is fuller by one word; thus οἱ κομιδωμένοι ἐβλήθη, Those persons who brought them thither. Besides, in the *Tellersian Manuscript* I found it plainly written, οἱ κομιδωμένοι &c. Valef.

*i* In *Nicephorus*, this place is otherwise distinguished, to wit, in this manner: ἔφυγον τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸ δῆμος καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν συνέναντον, Fled out of the City: the populacy and Monks having made an Insurrection against them. Which distinction I like best. Valef.

*k* Τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀντιόχεια. *Nicephorus* words it thus, ἐν ἀντιόχεια, in *Antioch*; which I like not. For the Monks of *Palestine* do not speak of *Antioch* here, but of the Bishops who were subject to the See of *Antioch*. For, having before spoken concerning the affairs of *Palestine*, which were subject to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, they now pass to the Bishops of the East, who were under the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Antioch*; and in the first place they name *Marinus Bishop* of *Berytus*, which was a City of *Phœnice*. Now *Phœnice* was under the dispose of the *Antiochian Patriarch*, according as it hath been agreed in the *Chalcedon Synod* between *Maximus Bishop* of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis Bishop* of *Jerusalem*. Valef.

But others, by force and \* compulsion gave their assent to *Severus's Synodick Letters*, wherein was contained an *Anathematism*, both of the Synod, and of the rest who had asserted two Natures or properties in our Lord, one of the *Flesh*, another of the *Deity*. Some, when through necessity they had given their assent, afterwards altered their minds, and revoked [it:] of which number are the Bishops subject to *Apamia*. Others wholly refused to assent; of which number are *Julianus [Bishop]* of *Bostri*, and *Epiphanius* of *Tyre*, and some others, as they say, Bishops. But the *Isaurians*, now come to themselves, condemn themselves for their former mistake: Moreover, they Ana-

\* Or, Necessity.



Anathematize Severus together with his followers. Yea, some of the Bishops and Ecclesiasticks under Severus, having relinquished their own Churches, are fled away : of which number is Julianus [ Bishop ] of Bostri, and Petrus of Damascus, who reside here with us. <sup>1</sup> Mamas also; which Person seemed to have been one of the two Ring-leaders of the Dioscorians, <sup>m</sup> by whom Severus himself had been instructed; who has condemned their arrogancy. And after the Interposition of other words. But, the Monasteries here, and Jerusalem it self, also most other Cities together with their Bishops, by God's assistance are of one and the same mind in relation to the true Faith. For all which Persons, and for us, pray (most Holy Lord and our most Honoured Father!) that we enter therefore not into temptation.

<sup>1</sup> Liberatus makes mention of this Mamas in his Breviary, chap. 19. whose words we have quoted at note (d.) in this Chapter, the two Ring-leaders of the Dioscorites [ or, Dioscorians ] by whom Severus had been instructed, are Romanus and Mamas, Abbots of that Monastery which was between Majuma and Gaza. Indeed, Theophanes, in his Chronicon, terms that a Monastery τῶν ἀποχρηστῶν μοναχῶν, of Schismatical Monks. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, By whom Severus himself had been lodged. I had rather write καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, had been catechized, or, instructed. For the Abbots Mamas and Romanus had instructed Severus; as we have said before, out of Liberatus. Valef.

CH A P. XXXIV.

Concerning the [ Libel of ] Deposition sent to the same Severus by Cosmas and Severianus.

But, in regard the forecited Letters do attest, that <sup>a</sup> those Prelates under [ the Jurisdiction of the Church of ] <sup>2</sup> Apamia receded from [ the Communion ] of Severus; come on, let us add a certain passage, <sup>\*</sup> which we have been told by our Fathers, although it be not as yet recorded in any History. Cosmas Bishop of our Epiphania, <sup>†</sup> in the Vicinage whereof runs the [ River ] Orontes, and Severianus [ Bishop ] of Arethusa a neighbouring City, being disturbed at Severus's Synodick Letters, severed themselves from his Communion, and sent a Libel of Deposition to him whilst he sate Bishop of the City Antioch. They deliver the Libel to one Aurelianus <sup>\*</sup> Arch-Deacon of the Church of Epiphania. Who, in regard he feared Severus, and [ dreaded ] the Grandeur of so great a Bishoprick, after his arrival at Antioch, cloathed himself in the habit of a Woman, and comes to Severus, <sup>†</sup> jesting and playing the wanton, and by all ways imaginable feigning himself to be a Woman. [ In fine ] having let down the Veil werewith his Head was covered, as far as his Breasts he lamented, and by fetching deep sighs besought assistance; and under the pretence of a Supplicatory Libel, delivers a Deposition to Severus, then going forth. And without being taken notice of by any Person, withdraws out of the croud which followed [ Severus; ] and by flying purchases his own safety, before Severus knew what the Contents of the Libel were. But Severus, notwithstanding he had received the Libel, and understood what was contained therein, nevertheless continued possessor of his own See,

<sup>2</sup> Apamia was the Metropolis of Syria-Cæle, or Syria Secunda, to which Epiphania and Arethusa were subject, as the Old Notitia inform us. Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Which hath passed to us from our Fathers.

<sup>†</sup> Or, which has Orontes its neighbour.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, The first of the Deacons.

<sup>†</sup> Ἀκκυζομένης τῇ ἐν δεικτικῇ λέξει. Valefius renders these words thus: jocos ac lasciviens. jesting [ or, drolling. ] and playing the wanton. The primary signification of the term ἀκκυζομένης is, feignedly to refuse; it imports also to dissemble, or, to play the fool, to behave ones self as that most petulant Woman Acco did; from whose carriage this word had its original.

until the death of Anastasius. Further, when Anastasius was informed of what had hapned to Severus, (for, we must not omit the mentioning of an Act of Anastasius's, which was wholly made up of Clemency and Humanity :) he orders Asiaticus <sup>b</sup> who bore the Command of the Militia in Phœnice Libanensis, to eject Cosmas and Severianus out of their own Sees, because they had sent a Libel of Deposition to Severus. After Asiaticus was arrived in the Eastern parts, and found many Persons defending the Opinions of Cosmas and Severianus, and that their Cities made a stout resistance in favour of their own Bishops; he gave Anastasius an account, that those Bishops were not to be driven out of their own Sees without bloodshed. So much of Clemency and Humanity therefore was there in Anastasius, that he wrote expressly to Asiaticus, that he would in no wise effect <sup>c</sup> any thing, though never so great and spendid, if but a drop of blood were to be spilt. In this posture therefore were the affairs of the Churches over the whole world, <sup>\*</sup> during the Empire of Anastasius. Whom some Persons judged to be an Enemy to the Chalcedon Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at Jerusalem, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

CH A P. XXXV.

Concerning the destruction of the Isaurian Tyrants.

But, it will not be disagreeable to the promise we have made <sup>\*</sup> before, if to this History <sup>\*</sup> At book we annex some other [ Transactions ] worthy to be recorded, <sup>a</sup> which have hapned during the times of Anastasius. Longinus Zeno's Kinsman, being arrived in that [ Country ] wherein he had been born, as hath been shewn <sup>\*</sup> before, <sup>†</sup> engages in an open War against the Emperour. And great Forces having been raised on the one side and on the other, amongst which was Conon, heretofore Bishop at Apamia [ a City ] of the Province of the Syrians, who, in regard he was an Isaurian, bore Arms under the Isaurians; at length the War was terminated [ in this manner. ] The Isaurians who fought under Longinus were all cut off to one Man. But the Heads of Longinus and Theodorus were sent to the Imperial City by Johannes Scythia. Which Heads the Emperour [ or, desired to be ] fixt upon Poles, [ carried about, ] and hung up in that [ Suburb ] termed Syca situate over against Constantinople: a grateful spectacle to the Byzantines, because of those mischiefs they had suffered from Zeno and the Isaurians. Moreover, the other Longinus, surnamed Selinuntius, the chief supporter of that Tyrannick Faction, and together with him Indes, are [ taken and ] sent alive to Anastasius, by Johannes surnamed Gibbus, wherewith the Emperour

<sup>b</sup> τὸν ἀσιατικὸν ἀρχὴν. We have restored this place from the excellent Florentine and Tellerian MSS. wherein 'tis thus written, τὴν στρατηγεῖαν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐν ποταμῷ λιβανένσιος, The Command of the Militia in Phœnice Libanensis. There were two Phœnice's, as I have marked above; the one termed Maritima, the other Libanensis. Over this Province was set the Dux of Phœnice, concerning whom see the Notitia Imp. Rom. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> of περιελαβεῖν, attempt; it would, if I mistake not, be better written thus, δεξιῶς, effect Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Unwritten.

<sup>a</sup> I agree with Sir Henry Savil, who at the margin of his Copy hath mended it thus, ἡρώδης, which hapned. The same Person corrects the beginning of this chapter thus, ἐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ δὲ, &c. But 'twill not be inconvenient, &c. it may also be made, ἐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ δὲ, But it will not be disagreeable, or, misplaced; and perhaps 'tis better so. For 'tis the same, as if you should say, ἐκ ἀποπν, It will not be absurd. Instead of ἡρώδης, hapned, the Tellerian Manuscript has it written γερμανέως, have hapned. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Marcelinus Codrines in his Chronicon (at Anastasius's being Consul alone;) calls this Person Athenodorus, and so does Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 118 Valef.







which stood in the hidden and obscure places of the City; moreover, upon *Catamites*, who affected not only Nature it self, but the Republick also with Ignominy. In so much that, this Tax, instead of a Law, made loud proclamation, that those who had a mind, might securely and with impunity commit such abominable Leachery. Further, that impious and detestable profit arising from this Tax, was every fourth year paid in to the *First and Chiefest of the Praefectures*, by the Collectours who gathered it in all places; so that, it was not the smallest part of this *Praefecture*, to have *Offices*, both its *Proper* *Scrinia* (as they term them,) and also such Officers as managed the Accounts of this Nature; [and these were] not Persons mean and obscure, who look'd upon this Employ to be a *Militia* as well as the rest. Which when *Ana-*

*stasius* understood, and had referred it to the Senate, and had likewise deservedly pronounced this thing to be a detestable impiety, and a wickedness new and unheard of; he made a Law, wherein 'twas declared that it should be wholly abolished, and he burnt those Papers which contained a *Summary* of this *Exaction*. And, being resolved to make a perfect *Holocaust* [as it were] of *This Tax* to God, to the end that no one of his Successors in the Empire might in future again renew the old Infamy of this [Exaction;] he feigns himself grieved and vexed; and accused himself of imprudence, and of the highest degree of madness, saying, that by attributing too much to Vain-glory; he had neglected the utility of the Republick, and had rashly and inconsiderately abolished so great a Tax, which had been found out by his Ancestours, and confirmed by so long a duration of Time; before he had duely weighed in his mind the imminent dangers, or the expence of the *Milice*, (which is the living Wall of the Government,) or [Lastly] those [charges which are necessary] to the Service of God. Without declaring therefore any of the thoughts of his mind, he signifies, that it was his intent to restore the forementioned Tax. And having sent for those Officers who had been employed in Collecting that Tax, he confess'd that he repented indeed of what he had done; but knew not what course he could now take, or how he might correct his own mistake, in regard all the Papers were burnt, which could have set forth a *Notitia* of this Tax. These Persons having, not feignedly, but in reality lamented [the Abolition of] this Tax on account of that unjust gain which accrued to themselves therefrom, and pretending the like difficulty [that the Emperor did, in getting it, restored:] *Anastasius* perswaded and entreated them, that they would proceed in all imaginable methods of making a search, whether or no the way of Assessing and Collecting this whole Tax might be found out from those Tables which lay in every place: And having assigned a Salary to each of them, he dispatch'd them away to make a Collection of those Papers, giving orders, that whatever Paper might be of use in setting forth the *Notitia* of this Tax, wherever it were found, should be brought to himself; to the end that, after much circumspection, and the most exquisite accuracy imaginable, a *Notitia* of this whole Tax might be again composed. When therefore those Persons, who were employed in this affair, had some time after made their return, *Anastasius* seemed very chearful and full of joy. And he did really rejoice, because he had obtained what he desired. He inquired therefore the manner how, and with whom [these Papers] had been found, and whether or no any one of this sort [of Monuments] were left behind. But, when they had affirmed positively, that great pains had been

amongst the Officials of the *Praefectus Praetorio*, four *Numerarii* are reckoned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*; the first of whom was the *Numerarius* of the Gold; that is, of the *Aurum Lustrale*, or *Chrysargyrum*. There was also amongst the Officials of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, a *Primicerius* of the *Scrinium* of the Golden Mass and a *Primicerius* of the *Scrinium* of Gold; on this account perhaps, because a certain part of this Tax was brought in to the Chest of the Sacred Largeffes. Indeed in the Title *de Lustrali Collatione*, there is extant a Law of *Valentinian's*, directed to *Florentius* the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, [that is, of the Sacred Largeffes.] Whence it appears, that some part of this Golden Function belonged to the *Largition*al Titles. Valef.

Καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-*φονίζοντων*. He means the *Numerarii* [that is, Officers who managed the Accounts] of the *Aurum Lustrale*, who were in the Office of the *Praefecti Praetorio*, as I have said in the foregoing note. For *δια-φονίζου* are the *Numerarii*, (as I have long since remarked at *Amm. Marcellinus*,) who by another Name were termed also *Rationarii*. Valef.

the same import with *Referre*; *proponere*, to referr, to propose, The *Tellerian* MS. confirms our Emendation, wherein I found it plainly written *αεθελς*, as I had conjectured. Valef.

Or, Which set forth this Exaction. the same import with *Referre*; *proponere*, to referr, to propose, The *Tellerian* MS. confirms our Emendation, wherein I found it plainly written *αεθελς*, as I had conjectured. Valef.

ter this, instead of [αὐτὸν τε ἀ-  
πεικόντως ἀνέβησαν. And had  
rashly, inconsiderately suspend-  
ed;] it must be written thus, αὐτὸν  
τε καὶ ἀπεικόντως ἀνέβησαν, and  
had rashly and inconsiderately  
abolished. Valef.

should have said, *ὡς αὐθιγῶς* really. Further, this Adverb is referred to the Verb *Rejoice*. Which being most certain, 'tis nevertheless strange, that both Translatours should have referred this Adverb to the following word *ἡσυχῶς*, thus, And he did rejoice, because he had really and truly obtained what he desired. Valef.

5f taken



taken by them in the Collecting of these Papers, and had sworn by the Emperour himself, that no other Paper could be found in the whole Roman Empire, which might set forth *The Notitia of this Tax*: [the Emperour ordered] a great fire to be again made of those Papers which had been brought, the ashes whereof he [caused to be] put into water; it being his intent wholly to abolish this Exaction; that so, neither the dust nor the ashes, nor any the least remain of this thing, or of the burnt Papers, might be left appearing. But, least whilst we

\* Or, Inhibition.

so much extol the \*abolition of this Tax, we should seem not to know, what, and how great matters have with partiality enough been related by the more ancient Writers concerning this [Exaction:] Come on, I will now produce even those passages also, and will demonstrate them to be false, and most especially, from those very things which they themselves have related.

#### C H A P. XL.

*Concerning what Zosimus hath written in relation to The Chrysargyrum, and about the Emperour Constantine.*

**Z**osimus (one of their number [who have followed] the execrable and abominable Superstition of the † Heathens,) being highly incensed against *Constantine* [on this account,] because he was the first Emperour that embraced the Christian Religion, and relinquished the abominable Superstition of the \* Græcians; relates, that he was the first [Emperour,] who invented that termed *The Chrysargyrum*, and made a Law, that such a Tax as that should be brought in [to the Treasury] every fourth year. [The same *Zosimus*] has || loaded that Pious and Magnificent Emperour with infinite other [Calumnies.] For, he says, that he contrived several other altogether intolerable [mischiefs] against [Persons of] all Qualities and Conditions; and, that he cruelly murdered his Son *Crispus*, and likewise killed his own Wife *Fausta*, whom he shut up [and stifled] in a Bath which had been over-much heated. And, that when he had sought amongst his own Priests for an Expiation of such horrid and nefarious Murders as these, and had found none; (for they openly declared, That such black Crimes as these could not be purged by Sacrifice,) [he adds] that he accidentally met with an *Egyptian* who had come out of *Iberia*: and, that having received information from him, that the Faith of the *Christians* abolished all manner of sin, he embraced those things which the *Egyptian* had imparted to him. And, that from that time he relinquished \* the Religion of his Ancestours, and made a *beginning of Impiety*, † as he terms it. Now, that these things are notoriously false, I will demonstrate immediately: But, in the first place I must give a Relation concerning *The Chrysargyrum*.

\* Or, His Paternal Religion.  
† Or, As he says.

#### C H A P. XLI.

*An Invective against Zosimus, on account of the Reproaches and Calumnies he has cast upon Constantine and the Christians.*

**T**Hou sayst therefore, (O destructive and impure \* *Dæmon*!) that *Constantine* resolving to build a City equal to *Rome*, at first attempted the erecting of such a great City in the mid way between *Troas* and *Ilium*; and having laid the Foundations and raised the Wall to an heighth, afterwards he found *Byzantium* to be a place more commodious, and so encompassed that with Walls; which old City he enlarged to such a degree, and adorned it with such † splendid Buildings, that it seemed not much inferiour to *Rome*, which in so many years had by little and little arrived at that Greatness. Thou sayst further, That he distributed amongst the *Byzantine* People || *The Annona* out of the publick Stock, and gave a vast sum of Gold to those who had removed together with him to *Byzantium*, for the building of their own private Houses. Again, thou writest word for word thus; After *Constantine's* death, [the Supreme management of] Affairs devolved only to his Son *Constantius*, [to wit,] after the death of his two Brothers. And when *Magnentius* and *Vetranio* had set up for Tyrants, he attacked *Vetranio* by persuasives. For, both their Armies being come together, *Constantius* in the first place made a Speech to the Souldiers, and put them in mind of his Father's Liberality, with whom they had waged many Wars; and [by whom] they had been honoured with the greatest Gratuities. Which when the Souldiers had heard, they divested *Vetranio* of his Purple, and drew him out of the Tribunal [clothed] in a private habit.

and in *Nicephorus* book 16. chap. 41. And a little after this, instead of πολέμους, *Enemies*; it must be πολέμους, *Wars*; as the Reading is in the same *Nicephorus*. Valef.

Notwithstanding, [thou doest affirm,] that he underwent nothing of molestation from *Constantius*, who together with his Father hath by Thee been loaded with so many Calumnies. How therefore Thou canst judge it agreeable [to affirm] the same Person to have been so liberal, and so bountiful; and yet so tenacious and fordid, as to have imposed such an execrable Tax; I am [I must confess] wholly ignorant. Further, that he neither slew *Fausta* nor *Crispus*, nor for that reason, received our Mysteries from any *Egyptian*; hear the words of *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who flourished in the same Times with *Constantine* and *Crispus*, and was frequently conversant with them. (For, thou writest not even what thou hast received by Report, much less the truth: in regard thou livedst a long time after, [to wit,] in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* (to whose Times thou hast brought down thine History,) or rather, after them.)

lest it must be μέγας &c, in two words; and accordingly we have rendered it, *to whose times*. And so *Nicephorus* read, who hath expressed these words of *Evagrius* thus, οὗς καὶ τὴν (ὡς γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ) ἐκείνου; which place of *Nicephorus*, *Langus* understood not, as 'tis apparent from his Version of it. It must be rendered thus, *Quibus historiam tuam terminasti, wherein thou hast closed thine History*. For *Zosimus* brought down his Work to the taking of *Rome* effected by *Alaricus*, as 'tis manifest from *Photius's Bibliotheca*. Further, from this passage in *Nicephorus* and *Evagrius*, *Vossius* (in his book *de Historicis Græcis*) affirms, that *Zosimus* lived in the times of *Theodosius Junior*. Yet, neither of those two Authors hath said that of *Zosimus*. They only say, that he lived under *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, with which [Emperours] he terminated



nated his History, or rather long after them. Indeed, I am of Opinion, that this *Zosimus* lived about the times of *Anastasius*. For he cites *Olympiodorus Thebaus*, who wrote his History under *Theodosius Junior*, as *Photius* attests; and he names *Syrianus Philosophus*, who was the Master of *Proclus Diadochus*. Now, *Proclus* lived in the times of *Anastasius*. Lastly, *Suidas* writes, that *Zosimus the Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Anastasius*; whom I think to be the same with *Zosimus the Historiographer*. For many *Rhetoricians* and *Sophists* betook themselves to writing History, as 'tis manifest both from *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and also from many others. And the Dignity of Advocate of the *Fiscus* [or, *Treasury*,] wherewith *Zosimus* was adorned, disagrees not much from the *Sophistick* Dignity. *Valeſ*.

c This part of his Ecclesiastical History [Eusebius] writes word for word thus: With- in some small interval of time, the Emperour Constantius (a Person of extraordinary mild- ness throughout his whole Life, most favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the Divine Doctrine [of our Religion,]) ended his Life according to the common Sanction of Na- ture, leaving his own Son Constantine, Emperour and Augustus in his stead. And, after some other words: Constantine, Son to this Man, being im- mediately from that very time [of his Father's death,] proclaimed Supream Emperour and Au- gustus by the Souldiers, (but not long before that, by the Supream God) exhibited himself an Emulatour of his Father's Piety towards our Religion. And, at the \* Close of his History, he expresses himself in these very words: But Constantine the mighty Conquerour, gloriously adorned with all the Virtues of Religion, (together with his Son Crispus, a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recovered his own East. Doubt- less Eusebius (who survived Constantine,) would never have so highly extolled Crispus, if he had been murdered by his Father. Moreover, Theo- doret relates in his History, that Constantine at the very close of his Life, was made partaker of Salutory Baptism at *Nicomedia*; and, that he defer'd it till that time, because he was desirous of being baptized in the River *Jordan*. Thou sayst moreover, (most execrable and impurest of Mortals!) that the || Roman Empire, from such time as the Christian Religion shewed it self, hath decayed, and been utterly destroyed, [which thou affirmest,] either because thou hast read nothing of what hath hapned in an- cient times, or else with a designed malice to at- tack the Truth. For, the contrary is manifestly apparent; to wit, that the Roman Empire hath increased together with our Faith. Consi- der therefore, how about the very [time of the] Advent of Christ our God amongst Men, a most of [the Cities of] the *Macedonians* were ruined by the *Romans*: *Albania* also and *Iberia*, the *Colchi* and *Arabians*, were made Subjects to the *Romans*. [Consider like- wise,] how *Caius Cæsar*, on the Hundred<sup>c</sup> eighty second *Olympiad*, in great fights sub- dued the *Galli*, *Germani*, and *Britanni*, (which Nations inhabited Five hundred Cities,) and annexed them to the *Roman Empire*; as it hath been recorded by *Historians*. This is the *Cæ- sar*, who after the *Consuls*, was the first Mo- narch of the *Roman Empire*; who made a way conquered by the same *Romans* long before Christ's Birth. Therefore what Evagrius says here, is nothing to the purpose. But, concerning this whole Invektive of Evagrius's against *Zosimus*, see *Johannes Leuniciavius's* *Apology*, which he has prefixt before his Edition of *Zosimus*. *Valeſ*.

\* To wit, pa. 198. of our Ver- sion.

† See Theo- doret's Ec- cleſ. Hitt. book 1. chap. 32.

|| Or, Af- fairs of the Romans.

a Long before Christ's Advent *Macedo- nia* had been sub- dued by the Ro- mans. Moreover, the *Alba- ni*, *Iberi*, and *Colchi* had been

conquered by the same *Romans* long before Christ's Birth. Therefore what Evagrius says here, is nothing to the purpose. But, concerning this whole Invektive of Evagrius's against *Zosimus*, see *Johannes Leuniciavius's* *Apology*, which he has prefixt before his Edition of *Zosimus*. *Valeſ*.

c Κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑξαέτην ὀλυμπιάδα, On the Hundred twenty third Olympiad: The same is the Reading in the Greek Copies of *Nicephorus*; but it must be made δαξέτην καὶ ὀσσηκοστὴν, &c. On the Hundred eighty second Olympiad, from *Eusebius*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, pag. 437. *Valeſ*.

out of \* Polytheism and † Democracy, and in- troduced a previous Veneration of a Monar- chy, on account of that just ready to come, The many Gods † Or, A Mornarchy of Christ. Immediately, all Judæa, and the Neighbouring Countries, were annexed [to the Roman Empire:] in so much that The \* First Involment was then made, in which Christ also together with others was Enrolled, to the end that *Bethlehem* might publicly de- clare the Completion of that Prophecy [which had been uttered] concerning it self. For it hath been predicted by the Prophet *Micah* con- cerning it in this manner: || And thou Bethle- hem in the Land of Judah, art not the least amongst the Princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come forth to me a Governour, who shall \* rule my People Israel. And after the Nativity of Christ our God, Egypt was added to the Roman Empire, Au- gustus Cæsar, under whom Christ was born, having to- tally subdued *Antoni*us and *Cleopatra* who killed themselves. After which Persons, *Cornelius Gallus* is constituted Prefect of Egypt by *Augustus Cæ- sar*; and he was the first who Governed Egypt after The *Ptolemies*, as it has been recorded by Hi- storiographers. Further, how many [Countries] have been taken away from the *Persians*, by *Ventidius*, and by *Corbulo*, Nero's \* Dux; by \* Or, Com- mander. Trajan also, *Severus*, and *Carus*; by *Cassius* likewise, *Odanatus* of *Palmyra*, <sup>h</sup> *Ap- pollonius*, and others: how often have [the Cities] *Se- leucia* and *Ctesiphon* been ta- ken; as likewise *Nisibis*, (which sometimes passed in- to the hands of the *Romans*, at others, into those of the *Persians*:) [Lastly,] that *Armenia*, and the adjacent Nations, have been an- nexed to the *Roman Empire*, Thou thy self, to- gether with other Writers, dost relate. But I had almost omitted those things which Thou writest were done by *Constantine*, who toge- ther with his professing of our Religion, valiant- ly and with great Courage governed the *Roman Empire*: and what *Thy Julian* suffered, a par- taker of the same Mysteries with thy self, who left such deep wounds upon the *Roman State*. But, whether any thing of what hath been pre- dicted concerning the end of the World, hath either received \* a Prelude, or shall obtain an \* Or, End, is of a higher Dispensation than Thou Proæm, or, canst conceive. But, if Thou pleaseſt, let us beginning.

\* Or, Feed. Evagrius mistakes. For a- bout twenty years before our Saviour's Nativity, Egypt was re- duced into the form of a Pro- vince. *Valeſ*.

† Evagrius mistakes. For a- bout twenty years before our Saviour's Nativity, Egypt was re- duced into the form of a Pro- vince. *Valeſ*.

h Concerning this *Apollonius*, I have read nothing in any place. *Valeſ*.

\* Or, Germanicus C. Cæsar's pater Drusi & Minoris Antonia filius, a Tiberio patruo adoptatus, &c. So Suetonius in the Life of Cæſar Caligula.

which three Emperours Reigned only sixteen months. Did not *Domitian* (who was his Bro- ther,) destroy the Emperour *Titus* by poison? Was not *Domitian* himself in a miserable man- ner



ner removed out of this World by *Stephanus*? What wilt thou say concerning *Commodus*, did not he end his Life by [the violent hands of] *Narcissus*? *Pertinax* also, and *Julian*, underwent they not the same Fate? did not *Antoninus* Son to *Severus*, murder his Brother *Geta*, and was not he himself afterwards taken off in the same manner by *Martialis*? What [of] *Macrinus* also, was not he carried up and down like a Captive about *Byzantium*, and nefariously murdered by his own Souldiers? *Aurelius Antoninus* likewise, born at the City *Emesa*, was not he slain together with his Mother? and *Alexander* his Successor in the Empire, fell not he together with his Mother \*by the like Fact! What shall we say concerning *Maximinus*, was not he destroyed by his own Souldiers? What concerning *Gordianus*, who by *Philippus*'s Treacheries [was murdered] by his own Souldiers, and ended his days? Now, do Thou tell me, was not *Philippus* and his Successor *Decius* slain by their Enemies? *Gallus* and likewise *Volusianus*, were they not thrust out of their Lives by their own Forces? *Emilianus* also, fell not he in the same manner? *Valerianus*, was not he taken prisoner, and carried up and down by the *Persians*? [In fine,] after *Galienus* had been treacherously murdered, and *Carinus* slain, the [Supream Management of] affairs came to *Dioclesianus*, and those whom he took in to be Colleagues in the Empire with himself. Of whom, *Maximinianus Herculeus*, and his Son *Maxentius*, as likewise *Licinius*, were utterly destroyed. But, from such time as the most celebrated *Constantine* entred upon the Empire, and dedicated to *Christ* a City built by himself, which bore his own Name; look about earnestly [and see,] whether any of those who reigned in that City, excepting only *Julian* thy Pontiff and Emperour, have been slain either by their own Citizens, or by their Enemies; or whether any Tyrant hath ever vanquished an

\* *ἢ μόνον βασιλέως.* In the *Tiberian MS.* I found it written, *ἢ μόνον βασιλέως*: but I would rather express it thus, *πάλω μόνον*, save only, &c. *Valef.*

Emperour, I save only *Basiliscus* who drove out *Zeno*: notwithstanding, he was afterwards routed by the same *Zeno*, and ended his Life. I assent also to what thou

writest concerning *Valens*; [because] he was the Occasioner of such and so vexatious mischiefs against the *Christians*. For, concerning any other Emperour [besides these,] even Thou thyself canst not say it. Let no Person account these things to be foreign to our *Ecclesiastick History*; but rather [look upon them as] most useful

† Or, Co- and † accommodate; in regard the *Historiographers* amongst the Heathens do designedly attempt to cloud the accurate Knowledge of Transactions. But let us return to the remaining Actions of *Anastasius*.

## C H A P. XLII.

\* Or, Golden Tax.

### Concerning \* The Chrysotelia.

THE Actions we have already mentioned, were egregiously performed by *Anastasius* in a manner befitting the Imperial Majesty. But the same Emperour did somethings in no wise answerable to those [we have related.]

For he invented that termed *The Chrysotelia*, and rated the Expence of the *Militia* at a very high value, to the great damage of the *Provincials*. Beside, he took away the Exaction of the *Tribute*, to guess, in regard our *Evagrius*, contenting himself in setting down the bare Name, has omitted to explain the Thing it self; nor has any other of the Ancient Writers, that I know of, made mention of this thing. But as much as I am able to attain by Conjecture, I do think *The Chrysotelia* to have been nothing else, but a Paying of Gold; which *Anastasius* first ordered to be exacted from the *Provincials* instead of the *Tributary Function*. For the old Romans were wont to bring in the *Tributes* in the very *Species* themselves, to wit, in *Wheat*, *Barley*, *Wine* and *Oyl*: out of which, being carried together into the publick Granaries, the *Military* and *Civil Annona* was distributed. Moreover, by the Sanctions of the Emperours it had been forbidden, that the Collectors should exact Gold of the *Provincials* instead of the *Species*, [to wit, *Wheat*, *Barley*, &c.] as may be seen in the Fourth and Fifth Law of the *Theodosian Code*, *Tit. Tributa in ipsis speciebus inferri*. But *Anastasius* was the first who gave order, that instead of *The Species*, Money should be exacted of the *Provincials*. Now, I gather this, partly from the word *Chrysotelia* it self, whereby is signified a paying of Gold instead of *Tribute*; and partly from that which *Evagrius* speaks in this whole Chapter concerning the *Tributary Function*, as we shall see afterwards. *Valef.*

*ἢ ἀπεμπολήσας ἢ στρατιωτικῶν δαπάνων.* *Johannes Langus* has rendered this place very well, in this manner: *Et populos suos Veſtigales bellicis imperiis per nundinationem divenditis supra modum gravavit. And he over-much burthened his People that payed Tribute, the Military Expences, being by a Market made Sale of.* *Musculus* translates it thus: *Et Militares sumptus onerosissime contra consuetas contributiones divendit, And in a most burdensome manner made sale of the Military Expences, contrary to the usual contributions.* But, *Christophorson* renders it worst of all, in this manner: *Et Stipendia Militaria, una cum Exactionibus, non sine gravissimo Republicæ detrimento divendit, And sold the Military Stipends, together with the Exactions, not without the heaviest detriment to the Republick.* But, to the end we may fully understand the thing it self, we will diligently weigh each word. *Evagrius* therefore says, *ἢ ἀπεμπολήσας*. That word signifies in *Latine*, *eum qui vendidit, him that hath sold.* *Suidas* also observes, that a fraudulent selling, or sale, is understood by this word. Now, the selling of the Military Expence may be meant in a twofold manner. For, either *Anastasius* Farmed out the Military Expence to *Publicans*, in such manner as our Kings are wont to do, who usually let out the Allowance of the Military *Annona*, [that is, the Souldiers Provisions,] of Cloth, and other things of that nature, to *Publicans* and *Farmers*. Or else, that Sale was no other thing than an *Aderation*, [or, setting a Money-value upon these Expences:] in such a manner as if *Anastasius* should have rated at a most burthenfome value the Military Expence, to wit, Cloth, Arms, Forage, &c. which were wont to be brought in by the *Provincials*: which thing redounded to the loss of the *Provincials*, who instead of the *Species* themselves, were forced to pay a Price. And this latter Sense I have followed in my Rendition. Now, by these words, *στρατιωτικῶν δαπάνων*, *Evagrius* means not only the Military Stipends, [or, Souldiers Pay,] as *Christophorson* thought; but all manner of charge belonging to the *Militia*, to wit, Clothes, Arms, and Provisions. *Justinian* makes frequent use of this word in his Thirteenth Edict; where he distinguishes also between *δαπάναι* and *τίμησις*. And he informs us, that the *τίμησις* were the *Annona*, and the *Capita*, [or, Forage for the Beasts] which were paid to the Magistrates in Gold: but of what sort the *δαπάναι* were, he explains not; only he intimates, that the values of them also were exacted from the *Provincials*; where he speaks concerning *The Dux of Libya*. *Valef.*

*κατὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας.* What *ὁμολογίας* were, *Musculus* and *Christophorson* understood not. The *Provincials* who paid Tribute, are so termed. The Old Glosses explain *ὁμολογίας*, thus, *Tributarius*, a Person obnoxious to the paying of Tribute; *ὁμολογία*, τὸ ὀπίσθια, *Tributum*, *Tribute*. So *Evagrius* (book 5. chap. 13.) calls the *Tributaries* τῶν ὁμολογούντων. *Valef.*

*Περίελε τιτῶν φέρον εἰσπραξίν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν.* Amongst the Burthens of the *Decuriones*, the *Exactione*, [or, *Collection*] of the *Tributes* was not the least. For they out of their own Body made *Susceptores* [Takers, or Receivers] of *The Annona*, and *Præpositi* [or, Overseers] of *The Mansions* and *Granaries*; as 'tis evident from the *Theodosian Code*. In the Title *de Decurionibus*, and in the Titles *de Susceptoribus*. Which yet is not so to be understood, as if only the *Decurions* might collect the Fiscal *Tributes*. For, both the Officials of the *Præfæti Prætorio*, and likewise the Officials of the *Præfidents*, were wont to collect the *Tributes* from the *Provincials*; as *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, book 17. in these words: *Denique inusitato exemplo, id petendo Cæsar impetraverat à Præfæto, &c. In fine by an unusual Example, Cæsar by entreaty had obtained that of the Præfæti, that the dispose of the second Belgica, which was oppressed with manifold mischiefs, might be committed to him; to wit, on that condition, that neither the Official of a Præfæti, nor of a Præfident should urge any one to pay.* [In *Valesius*'s Edition of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 90. where this passage occurs; it is printed thus: . . . . . iniqui



iniquè. *Instituto Exemplo* &c; which Imperfection in Marcellinus's Copy he does, I suppose, supply here by altering the punctuation, and making it, *Denique in Instituto*, &c.] The Emperor Anastasius wholly took away from the *Decurions* the exaction of the Tributes, which they in part took care of. Hence 'tis, that in *Justinian's thirteenth Edict*, where he treats concerning the Exaction of the Tributes of Egypt, he makes no mention of the *Decurions*; but only names the *Scriniarii* and the *Tractatores* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, who Collected the *Fiscal Tributes* from the Payers, and brought them to the *Double Table*, or *Chest*, of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, the one *Private*, the other *General*. Which thing was, I suppose, instituted by Anastasius, who had Decreed, that the Tributes should be brought in, not in their very *Species*, but in *Gold*, as I have remarked above. Now, why Anastasius should institute that, this reason may be assigned. The Emperor Anastasius, in regard he was most provident in managing the publick affairs, (as *Procopius* attests,) was willing rather to buy Peace of the *Barbarians* with *Gold*, than to engage with them in a doubtful War. Which when he had succeeded in according to his desire, he lessened the number of the *Milice*, in regard he had no need of them, because the *Barbarians*, appeased with *Gold*, would keep the Peace. Therefore *Suidas* in the word *ἀναστάσιος*, says that the *Provinces* of the *Roman Empire*, were in his Times almost empty of *Souldiers*. Whereas therefore the *Roman Legions* had been reduced to so small a number, there was no necessity of carrying so many *Species Annonariæ* [that is, *Wheat, Barly, &c.*] into the publick Granaries. Wherefore Anastasius judged it to be better, to exact money from the *Provincials*, wherewith he might redeem Peace from the *Barbarians*. Valef.

• Τὰς ἐκ- butes from the Courts [of the Cities,] and instituted those termed 'The *Vindices*' in every City, 'by the inducement (as 'tis said,) of *Marinus* the Syrian, who administered the supreme dignity, that [Grand Officer who bore that place] the Ancients termed *The Præfectus Prætorio*. Whence it hapned, that the Tributes were both extremely lessened, and the beauty also of the Cities decayed. For anciently, the noblest personages were enrolled in the *Albs* [or, words of *Registers*] of [all] Cities, and each City had and appointed those [persons who were registred] in \* *The Curia*, instead of a certain Senate.

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Where, by the term, *ἀποδοτέας* they mean the *Præfectus Prætorio*, because the *Præfectus Prætorio* managed the accounts of the Tributes. But, we must not omit what *Zonaras* relates, to wit, that by this *Marianus* the *Præfect* (for so he calls him) *Vitalianus* the Tyrant was vanquished in a Sea-fight, by the help of certain Burning glasses, which had been framed by *Proclus* the Philosopher. From which words some might conjecture, that this was the *Marinus Syrus* Scholar to *Proclus* the Philosopher. Indeed, *Nicephorus* also, in the last Chapter of his *fifteenth Book*, calls his *Marinus*, a Syrian. But I am of opinion, that that *Marinus Syrus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Anastasius's* times, must be distinguished from *Marianus Syrus the Philosopher*, who wrote *Proclus's Life*. For this *Marinus* last mentioned was by Religion a *Pagan*, as we learn from an old Epigram which occurs in the *Anthologia*. But, the former *Marinus* was a *Christian*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. Valef.

### CHAP. XLIII.

#### Concerning the Tyranny of Vitalianus.

[Further,] *Vitalianus* by Extract a *Thracian*, makes an insurrection against *Anastasius*. \* Or, *Mæ-  
Having laid waste Thracia* and \* *Mysia* as far as [the Cities] *Odessus* and *An-  
chialus*, he hastned to the Imperial City, at the head of a [vast, but] inconsiderate multitude of the Nations of the *Hunni*. Against whom the Emperor sent *Hypatius*. Who having been betrayed by his own [Forces,] and taken alive by the Enemy, was afterwards redeemed with a vast Ransome; and *Cyrillus* undertakes the management of that whole War. And in the first place, a doubtful Engagement hapned. Then, after [the fight] had received many \* Turns, as well in pursuits, \* Or, *Al-  
as Retreats*, and *Cyrillus* had had the better; *Iterations*. [on a sudden] <sup>b</sup> the Enemy began to fall on <sup>b</sup> *Emispe-  
again*, the [Roman] Souldiers having volun- *τάτην πα-  
tarily given ground and turned their backs. And, λιν διαξίς.* I judge it must be written in one word thus, *πα-  
in this manner Vitalianus took Cy- λιν διαξίς.* There is the same mistake in *Nicephorus*, Chap. 38. Book 16. what the import of *ἐπισποράδην* is *Suidas* tells us incomparably well, in that word. In the *Tellerian MS.* I found it plainly written *παλιν διαξίς.* Valef.

*rillus* † in the [City] *Odessus*: and † Or, *Out* written in one word thus, *πα-  
after he had ruined all places with fire of Odessus.* and sword, he made his march as far as that place called *Syce*; having no other thoughts in his mind, than of taking the Imperial City it self, and of being put into possession of the Empire. But when *Vita-  
lianus* had encamped in *Syce*, *Marinus* the Syrian, of whom we have made mention before, is sent by the Emperor, to engage him with a \* *Marine Army*. Both † Fleets therefore stood \* Or, *Na-  
opposed to each other*, the one having *Syce* a val Forces; Stern, the other *Constantinople*. And at first † Or, *Ar-  
[by compact as 'twere]* they forbore enga- mies.  
ging. Then, after some excursions of the Ships, and || Skirmishes on both sides, a sharp Sea- || Or, *Throwing  
fight was begun between the two Fleets*, about *of Missile  
those places termed Bytharia*; and *Vitalianus* ha- weapons.  
ving Tack'd about, flies with all the Sail he could make, after he had lost most of his Forces. They also who were about him, Sailed off with all imaginable hast; in so much that on the day following, not one of the Enemy was to be found about \* *Anaplis*, or at the Imperial City it self. There was a place  
so called, as *Marcellinus* attests in his *Chronicon*, 'whose words we have quoted at chap. 25. note (c.) *Stephanus* has made mention of the same place in the word *γυναικόπολις*. Valef.



'Tis moreover said, that [after this,] Vitalianus spent some time at Anchialus, and kept himself quiet. Further, another Nation of the Hunni<sup>a</sup> having past the Caspian Streights, made an Incurſion [into the Roman Provinces.]

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κατὰ πύλας. \* Or, Suff. The Hunni ferred a having most violent, &c. Caspian Streights

At those very same times also, Rhodus<sup>\*</sup> was shaken by a most Violent Earthquake, in the dead of the night; which was the third calamity it had suffered of that Nature.

[Or, narrow passes,] made an irruption into Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, in the Consulate of Anthemius and Florentius, on the year of Christ 415, as Marcellinus and Victor Tunonensis relate in their Chronicons. They were also termed Sabiri, or Sabar, as Cedrenus attests: for so 'tis to be read in Theophanes. From which Authors it must be made here περὶ τὰς κατὰ πύλας, having past the Caspian Streights. 'Tis certain, Nicephorus has thus exprest this place of Evagrius, at book 16. chap. 38. Through these Caspian Narrow Passes, the Hunni were wont to break into the Roman Pale, as Procopius tells us Book 1. Persic. Where he gives an excellent description of these Narrow Passes, and attests that they had been heretofore fortified by Alexander the Macedonian. Whence, that passage of Saint Jerome, in his Epitaph of Fabiola, receives light; which runs thus: Ecce subito discurrentibus Nunciis, Oriens totus intremuit, ab ultimâ Mæotide inter Glaciæ Tanaim, & Massagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucasii rupibus feras Gentes Alexandri Clausura cohibent, erupisse Hunnorum examina. Valef.

#### CHAP XLIV.

That Anastasius being desirous to add these words, Who hast been Crucified on our account, to the Hymn [termed] \* The Trisagium, a Sedition and disturbance happened amongst the people. Which [Anastasius] fearing, † made use of dissimulation, and soon altered the minds of the people. And concerning the death of Anastasius.

\* See Mem. of the word τριῳκισμὸς. † Or, Feign'd an humi- litation.

BUT at Constantinople, when the Emperour was desirous of making an addition of these words, Who hast been Crucified on our account, to [The Hymn termed] The Trisagium; a most violent Sedition hapned, as if the Christian Religion had been totally \* Subverted. Macedonius and the Constantinopolitan Clergy were the Authors and Abettours of this Sedition,

\* Or, Abrogated.

<sup>a</sup> This Severus affirms in his Epistle to <sup>a</sup> Soterichus.

[Or Soterichus,] had been ordained Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia by Macedonius Bishop of Constantinople. Who going over afterwards to the Eutychian party, joyned himself to the impious Xenaias, as Theophanes relates in his Chronicon. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that Severus, a Ringleader of the Eutychians, should have written Letters to Soterichus, a person like himself, and should in them have accused Macedonius a Catholick Bishop, as being the Author of the Sedition. Severus himself was rather the Occasioner of this Sedition, who had perswaded the Emperour Anastasius, that to The Hymn [termed] The Trisagium he should add this Clause, Who hast been Crucified for us, having mercy upon us; as Cedrenus relates in his Chronicon. Further, Proclus Bishop of Constantinople had been taught this Hymn [termed] The Trisagium, by Angels. Which, as soon as the Priest had approacht the altar, the Chaunter out of the Pulpit began to sing, in this manner, ἅγιος ὁ θεός. ἅγιος ἰσχυρός. ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, Holy God; Holy Mighty: Holy Immortal; as Jovius Monachus writes Book 6.

in Photius's Bibliotheca. On account of this Hymn most violent Tumults arose afterwards in the Church, when the Easterns would add this Clause to it, ὁ σωθὲν δι' ἡμῶν, Who hast been Crucified for us, referring it to Jesus Christ. But the Constantinopolitans and Westerns rejected that addition, least any person should be attributed to the substantial Trinity: and in place thereof sang these words, ἁγία τριάς ἐλέησον ἡμῶν, Holy Trinity have mercy upon us; as Ephraemius Patriarch of Antioch informs us in Photius his Bibliotheca. Macedonius did right therefore, who retaining the usage delivered by Proclus, refused that addition. Valef.

Which [Epistle] he wrote before he had obtained the Episcopal Throne, whilst he resided<sup>b</sup> at the Imperial City, to wit, at that time<sup>c</sup> when he, together with others, had been ejected out of his own Monastery, as I have<sup>d</sup> related already. On account of these Calumnies, besides other reasons<sup>e</sup> † already mentioned, I am of opinion that Macedonius was ejected [out of his See.] From this occasion the populacy was enraged, and in regard they were not any longer to be withheld, many personages of the Nobility were reduced to the greatest of dangers, and several of the eminentest places [of the City] were burnt down. And when the people had found a certain Country-fellow (who lead a Monastick course of life,) in the house of Marinus the Syrian, they cut off his head; affirming that by this mans motives and perswasions that Expression had been added [to The Hymn.] They also put his head upon a pole, [carried it about] and in a deriding manner exclaimed, that he was the Enemy of the Trinity. [Further,] the Sedition increased so vastly, ruining all things, and being superiour to all \* Opposition, that the Emperour, † compelled by necessity, went to the Cirque without his Crown, and sent the Criers to the people, to make Proclamation, that with all imaginable readines he would resign his Empire: but that it was a perfect impossibility for all of them to obtain the Empire, which cannot endure many Colleagues; and, that there was of necessity to be one, who might Govern the Empire after him, Which when the people perceived, by a certain Divine impulse as it were, they altered their minds, and besought Anastasius to put his Crown upon his head, and promised to be calm and quiet [in future.] When Anastasius had survived these disturbances<sup>a</sup> some small interval of time, he departed to another life, having Governed the Empire of the Romans, seven and twenty years, three months, and as many days.

above. Besides, in the foregoing chapter he terms it so. Valef. <sup>c</sup> Οὐτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν. Doubtless it must be, ὅτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν, and we have rendred it accordingly. So also Nicephorus read: for he has exprest Evagrius's words thus: καὶ ἐκεῖνο καίτοι, ὁπνίκα γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναστείας, at that time, when he was driven from his own Monastery. Yet I wonder, that this was not perceived by the Translators, to wit, Musculus and Christophorson. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Nay; Anastasius lived seven years compleat after this Sedition. Valef.

The End of the Third Book of Evagrius's Ecclesiastical History.



THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,  
And [one] of the EX-P RÆ FECTS.

CHAP. I.

\* Or, Ju- Concerning the Empire of \* Justinus Senior.  
stinus the  
First.

**A** Nastasius therefore being (as I have said,) translated to a better allotment, Justinus, by Extract a Thracian, vests himself with the purple Robe, on the ninth day of the month Panemus, which amongst the Romans is termed July, in the Five hundred sixty sixth year of Antioch's being styled a free City: he was declared [Emperour] by the Imperial Guards, of whom also he was Commander, having been made \* Master of the Offices at Court. He obtained the Imperial Dignity beyond all expectation, in regard there were many of Anastasius's relations, who were eminent personages, had arrived at the greatest fortunateness imaginable, and who had procured to themselves all that power which might have invested them \* with the Imperial Dignity.

\* Or, With For so the so great a Greeks do dignity. usually explain that dignity. Nevertheless, Jordanes in his Book de Successione Regnorum, relates that Justinus was by the Senate elected Emperour, not from his being Master of the Office, but Comes of the Guards. To whom agrees the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, and the Old Chronographer whom I long since published at the end of Amm. Marcellinus's History. Procopius (in his Anecdota, pag. 28.) speaking of the Emperour Justinus as yet a private person, writes thus; Ἀρροῖα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀναστω- βασιλεὺς κατεποίησε ὅτι ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων, For the Emperour Anastasius had made him Comes of the Guards in the Palace. The same Procopius makes Justinus, not a Thracian, (as Evagrius, Cedrenus, and Zonaras do,) but an Illyrian, born at the Town Bederiana. Theophanes also says Justinus was an Illyrian. But I cannot enough admire at the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, who although he makes him a Bederianite, yet terms him a Thracian. Valef.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Eunuch Amantius, and Theocritus; and in what manner Justinus put these persons to death.

**M**oreover, there was [at that time] one Amantius the chief person of the Imperial Bed-Chamber, a man of great power [and

interest.] Who, in regard 'tis unlawful for a man deprived of his Genitals [as he was,] to be posselt of the Roman Empire, was desirous of encircling Theocritus, a great Confident of his, with the Imperial Crown. Having therefore caused Justinus to be sent for, he gave him vast quantities of money, ordering him to distribute it amongst those who were most fit to effect this thing, and who might be able to invest Theocritus with the purple Robe. But Justinus having with this money purchased, either [the suffrages of] the people, or else the Benevolence of those termed The Guards, (For 'tis reported both ways;) invested himself with the Imperial Dignity. Forthwith therefore he \* takes off Amantius and Theocritus, together with some other persons.

\* Or, De- stroyes from a- mongst men.

CHAP. III.

In what manner Justinus slew Vitalianus by treachery.

**B**ut, he calls Vitalianus [then] \* making a \* ἐν τῇ [his Residence] in Thracia, (who had attempted to divest Anastasius of the Empire,) to Constantinople: being afraid of his power of his skill in relation to Military affairs, of the greatness of his Fame then [spread] amongst all men, and of the desire he had to obtain the Empire. But perceiving by a sagacious foresight, that he could on no other terms bring Vitalianus within his own power, unless he should feign himself his friend; and having [for that reason] mask'd his face with a fraud not to be detected, he constitutes him Master of [of those Armies] termed The Present Militia.

Word making, substituted living. But I am of opinion, that Evagrius

wrote, τὰς στατῆρας ποιῶν, making his Residence; and, that the two former words were omitted by Transcribers. The reading may also be σκηνοποιῶν, pitching his Tent, or, dwelling. Valef. \* Ἐν δὲ τῇ καλυμένῳ περιούσῳ. There were two Armies in the Court of the Roman Emperour, who were called Praefentes, in Greek, τὸ πρεσβύον. These were commanded by two Magistri Militum, who were termed in Praefenti, or Praefentales. And in the Eastern Empire, one of these Commanders was a Magister of Foot, the other of Horse. But in the Western Empire, each of them



was a Master of Horse and Foot. Concerning these two Magistri of the present Milice, or, Milice in waiting, Malchus speaks in his *Excerpta Legationum* pag. 93. Moreover, Jordanes in his *Book de Successione Regnorum* agrees with our Evagrius, where he speaks these words concerning the Emperour Justinus; *Fœdusque cum Vitaliano percussit, &c. And he made a League with Vitalianus, and after he had sent for him, made him present Master of the Milice and ordinary Consul.* See Meursius's Glossary in the word *πρωτοστράτορος*. In the Fifth Action of the Constantinopolitan Synod under Menas, pag. 751. these words occur, *ὁ τοῖς στρατιωτικῇ τῷ θεῷ πρωτοστράτη ἐκατέρωθεν δυνάμεως.* Valel.

\*Or, Place. After this, he gave a great \* occasion of persuasion, whereby *Vitalianus* might more deeply be imposed upon, and promotes him to the Consulate.

c<sup>o</sup> Ουίθ<sup>o</sup> Vitalianus therefore being made Consul, after  
 τῆς αὐα<sup>o</sup> he was arrived at the Imperial Palace, ended his  
 τῆς ἐχ<sup>o</sup> life by being treacherously murdered<sup>d</sup> at one of  
 μῦθ<sup>o</sup>. In  
 the Tellerian M S. this place is written thus, ἔτ<sup>o</sup> δὲ αὐα<sup>o</sup> τῆς ἐχ<sup>o</sup> μῦθ<sup>o</sup>.  
 Valef.

Ἐν πνὶ μεταλλείῳ θύρα. Musculus renders this place thus, in  
 obscuriore quādam Palatii janua, in a certain more obscure gate of the  
 Palace. Christophorus translates it in this manner; in portā quādam  
 post Aulam positā, in a certain gate placed after [or, behind] the  
 Palace. Johannes Langus, who rendered Nicephorus into Latine, has  
 translated it thus: ad quādam in mediā Aulā Januam, at a certain  
 Gate in the middle of the Palace. He was minded belike to express  
 that word which Nicephorus made use of, to wit, μεταλλείῳ. The  
 Greeks had two Gates in their Edifices which had no Cellars, or,  
 Vaults. The first of these, which look'd towards the Street, was  
 termed αὐλειῶ θύρα, the Porch-Gate, as Harpocration informs us  
 in the word αὐλειῶ: the second Gate was called μέσσωλῶ, or,  
 μεσαύλειῶ, because it was in the midst between the Porch and the  
 Atrium [or, Court;] or else because it was in the middle between  
 The ἀνδρώνης, men's Apartment, and The γυναικωνίης, womens  
 Apartment; as the Author of the Etymologicon affirms. Lysias men-  
 tions both these Gates in his Oration pro Eratosthene de Cæde, in these  
 words; ἀναμνησάμενθ' δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐφόρει ὁ μέσσωλῶ  
 θύρα καὶ ἡ αὐλειῶ, but having remembered that in that night the  
 Gate between the Porch and Atrium and the Porch Gate creak'd.  
 I think it must be written thus, ὁ μέσσωλῶ καὶ ἡ αὐλειῶ θύρα.  
 Heliodorus (in the close of his third book) alludes to this place of  
 Lysias, when he says, ἐφόρει τε ἡ μέσσωλῶ. Which passage the  
 Translatour renders thus. Perstrepebat Ostium Atrii, the Gate of the  
 Atrium creak'd. Aelius Dionysius (in his Lexicon in Eustathius on  
 ἱλίου θ. λ'. pag. 862,) says these words; ἀγρίοι μὲν τῶν μέσσω  
 θύρων μέσσωλον φασί, μάλιστα μὲν τῶν μέσσω δύοιν αὐλαῖν ὡς  
 φησὶν αἰλιῶ διονύσιῳ. ἣν καὶ μέσσωλον αὐτὸς φησί; The Greeks  
 term the middle Gate μέσσωλῶ, especially the middle of the two Gates,  
 as Aelius Dionysius affirms. Which [Gate] also the same person  
 styles μέσσωλῶ. The same is affirmed by The Scholiast of Apol-  
 lonius at his third book. Let thus much be noted concerning the  
 propriety of this word, in the Exposition whereof Harpocration is  
 mistaken, (see him in the word μέσσωλῶ;) who from Lysias thought  
 the import of it was, ἡ βυσσοῦ λεγόμενη αὐλή, that termed the sordid  
 Court [or, Yard] were the fowls were. But, we must now come  
 nearer to the matter. The words of Victor Tunonensis in his Chro-  
 nicon are these: Maximo V. C. Coff Vitalianus, &c. In the Consulate  
 of the most famous Maximus, Vitalianus is said to have been killed  
 at Constantinople within the Palace, (in a place which by a Greek  
 word they term The Delphicum,) by the faction of Justinianus the  
 Patricius. Further, The Delphicum was an House in the Palace at  
 Constantinople, wherein were the Stibadia [see book 5. chap. 13. note  
 (a.)] of the Emperour; it was so termed from The Delphick Table;  
 whereon drinking Cups were wont to be placed, as Procopius informs  
 us in the first book of his Vandalicks, pag. 116. The Delphicum there-  
 fore was The House of the nineteen places to lie down on and banquet,  
 near to which was a spacious Atrium, or Area, as we will declare  
 hereafter at our Annotations on book 5. chap. 13. In this Area, there-  
 fore or spacious Court, Vitalianus was slain in his own Consulate, on  
 the year of Christ 520. as Marcellinus informs us in his Chronicon. For  
 μέσσωλῶ, or μεσαύλειῶ imports Curtis, a large and spacious Court,  
 which was betwixt the mens Apartment and the womens Apartment,  
 as we have seen from the Author of The Etymologicon, &c. But, if  
 we would rather take μέσσωλῶ to signifie a Gate, we must mean  
 the Gate of The Delphicum. Thus the Constantinopolitan Synod under  
 Menas is said to have been held ἐν τῷ μεσαύλειῳ τῷ ὁσάνῳ; that is, in  
 the western Atrium of the Venerable Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.  
 Cedrenus in Justinian's thirty seventh year says that the μεσαύλιον of  
 the greater Church was burnt; which is termed The Garsonastasi-  
 um. The old Glosses de Habitatione, interpret μεσαύλιον, compluvium,  
 a pent house. Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 158. relates that Ju-  
 stinian built a great Cistern of The Mesaulium or Atrium of Illus's Ba-  
 siliica. The Old Glosses expound μεσαύλιον, Atrium, a Court. But  
 when we read that the Council was held in the Mesaulium, it is not  
 to be understood of an open Court, but of the Porticus's of the Court.  
 For the Councils of Bishops were not held abroad in the open Air.

the inner Gates ; \* paying this punishment for \* *Ταῖς*  
those high contumelies wherewith he had affe- *κταται*  
cted the *Roman* Empire. But these things hap- *έως*. I  
ned afterwards. had rather

λῶν, *paying*. For ποινὴν καταλαβεῖν is no *Greek* phrase, if I mistake not. But, 'tis righter thus, καταβαλεῖν; which the Latines term *pœnas solvere, to undergo punishment*. Thus *Evagrius* expresses himself in chap. 32. of this book. *Vale!*

## CHAP. IV.

*How [Justinus] having Ejected Severus, put Paulus into his place: and, that some little time after, Euphrasius obtained the See of Antioch.*

**B**ut Severus, who had been Ordained Bishop of Antioch, agreeable to what we have \* already related, (in regard he ceased not \* Book 3.  
a daily to Anathematize the Synod at Chal- Chap. 33.  
cedon, especially in those they term b The In- a Ep<sup>o</sup> End.  
stalling Letters, and in the Answers thereto, <sup>son.</sup> It  
which he sent to the Patriarchs in all places; must be  
(but they were embraced and admitted of at made Ep<sup>o</sup>  
Alexandria only, by Johannes Successour to the <sup>Ends,</sup>  
former Johannes, and by Dioscorus and also daily, as  
c Timotheus, which Letters are preserved till the rea-  
these Times of Ours;) and because many con- ding is  
tentions in the Church arose therefrom, and the in the  
most faithful people were divided into Factions; Tellerian  
this Severus [I say] is by Justinus's order Manu-  
Seized in the a First year of his Empire, and script, and  
underwent the punishment of having his Tongue in Nice-  
cut out, as it has been reported by some persons. phorus.  
Evagrius took this passage out

*bel of the Monks, which is recorded in the Fifth Action of the Constantinopolitan Synod under Menas, pag. 712. τὴν γὰρ ἐν χαλκηδόνι αἰρίαν σύνοδον ἐφ' ἐκείνης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν παλμῶ, ἐμοιῶνες ταύτη. πολλὰς τῆς σωτηριολογίας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χαλκηδὼνα αἰρία συνόδῳ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὁμοσεύων ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις ἔχων διτλιχέας; for daring daily (as we may say,) to Anathematize the Holy Synod at Chalcedon, he hath held Communion thus far, [or, in this manner,] he has in the sacred Diptychs many of the Bishops under himself who had sate at that Holy Synod at Chalcedon. For so it must be read agreeable to the Old Translatour: and this, Liberatus confirms in his Breviarium, chap. 19. where his words concerning Severus are these: Sed vexabatur in Episcopatu, tanquam Anathematizaret quidem Synodum, nominaret autem Episcopos Synodi; But he was vexed in his Bishopricks, as if he should Anathematize the Synod, but would name the Bishops of the Synod. Valef.*

understood not this term, as 'tis apparent from his *Version*. For he has rendred it thus: *Et maxime in Litteris quæ ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, id est, quæ de Episcopis in sede Episcopali collocandis scriptæ sunt, &c; and especially in the Letters which [are termed] ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, that is, which are written concerning the Bishops to be placed in the Episcopal Chair.* Johannes Langus (in chap. 2. book 17. of Nicephorus,) translates it truer, thus: *Potissimum verò in eis quæ Enthronistica, sive Synodales dicuntur, Epistolis, &c; but most especially in those Letters, which are termed Enthronistick or Synodical Letters, &c.* So the Letters were termed, which the Patriarchs sent one to another, at their Installment, that is, in the beginning of their Episcopate. There were also *Enthronistick Homilies, or Sermons,* which the Bishops Preacht to the people at their entrance upon their Episcopate. Concerning these, *Liberatus* (chap. 19.) writes thus, treating of our *Severus*, concerning whom *Evagrius* speaks here: *Fertur autem Expositio ejus, quæ ab eo dicta est in Enthronismo, &c; But his Exposition is extant, which was spoken by him at his Installment, wherein he does both embrace Zeno's Uniting Edict, and also Anathematizes the Chalcedon Synod, and likewise confesses himself to hold Communion with the Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan Prelates.* Valef.

<sup>c</sup> He means *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had succeeded *Dioscorus Junior* in that Bishoprick, as *Liberatus* relates chap. 19. For *Timotheus* Bishop of *Constantinople* cannot be meant here, in regard *Evagrius* has said just before, that *Severus's* Synodick Letters were embraced and admitted of only at *Alexandria*. *Vales.*

<sup>d</sup> Nay; *Severus* was ejected in the second year of the Emperor *Justinus*, on the year of Christ 517. as *Baronius* has remarked truly. *Valef.*



<sup>b</sup> Τελῶνται ὁ ἔν, in fine therefore. In the Florent. M S. the reading is truer, thus, Τελῶνται δὲ, ended his life. Further, concerning this Earthquake wherewith *Antioch* was ruined in the times of the Emperour *Justinus*; besides *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Procopius* speaks in the first book of his *Persica*, page. 67, and 68; where he relates that three hundred thousand persons perished in that Earthquake. *Valeſ.*

**B**UT the Salutary providence of God over Men, which [usually] provides the Remedy before the Blow, and sharpens the Sword of its Anger with Clemency, which in the very interim that affairs are in a deplorable and desperate posture, displays its own compassion; excited



<sup>a</sup> This *ἰδὼς* excited Ephraemius<sup>a</sup> then Comes of the East, to take all possible Care, that the City might want nothing of those things that were necessary. Which person the Inhabitants of Antioch admired on this very account, and chose him their Bishop. Ephraemius therefore obtains the Apostolick Chair, which was allotted to him as the Reward and Recompence as 'twere of such his providence [towards that City.] Thirty months after this, Antioch was again afflicted with Earthquakes: <sup>b</sup> at which time also it [changed its name, and] was called Theopolis; and the Emperour made provision for it by all other care and diligence whatever.

Provinces of the East; as the Notitia of the Roman Empire informs us. That Ephraemius was adorned with this dignity, we are told by Johannes Moschus in chap. 37. of his *Limnarium*; where his words are these: *Ex tempore vir clemens, & misericordiae operibus deditus Ephraemius Comes Orientis erat, &c.* At that time Ephraemius, a person of great clemency, and addicted to works of compassion, was Comes of the East, and by him the publick Buildings were repaired: for the City had been ruined by an Earthquake. Photius also attests the same, in his *Bibliotheca*, chapter 228. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸς δὲ Θεοπόλιν and then also, &c. I would rather read, *ὅτι δὲ Θεοπόλιν*, at which time also, &c. Which is the reading in the Tellurian Manuscript, and in Nicephorus, who writes, that in Justinian's Reign Antioch had that name given it. The same is attested by Stephanus Byzantius in the word *Θεοπόλιν*, and by Theophanes in his *Chronicon*. This latter Earthquake hapned on the twenty ninth day of November, in the seventh Indiction, two years after the former Earthquake, as Theophanes relates pag. 151; or rather thirty months after the former Earthquake, as Evagrius says truly. For, so many months are reckoned from the twenty ninth of May in the year of Christ 526, to the twenty ninth of November in the year of Christ 528. In which year the Seventh Indiction began to be reckoned from the month September. Whence, that appears to be most true which I have remarked before, viz. that that former Earthquake hapned at Antioch on the year of Christ 526; and not on the year 525. as Baronius thought. And yet Baronius has rightly placed the latter Earthquake on the year of Christ 528; which is true. For, whereas he follows Evagrius's Calculation, he ought to have placed that Earthquake on the year 527: in regard the former Earthquake had hapned at Antioch on the year 525 of Our Lord's Nativity. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

Concerning Zosimas and Johannes who were Workers of Miracles.

BUT, in regard we have mentioned the fore-said Calamities, come on, we will also insert some other passages, worthy to be remembered, into this our present Work; which passages were brought to our knowledge by those who saw them. There [was] one Zosimas, a person who exercised himself in a Monastick life, by Extract a Phœnician, of that Phœnice termed *Maritima*; the place of his Nativity was *Sinde*, a Village distant from Tyre not full out twenty furlongs. This man, by his abstinence from and use of meats, and by other virtues of his life, had in such a manner \* possest himself of God, that he could not only foresee things future, but had also received [from God] the Gift of † being free from all manner of perturbation of mind. Being therefore [one time] in the City *Cæsarea*, which is the Metropolis of one of the Palestines, at the house of <sup>a</sup> a personage of eminency; (his name

<sup>a</sup> Or, Brought God home with him. † ἱερός, of all manner of undisturbedness in relation to the Passions.

<sup>a</sup> Σωὶν τῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνα τὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Mosculus has referred these last words, to the word *ἐπιστήμων*. For he renders it thus: *Hic junctus erat nobili cuidam Cæsariensi*, He was joyned to a certain noble Man of Cæsarea. But Nicephorus and Christophorus construed these words otherwise, and referred them to the verb *σῶν* which proceeds, thus; Being therefore, &c. as we have rendered it. Which opinion I do rather approve of. Yet, that which follows in Evagrius raises a doubt, to wit, that Zosimas asked the standers by for a Censer. For, if Zosimas was in the house of Arcefilaus a Laick, how could he seek a Censer there, in regard 'tis not usual to have Censers in the house of a Laick? Valef.

was Arcefilaus, a Person nobly Descended and Learned, and one who had arrived at Honours and those other [accomplishments] which adorn the life of a man:) at that very instant of time wherein Antioch was ruined [by the Earthquake,] this Zosimas all on a sudden grew sad, mourned and sighed deeply, and shed so great a quantity of tears that he wetted the Earth. He also asked for a Censer, and having burnt Incense all over that place where they stood, he prostrates himself on the Ground, in order to his appeasing God with Prayers and Supplications. Then Arcefilaus asking him, what that was which troubled him so much, he answered in express words, that the Noise of the Ruin of Antioch just then rang in his Ears. In so much that Arcefilaus and those then present, being stricken with an amazement, wrote down the Hour, and found afterwards, that it had so hapned as Zosimas had declared. Several other wonders were wrought by this person; the multitude whereof I will omit, in regard they are even more in number than can be told; and will mention only some of them: There flourished at the same time with this Zosimas, a man by name Johannes, for virtues like to

him; who had exercised a Monastick and \* imma-<sup>a</sup> a life void of matter. rial life in the Laura<sup>b</sup> Chuziba, (which is situate in the extremity of the valley, at the Northern part of the highway that leads passengers from Jerusalem to the City Jericho;) <sup>c</sup> but had been made Bishop of the forementioned City Cæsarea. This Johannes the Chuzibite; in regard he had heard that the wife of the forementioned Arcefilaus had beat out one of her Eyes with a Weavers Shuttle, ran to her in great hast, to make an inspection into the wound. But when he had seen it, and [perceived] that the pupil was fallen out, and the whole Eye perfectly run out, he orders one of the Physicians who had \* come thither, to <sup>d</sup> Or, Fol- bring a Sponge, lowed. and to put the Eye which was fallen out, into its place again as well as he could, and to put the Sponge about it, and bind it with † Swathels

<sup>b</sup> Χεζιζα, Chuzica. So also the reading is in Nicephorus, and Ortelius has retained the same reading in his *Thesaurus Geographicus*. But in the excellent Florentine Manuscript it is *Χεζιζα Chuziba*; which is doubtless truer. For so Johannes Moschus terms that Laura in chap. 24. *cum autem venisset in Eremum, & moraretur in Cellis Cusibas, &c.* But when he was come into the Desert, and abode in the Cells at Cusiba, he performed the same works of mercy. For he went through the high way which leads from Jordan to the Holy City. Where 'tis observable, that those are termed Cells by Moschus, which Evagrius calls a Laura. Indeed, a Laura was nothing else but Cells of Monks dispersed here and there, as I have remark'd above, at book 1. chap. 21. note (b.) yet Moschus (chap. 24.) calls it the Monastery Chuziba. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> This Johannes was first Abbot and Presbyter of the Monastery Chuziba; whence he had the surname of Chuzibite. But afterwards he was made Bishop of Cæsarea, as (besides Evagrius) Johannes Moschus informs us chap. 24. Valef.

of Linen. Arcefilaus, was not then present. For † Or, Rel- he hapned to be at that time with Zosimas, in his lers. Monastery, which was situate in the Village of the *Sinden*, distant from Cæsarea about five hundred furlongs. Messengers therefore ran in great hast to Arcefilaus, to acquaint him with what had hapned. Arcefilaus was sitting near to Zosimas holding a Conference with him. As soon as he understood [the misfortune that had befallen his wife,] he wept bitterly, pluckt off and tore his hair, and threw it into the Air. When Zosimas enquired the reason hereof, Arcefilaus gave him an account of what had hapned, but made frequent interruptions in his Relation by sighs and tears. Zosimas therefore having left him, retired alone by himself into a certain little \* Room, where he was wont to converse with \* Or, God, as 'tis the usage of such persons. After House. some



some little time he came out, look'd chearfully, and with a modest and grave smile † stroak'd Arcefilaus's hand softly, Go, says he, go away with joy: Grace is given to the Chuzibite. Your Wife is cured; she has both her Eyes; that accident could deprive her of nothing, in regard it so pleased the Chuzibite. And so it hapned, these two righteous Persons having at one and the same time wrought a Miracle. This same Zosimas going one time to Casarea, and leading an Ass after him whereon he had laid some things that were needful to him; meets a Lyon, who having seized upon the Ass, went his way. Zosimas followed the Lyon over the wood, till such time as he had filled his belly with the Ass's Flesh. After which Zosimas laugh'd, and spake [these words] to the Lyon; But Friend [says he] my Journey is stopt, for I am a Man<sup>a</sup> gross and fat, and of a very great age; nor am I able to carry that burthen on my back which was laid upon the Ass. If therefore thou have a mind that Zosimas should remove from hence, you must necessarily carry my Burthen, [though this be a thing] contrary to the Law of your Nature; and [after that] you shall be a wild Beast again. The Lyon wholly forgetting his Rage, began to fawn, in a most gentle manner, † ran immediately to Zosimas, and by his Gesture

\* Or, *shewed* his Obedience. Zosimas therefore having laid the Asses burden on him, lead him as far as the Gates of Casarea; demonstrating hereby the power of God, and how all things serve and obey us Men, when we live to God, and do not adulterate that Grace which is given to us. But, least I should lengthen my History by [re-ndition] more [such passages as these,] I will return to that place from whence I have made a digression.

words are, *Et ætate admodum provectus, and very aged.* By this Version therefore Evagrius would be made to say the same thing in both places. The Greeks term Gross, thick, and fat Men *παχέας*. Which sort of Persons are tender and delicate, and unfit to carry a burden. See Suidas in the word *παχέας*. Nicephorus also understood not this Word. For instead thereof he has substituted these *ἡ δὲ ἐνδομὴ ἐκτείνετο*, and by reason of my want of necessities am macerated, [or, milted.] Valef.

\* *Ὡς ἐρεξε.* Doubtless it must be written, *ωροσέρξε*, ran so. In Nicephorus the reading is *ωερεξε*, ran under. But our Emendation seems better. Valef.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Concerning the Universal Calamities.

During the same Justinus's Governing the [Roman] Empire, that [City] now named Dyrrachium (which was anciently called Epidamnus,) was ruined by an Earthquake. As was likewise Corinthus, situate in Achaia. Anazarbus also, the Metropolis of the Second Cilicia, [suffered] a fourth Calamity of this sort. Which Cities Justinus rebuilt by the expence of a vast sum of Money. In these very same times also, Edessa a City of the Osroeni, which was vastly great and rich, was drowned by the waters of the torrent of the Scirtus which runs hard by it; in so much that most of the houses were beaten down, and an innumerable multitude of men destroyed, whom the water carried away. Edessa and Anazarbus had their [ancient] names changed by Justinus; for both those Cities were adorned with \* his own name.

## CHAP. IX.

How Justinus whilst he was yet living, took Justinianus to be his Colleague in the Empire.

THE same Justinus having passed the eighth year of his Empire, and also nine months and three days [of his ninth year,] Justinianus his Sisters Son is made his Colleague in the Empire, being proclaimed on the first [day of the month] Xanthicus, or April, in the Five hundred seventy fifth year of Antioch's being stiled a free City. And when these affairs had proceeded in this manner, Justinus removes from his Empire here [on earth,] \* having ended his life on the first day of Lous, or the month August, when he had reigned four months with Justinianus, and had held the Empire [as well alone, as with a Colleague] nine compleat years [one month,] and three days. [Further,] when Justinianus was invested with the sole Government of the whole Roman Empire, and the Synod at Chalcedon had been asserted over all the most Holy Churches, by the order of Justinus, as I have related; [the affairs of the Ecclesiastick constitution were as yet disturbed in some Provinces; and especially at the Imperial City, and at Alexandria: Anthimus then Governing the Bishoprick of Constantinople, and Theodosius presiding over the Church at Alexandria. For both [these Prelates] asserted one Nature [in Christ.]

But the Author of that Chronicle disagrees from himself: for he relates, that Justinus entred on the Empire on the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord's Nativity 518. From which time to the Calends of April in the year 527, there are eight years, and as many months, together with one and twenty days. But if we follow Cedrenus, who relates that Justinianus was made Augustus by Justinus on the fourteenth of April, then the Computation of the Alexandrian Chronicle will be most certain. Valef.

\* *Τὴν ἀποκρίσιν διαύσαν ἀρχὴν.* In the Tellerian Manuscript, I found it written, *τὴν ἀποκρίσιν διαύσαν ἀρχὴν* and had held the Imperial Government, or, the Empire: which reading pleases me best. Valef.

\* From Evagrius's own Computation 'tis apparent, that these words [one month] must be added here. For in regard he has said a little before this, that on the Calends of April of this year, the eighth year of Justinus's Reign was compleated, and that he had reigned over and above, nine months and three days; the consequence is, that on the Calends of August of the same year, nine years were passed together with one month and three days. Whence 'tis Collected, that Justinus's Reign is to be begun from the twenty eighth day of June, according to Evagrius's Sentiment. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

How Justinianus favoured those who embraced the Chalcedon Synod. But [his Wife] Theodora was a Lover of the Contrary party.

Justinianus indeed courageously defended the [Fathers] which had been convened at Chalcedon, and the Expositions they had made. But his Wife Theodora [favoured] them who asserted one Nature: \* whether it were because they themselves really thought so: *ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξόφοντο*. I think it should be worded thus; *ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἀληθῶς ἔξοφοντο*, whether it were because they themselves really thought so. For the sense requires this reading. Nicephorus in no wise understood the meaning of this passage. But Musculus has explained it excellently well in this manner: *Sive autem sic verè sentiebant, sive sic dispensatione quâdam inter ipsos convenerat; But whether they really thought so, or whether it had been so agreed amongst themselves by a certain dispensation.* Christopherson has followed Musculus, and began a new period from these words, in this manner. *Sive igitur ita verè sentiebant, &c. Whether therefore they really thought so, &c.* But we have joynd them with the foregoing words. Valef. (For

\* That is, he gave each of them the name of Justinopolis.



In French, we should term it, *Par Politique*. Valef.  
 ' *ἡμεδαπὲς*. By this word Christopherson understood the *Acephali*. For he has explained this place thus : *Et ejus opinionis Homines, si nostrates essent, benevolè & amicè complexa est : Sin externi, præmiis benignè remunerata : And the men of that opinion, if they were our Country-men she entertained kindly and friendly : but if Foreigners, she rewarded them liberally with gifts.* But Nicephorus renders *ἡμεδαπὲς*, the *Catholicks and the Orthodox* ; which I can by no means approve of. For, by *ἡμεδαπὲς* our *Evagrius* means the *Orientials*. But, by *ἀλλοδαπὲς* *Foreigners*, he means the *Westerns*. Valef.

*How Severus perverted Anthimus [Bishop] of Constantinople, and Theodosius [Bishop] of Alexandria: which prelates the Emperour ejected, and put others [into their Sees.]*

**Ἄ Τῶ μα-  
ρὸντι βίω.  
I agree  
with the  
Learned,  
who have  
already  
mended**

<sup>c</sup> *Evagrius* mistakes and puts *Epiphanius* instead of *Menas*. For *Anthimus* had succeeded *Epiphanius*. After *Anthimus* was ejected, in his place *Menas* was ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by Pope *Agapetus*; after *Belisarius's* Consulate, on the year of Christ 536; as *Marcellinus* relates in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

a Concerning this Peace and Union of the Churches which hapned after the Ordination of *Paulus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Liberatus* (in his *Breviary*, chap. 23.) speaks these words: *Hoc ergo modo unius facta est Ecclesiarum anno decimo imperii Gloriosi Justiniani Augusti*, On this manner therefore an Union was made of the Churches in the tenth year of the Empire of the Glorious *Justinianus Augustus*. For all the Patriarchs at that time embraced and admitted of the *Chalcedon Synod*; that is in the year of Christ 537. To wit, the Bishop of *Rome*, whose *Apocrisarius* [or, *Legate*,] *Pelagius* was at *Constantinople*: *Paulus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: *Ephremius* of *Antioch* and *Perrus* of *Jerusalem*. Of which Prelates, *Paulus*, when at the beginning he had pretended to assert the true Faith, afterwards revolted to the *Eutychian Heresy*, as I have remarked at note (b,) from *Victor* and *Theophanes* their *Chronicles*. Valef.

Some person studious of Ecclesiastick Antiquity, will perhaps make enquiry here, in what manner or order this Preaching [Publishing, or Asserting,] of the *Chalcedon Synod* was wont to be performed. I answer, that this preaching was usually made in the *Ambo*, or *Pulpit* of the Church, by the Bishop, or any other person deputed by him, whilst the Solemn [or, Publick] Prayers were performed. We have this information from the *Letter*, or *Libel* of the *Orthodox Bishops* presented at *Constantinople* to *Pope Agapetus*, which *Libel* is recorded in the *First Action* of the *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*, where they speak thus concerning the Emperour *Justinian*: *Καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον τὰς ἑσπας καὶ ἁγίας πωρεάς Συνόδους ἐν τῇ ὁτιδήποτε ἁγιασμένης θείας μυστηριαίας μεγαλοφώνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν κηρύκων κηρύττειν*, And on this account he made a Constitution that the four Sacred and Holy Synods should be Preached by the divine Preachers in the divine Prayers wheresoever performed. The Old Translator renders these words thus: *Et propter hoc statuit quatuor Sanctas Synodos in divinis Et sacris initiationibus, a sacris prædicatoribus prædicari*, And on this account be ordered, that the four Holy Synods should be preach'd by the Sacred Preachers, in the divine and sacred Initiations. This Translator thought, *μυστηρία* was taken in this place for *Initiation*, or *Baptism*, as it is wont usually to be taken. But at this place, *θεία μυστηρία* is taken for the Publick Prayers, and has the same import with *θεία λειτουργία*, the Divine Liturgy. Indeed the *Chalcedon-Synod* was first Preach'd [or, Asserted] in the Publick Prayers at *Constantinople*, in the Reign of *Justinus Senior*, as may be seen in the *Fifth Action* of the *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*, pag. 725, &c. Edit. Colon. But the Studious of Ecclesiastick Antiquity must be cautioned, that they suffer not themselves to be led into an error by the *Latine Translator*, who writes that this Publication was made after the prayers were ended. When as nevertheless, the Greek Text there has a far different import; the words whereof are these: *καὶ τῇ παρελθούσῃ κυριακῇ καὶ δαυτέρῃ, λειτουργίας, ἐπιτελεσμένης ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τῇ Θεῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, &c. when Sunday and Munday come, the Liturgy being to be performed [or, celebrated,] in the Holy Church of God. The same error is committed by the Translator, at pag. 733; where the Greek runs thus: *καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας εὐαγγελίας, ἔξ ἑσθας τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεσμένης καὶ πῶν θυρῶν κλειθεῖσων, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μαθήμεαι* &c. which words are to be rendred thus: And after the reading of the Holy Gospel, when the Divine Liturgy, as usually, is to be celebrated, and the doors are shut, and the Holy Creed, according to custom, read, &c. Which passages the studious Reader may peruse there, if he has a mind to understand the whole order [or fashion,]



wherein the Four Occumenical Synods were preach'd [or proclaim'd,] and read in the Sacred Diptychs. Valef.

He means Justinian's forty second Novel, which is also recorded in the fifth Acti- on of the Constantinopolitan Synod under Menas. In the Edition of Henry Stephens, who publish'd Justinian's Novels in Greek; this Constitution is indeed said to have been dated on the seventeenth of the Calends of August, in the Consulate of the most Famous Belisarius. But in the Edition of the Constantinopolitan Council under Menas, 'tis said to be dated on the eighth of the Ides of August, after the Consulate of the most Famous Belisarius; which is doubtless truer. For, in regard Justinian promulg'd that Constitution against Anthimus and Severus, after the Sentence of the Constantinopolitan Synod pronounc'd against those Prelates, (as the Empe- rour himself attests in the Preface of that Constitution :) and whereas the Constantinopolitan Synod pronounc'd a Sentence of Condemnation against the foresaid Anthimus and Severus on the twelfth of the Calends of June, after Belisarius's Consulate: it is altogether necessary, that that Constitution of Justinian's should have been promulg'd on the year after Belisarius's Consulate. Valef.

\* Exarchs at this place are the Primates, or Patriarchs of each Diocesis, as Evagrius has said a little before: in the same manner as Jacobus Symondus has explained it in the second Book of his Propem- picon, chap. 5. where he discourses excellently and most learnedly concerning Exarchs. To whose exact diligence there remains nothing to be added by us. Nor has Christophorus done ill in rendering ἑξάρχαι here, Archbishops. For Primates were heretofore termed Arch- bishops, as Isidorus informs us in the seventh Book of his Origines, in these words: Ordo Episcoporum quadripartitus est, &c. The Order of Bishops is divided into four parts, into Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitanes, and Bishops. A Patriarch in the Greek Tongue im- ports the highest Father, because he holds the first, that is, the Aposto- lick place: as the Roman, the Antiochian, the Alexandrian. Arch- bishop in Greek is termed the highest of Bishops. For he holds the Apostolick place, and presides as well over Metropolitanes, as Bi- shops. Valef.

C H A P. XII.

Out of the History of Procopius Cæsariensis, concerning Cavades King of the Persians, and his Son Chosroes.

Procopius the Rhetorician has written the Af- fairs transacted by Belisarius: [and he de- clares,] that Cavades King of the Persians, de- sirsous to invest Chosroes being the younger of

\* Βάλεῖν ἄνε. The conjecture of Learned Men displeases me; who (instead of βέλαι, de- fires,) have mended it thus, βυλάειν ἄνε, consulted how, &c. Nicephorus (book 17. chap. 10.) instead of these two words uses this, διενοεῖτο, thought, or, cast in his mind: which pleases me best. Valef.

\* Cavades. his design; by the Inducement of Proclus, who fate Quæstor to [the Emperour] Justinian, the Feud against the Romans was increased. Fur-

ther, the same Procopius with much exquisite- ness and great elegance hath set forth the Acti- ons of Belisarius Master of the Eastern Milice, at such time as the Romans and Persians were at War one with another. He relates the first Victory therefore of the Romans about the places Daras and Nisibis, when Belisarius and Hermoge- nes commanded the Roman Army. To which he subjoyns also what hapned in the Country of the Armenians, and with how great [mischiefs] Alamundarus Commander of those Barbarians [termed] \* Scenitæ, infested the Roman Pro- vinces. Which Alamundarus took Timostratus, Brother to Rufinus, alive, together with the Souldiers † under his Command; and after- wards delivered him up [when ransomed] with a vast sum of Money.

\* Or, who dwelt in Tencs. He meant the Sara- cens. † Or, A- bout him.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Alamundarus and Azarethus; and concerning that Sedition at Constanti- nople, which had the name Nica given it.

[The same Author] \* most passionately describes the Incurion of the foremen- tioned Alamundarus and Azarethus into the † Roman Pale; and how Belisarius, forced there- to by his own Army, made an attack upon those Barbarians in their return to their own Countrey, near the Banks of the Euphrates, the Festival of Easter then approaching; and how the Roman Army was ruined, by their refusing to obey the Advices of Belisarius: and lastly, how Rufinus and Hermogenes made that Peace with the Persians, called \* The Interminate Peace. To which † he subjoyns the popular Sedition that hapned at Byzantium, whereto The || Word of the People gave a Name. For they gave it the Appellation of Nica, [because] the Popu- lacy being assembled together had given one another this † Word, in order to their distin- guishing one another. In that [Sedition] Hipatius and Pompeius were by the Populacy forced to set up for Tyrants. But the Heads of them both by Justinian's Command were cut off by the Souldiers, and drowned in the Sea; the People having been soon quell'd. More- over, Procopius affirms, that thirty thousand Men perished \* in this Tumult.

\* Or, With a vehe- mency of affection. † Or, Land of the Ro- mans. \* Or, End- less, or, boundless. † Proco- pius. Or, Watch- word. † Or, Watch- word. \* Ἐν τῷ πύρρῳ τέτρε; In this mischief, or, harm.

C H A P. XIV.

Concerning \* Hunericus King of the Van- dals, and concerning those Christians, whose Tongues were cut out by him.

The same Procopius, in his book wherein he has related the Affairs of the Vandals, gives a Narrative of † strange things, and which de- serve for ever to be kept in memory by Men; which matter I come now to relate. Hunericus who succeeded Gisericus in the Kingdom, in re- gard he embraced [the Tenets] of Arius, be- haved himself most barbarously towards those Christians in Africa; forcing them who asserted the Orthodox Opinions to [retract and] turn to the Opinion of the Arians. And if any re- fused to obey his Commands, he destroyed them by fire; and infinite other sorts of death. But he ordered the Tongues of some of them to be cut out. Procopius affirms, that he him- self

\* Or, One- richus.

† Or, The Greatest.



self<sup>a</sup> saw these Persons when they were at Constantinople, to which City they had fled; and that he conferred with them [and heard them] speak in such a manner as if they had suffered no such thing: and [he says.] that their Tongues indeed were cut out from the very root; but, that they had an articulate Voice, and spake distinctly: [which thing was] a wonder new and unusual. The Constitution of \* Justinian mentions these Persons also. Two of whom Lapsed, as the same Procopius relates. For in regard they would not converse with Women, they were deprived of their Voice, and the grace of Martyrdom continued not any longer with them.

\* In the Greek Text here, and in Robert Stephens's Edition 'tis Justinus: See note (a) in this Chapter.

† Or, Have to do with.

(whole Tongues Hunericus King of the Vandals had commanded to be cut out, and who afterwards desisted not from speaking though their Tongues were cut out) Marcellinus Comes speaks in his Chronicon at the Consulate of Theodoricus and Venantius; where he also attests that some of them were seen by him. Victor Tunonensis records the same in his Chronicon, at Zeno Augustus's Consulate, And Victor Vitenfis in his book De Persecutione Vandalorum, and lastly the Emperour Justinian in his First Law, de Officio Præfeti Prætorio Africae. Which Constitution of Justinian's our Evagrius quotes a little lower in this Chapter; although in the Greek Text the Name of Justinus is erroneously written instead of Justinianus. See more in Baronius, at the year of Christ 484. Valef.

## C H A P. XV.

## Concerning Cabaones the Moor.

Moreover, [Procopius]<sup>a</sup> relates another admirable passage, which was wonderfully effected by God [our] Saviour, amongst Men who were strangers indeed to our Religion, but who behaved themselves piously and holily at that time.

<sup>a</sup> 'Ανὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν, I had rather make it, ἀναφερόμενος, relates; as Evagrius expresses himself at the beginning of the next Chapter. Valef.

He says, that Cabaones was King of those Moors about Tripoli. This Cabaones, says he, (for I think fit to make use of Procopius's own words, who has elegantly related these matters, as well as others;) having received Information, that the Vandals would undertake an Expedition against him, he behaved himself in this manner. In the first place he ordered his Subjects, to abstain

from all manner of Injustice, and \* from dainty food which and delicious Dishes; but most especially from the brought nourishment.

† Or, Company of Women. Then, he pitch'd two Camps, in the one he himself encamped, together with all the Men: but within the other he shut up the Women, and threatened he would inflict a punishment of death upon any one that should go into the Women's Entrenchment. After this, he sent || Spies to Carthage, to whom he gave these Orders:

That if the Vandals, when on their Expedition, should \* defile any Oratory † wherein the Christians worshipped, they should make an Inspection into what was done. But, when the Vandals were removed from that place, [he enjoined them] to do all things that were the quite contrary, to that Church out of which the Vandals had made their Removal, and were gone. 'Tis reported that || he said this also, That he was indeed ignorant of that God whom the Christians worshipped: but 'tis probable, says he, if he be a strong and powerful [God,] as he is said to be, that he will be revenged on those who injure [his Deity,] and will defend his Worshipers. The Spies therefore, when they were arrived at Carthage, continued there, and \* viewed the Preparation of the Vandals: But when their Army had begun their

|| Cabaones.

\* Or, Be held.

Expedition towards Tripoli, † they put themselves into a mean garb, and followed them. The Vandals on the very first day [of their march] made Stables of the Christian Oratories, into which they brought their Horses, and their other Beasts; omitting the performing no sort of Contumely whatever: also they themselves practised \* their usual unruliness, cuff't those Christian || Ministers whom they could take, tore their backs with many stripes, and commanded them to wait on them. But Cabaones's Spies, as soon as ever the Vandals had removed from those places, performed what they had been ordered to do. For they cleansed the Churches immediately, with great care carried away the dung and whatever else had been irreverently put therein, lighted all the Candles, paid the highest Reverence imaginable to the \* Ministers, and were indulgent to them in all other instances of kindness and beneficence. Then, they distributed Money amongst the indigent, who sat about those sacred Houses; in this manner they followed the Army of the Vandals. And the Vandals from this very time throughout their whole Expedition committed such impious Facts as these: but the Spies made it their business to apply remedies thereto. But when the Vandals drew near [towards the Moors] the Spies hastened and told Cabaones, as well what the Vandals, as what they themselves had done to the Churches of the Christians, and [informed him] that the Enemy approacht. Cabaones hearing this, put his Army into a posture fit to engage. Most of the Vandals, as 'tis said, were destroyed: many of them were taken by the Moors, and very few of that Army returned to their own homes. This overthrow Thrasamundus suffered from the Moors: and not long after this he ended his Life, when he had reigned seven and twenty years over the Vandals.

## C H A P. XVI.

## Concerning Belisarius's Expedition against the Vandals, and their total overthrow.

The same Procopius relates, that Justinian (in compassion to those Christians who suffered grievously there,) declared [he would undertake] an Expedition [into Africa;] but by the suggestions of Johannes the Præfectus Prætorio, he was diverted from that Design. Yet, he was afterwards admonished in a <sup>a</sup> Dream, not to desist from that Invasion.

Vision which appeared to Justinian in his sleep, Victor Tunonensis writes thus: Justiniano Aug. IV. Cos. Justinianus Imper. Visitatione Leti, &c. Justinianus Augustus being the fourth time Consul. The Emperour Justinianus, by a Visitation of Lætus the Bishop who was made a Martyr by Hunericus King of the Vandals, sends an Army into Africk against the Vandals, under the Command of Belisarius Master of the Milice. Victor Vitenfis made mention of this Lætus Bishop in his first book De Persecutione Vandalorum. Further, concerning this Expedition of Justinian into Africk against the Vandals, Marcellinus Comes speaks also in his Chronicon, and places it on the Fourth Consulate of the same Justinianus, that is on the year of Christ 534. Marius Averlicensis relates the same in his Chronicon. But Baronius in his Annals reproves Marcellinus, and maintains that the Expedition was undertaken by Justinianus in his Third Consulate, on the year of Christ 533. Justinian's Constitution de Confirmatione Digestorum (which is prefixed before the Work of the Pandects,) confirms Baronius's Opinion. But, by Baronius's favour, I think the Opinion of Marcellinus and Victor to be truer. Nor do I doubt, but a fault has crept into Justinian's Constitution, (on the Authority whereof Baronius relies,) and that the Third Consulate of the Emperour Justinian was written by Transcribers of Books instead of the Fourth. And this Justinian himself does so manifestly shew in the foresaid Constitution, that I admire it was not perceived by Baronius. For thus Justinian speaks: Legi autem nostras, quas in his Codicibus, id est, Institutionum & Digestorum, posuimus.



posuimus, &c. But our Laws which we have put in these Codes, that is, of the Institutions and Digests, [shall] obtain their strength from [our] third most happy Consulate of the present twelfth Indiction, on the third of the Calends of January, and shall be of force for ever. For on the twelfth Indiction Justinian bore his Fourth Consulate, as Marcellinus Comes attests. But, some one will object, that the twelfth Indiction was begun from the Calends of September, in Justinian's third Consulate. Therefore, we must have recourse to another Argument, to prove what I have said above; viz. That the Vandalick Expedition was begun on Justinian's Fourth Consulate; and that that Constitution whereon Baronius's Opinion is founded, was written in Justinian's Fourth Consulate. Now, this may be proved thus. In the end of the foresaid Constitution, as well in the Greek as Latine, Justinian makes mention of a Præfectus Prætorio of Africa. But a Præfectus Prætorio of Africa was first created by Justinian in his Fourth Consulate, a little before the Calends of the September of the Thirteenth Indiction, as the First Law of the Code de Præfecto Prætorio Africa informs us. For Justinian speaks in this manner: *Hæc igitur magnitudo tua cognoscens, ex Calendis Septemberibus futuræ decimæ tertiæ Indictionis effectui mancipari procuret.* Valef.

For [he was told,] that in case he would give the \* Or, Af- Christians assistance, he should ruine \* the King- dom of the Vandals. Incouraged by this Dream,

<sup>b</sup> Εὐαγριῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἀ-  
νέκτων. Procopius's words  
out of the first book of his Van-  
dalicks pag. 107, are these: "Εὐ-  
αγριῶν ἰδὼν ἔτι καὶ τὸ ἀνέκ-  
των ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, &c.  
Which words import, that his se-  
venth year was already past.  
Now, if we should say that the  
Vandalick Expedition was under-  
taken in Justinian's Third Con-  
sulate, as Justinian's words do  
wholly seem to persuade; (when  
about the Summer Solstice, the  
Roman Navy came up to the By-  
zantine Port, and soon after set  
sail from thence (as Procopius re-  
lates,) that is about the end of the  
month June:) Justinian was then  
in the seventh year and third  
month of his Empire. For the  
first day of Justinian's Reign is  
brought from the Calends of A-  
pril. But if we should place the  
Vandalick Expedition on Justini-  
an's Fourth Consulate; it will be  
the eighth year of his Empire;  
and not the seventh, as Procopius  
writes: wherefore Baronius's O-  
pinion is truer; which is confir-  
med both by the Emperour Ju-  
stinian's Authority, and also by  
the testimony of Procopius. Valef.

\* Or, Be- Church \* without that City, near the Sea-Shore,  
fore. and besides other Religious respects [by them paid  
to him,] they also celebrate an Anniversary Fe-  
stival, which they term Cypriana; and hence  
the Mariners are wont to call that Storm (which  
I have even now mentioned,) by the same name  
with this Festival, because it usually rages at that  
very time, whereon the Africans are accustomed  
perpetually to celebrate that Festival. In the  
Reign of Hunericus, the Vandals took this Church  
from the Christians by force, drove the Priests  
out thence with great ignominy, and afterwards  
\* altered it, in regard it was come into the posses-  
\* Reformed, or, sion of the Arians. The Africans being vexed  
repaired. and highly displeased on account hereof, they say that  
Cyprianus appeared and visited [them] frequently  
in [their] sleep, [and said to some of them,] that the  
Christians ought in no wise to be solli-  
citous about him: for that he himself in process  
of time would be his own Revenger. Which Pre-  
diction was compleated in the times of Belisarius;  
when Carthage by the Commander Belisarius was  
reduced to a subjection to the Romans, \* after  
the Ninety fifth year of its being lost: when also  
the Vandals were totally vanquished, the Heresy

of the Arians was perfectly driven out of Africa, grees;  
and the Christians recovered their own Chur- whose  
ches, according to the Martyr Cyprianus's Pre- words in  
diction. the First  
Law of  
the Code  
de Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africae, are these: *Ut Africa per  
nos tam brevi tempore reciperet Libertatem, ante nonaginta quinque  
annos a Vandalis captivata; That Africk should by Us receive its Li-  
berty in so short a time, having been captivated by the Vandals ninety  
five years before.* Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon relates, that Car-  
thage was taken by the Romans on the ninety sixth year of its being lost.  
But Victor Tunonensis affirms that Africk was recovered by the Romans  
under the Command of Belisarius, on the ninety seventh year of the  
Vandals entrance into it. Valef.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the Spoils which were brought out of Africa.

THE same Procopius hath recorded this pas-  
sage. When Belisarius (says he) having  
vanquished the Vandals, was returned to Con-  
stantinople, bringing along with him the Spoils, the  
Prisoners of War, and Gelimeres himself King  
of the Vandals; a Triumph was granted him,  
[at which time] he lead through the Cirque all  
things that were worthy of admiration. Amongst  
which there was a vast Treasure; for Gizerichus  
had heretofore plundered the Palace at Rome;  
(as has before been related by me;) at such time  
as Eudoxia Wife to Valentinian Emperour of the  
Western Romans, (having both lost her Hus-  
band by Maximus's means, and also been injured  
as to her Chastity,) had sent for Gizerichus,  
promising she would betray the City to him. At  
which time [Gizerichus] burnt Rome, and car-  
ried away Eudoxia with her two Daughters into  
the Country of the Vandals. When also, together  
with other Treasures, he made plunder of what-  
ever Titus, Son to Vespasian, had brought to Rome,  
after his Conquest of Jerusalem; to wit, Solo-  
mon's Gifts, which he had dedicated to God.  
Which Gifts Justinian sent to Jerusalem again,  
in honour to Christ our God; whereby he ex-  
hibited a due honour to God, to whom they  
had been before dedicated. Procopius says also,  
That Gelimeres, lying then prostrate on the  
ground in the Cirque, over against the Empe-  
rour's Throne whereon Justinian sat, and be-  
held what was done, uttered this divine Oracle  
in his own Country Language, *Vanity of Van-  
ities, all is Vanity.*

C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning those Phœnicians who fled from the Face of Jesus the Son of Nave.

MOREOVER; [the same Procopius] relates  
another thing never mentioned by any  
Author before him, which is most admirable,  
\* and transcends almost all belief. He relates \* Or, And  
therefore, that The Moors, a Nation of the Afri- transcends  
cans, removed out of Palestine, and took up their the Hyper-  
habitation in Africa: and, that they are those bole [ex-  
[People] whom the sacred Scriptures do men- cess, or,  
tion [by the names of] Gergeshites and Jebu- superla-  
sites, and those other Nations who were vanqui- tiveness.]  
shed by Jesus the Son of Nave. And he sup- of every  
poses this thing to be || unquestionably true, || Or, Every  
from a certain Inscription cut in Phœnician Let- wonder.  
ters, which he affirms that he himself read. This  
[Inscription he says,] is to be seen near a Foun-  
tain;



tain, where two Columns of white Marble are erected, on which these words are cut: WE ARE THEY WHO FLIE FROM THE FACE OF THAT THIEF JESUS THE SON OF NAVE. And this was the conclusion of these transactions; *Africa* was again reduced to a subjection to the Romans, and paid in the Annual Tributes, as it had usually done before. 'Tis moreover reported, that *Justinian* repaired an hundred and fifty Cities in *Africa*, (some whereof were wholly ruined, and others, as to their greatest part) and, that he made them most transcendently more magnificent than they had been before, [beautifying them] with an eximious splendidence, with Ornaments, and with Structures as well private as publick; with the Inclosures of Walls also, and with other vast Edifices, wherewith Cities are both usually adorned, and also [wherein] the Deity is appeased; with plenty of Waters likewise, as well for use, as ornament; some of which Waters were first brought into them by him, the Cities having not had them before; and others he reduced to their ancient course and order.

## CHAP. XIX.

\*Or, Then derichus. Concerning \*Theodoricus the Gothi, and what hapned at Rome under him till the times of Justinian, and, that Rome was again reduced to a Subjection to the Romans, after Vitiges had fled out of the City.

I Come now to declare the affairs which were transacted in *Italy*, and these *Procopius* the Rhetorician has with great accuracy related till his own times. After *Theodoricus*, as it has

\* Book 3. Camp. 27. \* already been declared by me, had taken Rome, (having wholly vanquished *Odoacer* who tyrannized therein;) and had governed the Roman Empire as long as he lived; *Amalasuntha*, who

† Guardius p. || Atalarichus Son to them both, and governed the Empire; she \* was a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and in this manner she managed affairs.

\* Or, She inclined rather to a masculine gravity. This Woman first incited *Justinian* to a desire of a Gothick War, having sent Embassadors to him, in regard a Plot was framed against her. Further, when *Atalarichus* had ended his Life,

\* Or, Then datius. which he did whilst very young, \* *Theodatus* Kinsman to *Theodoricus* takes upon himself the Administration of the Western Empire.

Who, when *Justinian* had sent *Belisarius* into the western parts, relinquished his Government; (for being a Person addicted rather to Books and Study, he was wholly unexperienced in Military affairs;) *Vitiges* a most Warlike Person being in the interim Commander in Chief of the Western Forces. From the History of the same *Procopius* we may extract this also, that when *Belisarius* arrived in *Italy*, *Vitiges* left Rome; and, that *Belisarius* with his Army about him made his approach to Rome. Whom the Romans received most willingly, and opened their Gates to him; that having been chiefly effected by *Silverius* then Pontiff of that City; who on this account had sent *Fidelis* a Person that had been Assessor to *Atalarichus*. Thus the City was delivered up to *Belisarius* without an Engagement: and Rome was again brought to a subjection to the Romans, after [the space of] sixty years, on the ninth of the month *Apellæus*, which the Latines term December, when *Justinian* was in the eleventh

year of his Empire. The same *Procopius* relates also, that when the Goths besieged Rome, *Belisarius* having a suspicion that *Silverius* Pontiff of that City would betray it, † condemned him to † Or, Carried him away into Greece. a Deportation into *Achaia*; and made *Vigilius* Pontiff in his stead.

## CHAP. XX.

How those [People] termed The Eruli turned Christians in the times of Justinian.

A Bout these very times, as the same *Procopius* relates, The <sup>a</sup> Eruli (who long before had passed the River *Danube*, at such time as <sup>a</sup> Concerning the conversion of these People to the Faith of Christ, *Procopius* speaks in book first *Anastasius* Governed the Roman Empire;) having been kindly received by *Justinian* who enriched them with great wealth, by a general consent turned all Christians, and changed their pristine way of living for a more civilized and quieter course of Life.

of his Gothicks, and *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, p. 149. These People, in regard they lived near the Lake *Mæotis*, in Fenny places, were from thence first termed *Eluri*. For *ἐλῦς* in Greek signifies Fens, or Fennish places. *Jordanes* in his Book *de rebus Geticis*, writes thus concerning The *Heruli*: Nam prædicta Gens, *Ablabius Historico* referente, &c. For the foresaid Nation, as *Ablabius the Historian* relates, dwelling near the Lakes of *Mæotis*, in Fennish places, which the Greeks term *Ele*, were named *Eluri*. The Author of the *Etymologicon* says the same in the word *ἐλῦες*. *Helmoldus* in his *Chronicon* of the *Sclavi*, chap. 2. affirms that these *Heruli* were a Slavick Nation, who dwelt between *Albia* and *Odora*, and reach'd a great way out to the South in a long Bay; who also, as he writes, were by another Name termed *Helds*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

That *Belisarius* recovered [the City] Rome, which had been again taken by the Goths.

A Fter this *Procopius* sets forth *Belisarius's* return to *Constantinople*, and how he carried *Vitiges* along with him, together with the Spoils taken out of Rome; also, *Totila's* seizure of the Roman Empire, and how Rome was again reduced under the Goths Dominion; and, that *Belisarius* arriving the second time in *Italy*, recovered Rome again. And how, when the Persian War broke out, *Belisarius* was again sent for to *Constantinople* by the Emperour.

## CHAP. XXII.

That the Abasgi, turned Christians also in those times.

T He same [Writer] relates, that about these very times the *Abasgi* became more civilized, and embraced the Christian Religion; and, that the Emperour *Justinian* sent one of the Eunuchs belonging to his Court, by descent an *Abasgian*, his name *Euphrata*, amongst the *Abasgians*, to declare to them, that no one in that Nation should in future have his Genitals cut off with an Iron; nor, that a force should be put upon Nature. For out of these the Servants of the Imperial Bed-Chamber were for the most part chosen, whom they usually term Eunuchs. Then also *Justinian* built a Church [in honour] of The *Theotocos* amongst the *Abasgi*, and constituted Priests amongst them. And from thence forward [The *Abasgi*] learned



\*Or, The ned \* The Dogmata of the Christians with the  
Opinions. greatest accuracy imaginable.

### CHAP. XXIII.

That the Inhabitants of Tanais also at that  
time embraced the Christian Religion; and  
concerning the Earthquakes which hapned  
in Greece and Achaia.

IT is related by the same Writer, that the In-  
habitants of Tanais (those who dwell in this  
Region, term that Stream [which runs] out  
of the Lake Mæotis, untill [it falls] into the  
Euxine Sea, Tanais;) earnestly entreated Ju-  
stinian to send a Bishop to them; and, that Ju-  
stinian brought their Peti-  
tion to effect, and most wil-  
lingly sent a Prelate amongst  
them. The same Author  
with much elegancy records,  
that in the times of Justi-  
nian, the Goths made an ir-  
ruption out of Mæotis into the \* Roman Pale;

\*Επιμαλὴν τε τὴν δὲ δῆσον. I  
doubt not but Evagrius wrote  
ἐπιμαλὴν τε τὴν δὲ δῆσον ἱερωτάτην  
ἀπελθόντες, and that Justinian  
brought their petition to effect.  
For thus Nicephorus words it,  
book 17. chap. 13. Valef.

\*Or, Land [he declares] also, that there hapned dreadful  
Earthquakes in Greece, Boeotia, and Achaia,  
and, that the places about The Crisean Bay  
were shaken, and, that innumerable other Towns  
and Cities were totally ruined. That there  
hapned likewise Chasms of the Earth in many  
places: and, that in some places the Ground  
closed and came together again: but, that in  
others, [those Chasms] continued.

### CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Narses a Master of the Milice,  
and his Piety.

\*Procopius \* HE relates likewise Narses's † Expedition,  
† Or, Com- who was sent into Italy by Justinian;  
mand of and in what manner he Conquered Totila, and af-  
the Army. ter him Teia; and how Rome was taken the  
Fifth time. Further, those persons who had an in-  
timacy with Narses do re-  
port, || that he appeased the  
Deity with supplications and  
other [offices of] Piety  
[in such a manner,] pay-  
ing so due a veneration  
thereto, that even The Vir-  
gin and Theotocos her self  
manifestly declared to him  
the time when he ought to  
Engage: and that he should not give the On-  
set, before he had received the Signal from  
† Εξέδεν; † thence. Many other actions, which deserve  
that is, Ca- great commendation, were performed by Nar-  
litis, from ses; for he vanquished Buselinus and Sind-  
Heaven, as rylus, and reduced many [Regions,] as far  
Grynæus as the Ocean, [to the Roman Empire.] Which  
and Curte- actions Agathias the Rhetorician has re-  
rius have corded; but as yet they are not come to our  
Valefius hands.  
translates  
it, ab illâ,  
from her, to wit, The Virgin Mary:

|| We have rendered this Clause,  
as far as the next full point, ac-  
cording as we found, it pointed  
in Robert Stephens's Edition;  
the punctuation in Valefius's E-  
dition (as the Learned Reader  
will easily observe,) puts a sense  
upon these words far different  
from that we have expressed in  
our Version.

† Εξέδεν; † thence. Many other actions, which deserve  
that is, Ca- great commendation, were performed by Nar-  
litis, from ses; for he vanquished Buselinus and Sind-  
Heaven, as rylus, and reduced many [Regions,] as far  
Grynæus as the Ocean, [to the Roman Empire.] Which  
and Curte- actions Agathias the Rhetorician has re-  
rius have corded; but as yet they are not come to our  
Valefius hands.  
translates  
it, ab illâ,  
from her, to wit, The Virgin Mary:

### CHAP. XXV.

That Chosroes, Stimulated with Envy at the  
prosperous successes of Justinian, broke out  
into a War against the Romans, and ruined  
many Roman Cities, amongst which [he  
destroyed] Antioch The Great also.

THE same Procopius has related these mat-  
ters also, how Chosroes, after he had re-  
ceived information that affairs both in Africa  
and Italy had succeeded so fortunately to the  
Roman Empire, was excessively inflamed with  
envy: and objected some things against the  
Roman Empire, affirming that the League was  
violated [by them,] and that they had broken  
the Peace which had been agreed on [be-  
tween the two Empires.] And, that in the  
first place Justinian dispatc'd away Embassa-  
dors to Chosroes, who might perswade him  
not to break that Intermine Peace [which had  
been made] between them, nor to violate the  
Articles of agreement, but rather that the mat-  
ters in controversie might be inquired into, and  
composed in an amicable manner. But he says,  
that Chosroes, corroded by envy which stimula-  
ted him within, would accept of none of those  
rational proposals; but with a numerous Ar-  
my made an Invasion into the Roman Terri-  
tories, in the Thirteenth year of Justinian's Go-  
verning the Roman Empire. [The same Pro-  
copius] relates likewise, how Chosroes laid Siege  
to and destroyed \* Sura a City situate on the \* Σεβρ.  
Banks of The Euphrates, [with the Inhabitants  
whereof] he seemingly made some Articles of  
agreement, but dealt with them far otherwise,  
[perpetrating] all the most Impious and Ne-  
farious Facts [amongst them,] having not in  
the least heeded the Articles of agreement; and  
was made Master of that City by Treachery  
rather than his \* Arms. Also, how he burnt \* Or, War.  
Beroea; and after that [made] an Attack upon  
Antioch, Ephraim being then Bishop of that  
City, who had left it, † in  
regard nothing of what he  
did, succeeded according to  
his design. Which [Pre-  
late] is reported to have  
preserved the Church and all  
[the Edifices] about it, ha-  
ving adorned [the Church]  
with sacred Gifts, [on this  
design,] that they might be  
the price of its Redemption.  
Moreover, [the same Wri-  
ter] also gives a most pa-  
thetical and lively descri-  
ption of the Siege of An-  
tioch, laid to it by Chos-  
roes, and how Chosroes [be-  
coming master of it] rui-  
ned and destroyed all things  
with Fire and Sword. Also, how \* he went to \* Chosroes;  
Seleucia a neighbouring City [to Antioch,]  
then to the Suburb Daphne; and after that to  
Apamea, Thomas then Governing the Chair  
of that Church, a person [admirable and] most  
powerful both in words and deeds. This Prelate  
wisely refused not to be a Spectatour, together  
with Chosroes, of † The Cirque-Sports in the Hip- † Or;  
podrome, (though that was a thing contrary to Equestri-  
the usage of the Church;) [it being his desire] an Games  
by all imaginable ways to gratifie Chosroes, and

\* Μυδενδς αὐτῷ τῶν κηρασκῶ-  
των σεβρίῳ. I have cor-  
rected this place from the Telle-  
rian Manuscript, and from Nice-  
phorus, in which Author 'tis written  
thus: Μυδενδς αὐτῷ τῶν κη-  
ρασκῶτων σεβρίῳ, in regard nothing  
of what he did succeeded according  
to his design, or, desire. See Pro-  
copius Book 2. Persic: where he  
says, that Ephraim the Bishop  
was falsely accused for having  
a design to deliver up Antioch to  
the Persians; and, that soon af-  
ter he fled into Cilicia, being a-  
fraid of the Irruption of the  
Persians. But concerning the Or-  
naments given by Ephraim to  
the Church of the Antiochians;  
there is not a word extant in Pro-  
copius. Valef.

† Or;  
an Games  
T t 3



to mitigate his mind. Whom *Chosroes* asked, whether he should be willing to see him at his own City. And they say, that *Thomas* answered really and according to the true Sentiment of his own mind, that he would not willingly see *Chosroes* in his own City. Which answer, as 'tis reported, *Chosroes* wondred at, and deservedly admired this man [for the love he bore] to Truth.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Miracle of the Pretious and Vivifick wood of the Cross, which hapned at Apamia.

**B**Ut, in regard I am fallen upon this relation, I will also declare a Miracle that hapned \* there, which deserves to be inserted into our present History. When the Inhabitants of *Apamia* were informed that *Antioch* had been burnt [by *Chosroes*,] they earnestly besought the fore-mentioned *Thomas*, to bring forth and expose to view (though contrary to the usual custom,) the Salutary and Vivifick wood of the Cross, to the end they might have the last sight of, and kiss the only Salvation of men, and might take the † *Viaticum* of another life, the pretious Cross being their Convoy to a better allotment. Which thing *Thomas* performed, and brought forth the Vivifick wood, having appointed some set days for its being exposed to view, to the end that all the neighbourhood might come together thither, and enjoy the safety [arising] from thence. Together therefore with others, || my Parents also went thither, leading me along with them who then \* went to [the School of] a Grammar master. Wherefore at such time as we were vouchsafed to reverence and kiss the pretious Cross, *Thomas* lifting up both his hands, shewed the wood of the Cross [which was] the abolition of the Old Curse, and went all about the sacred Church, as 'twas the usage on solemn and set days of † veneration. But, as *Thomas* moved up and down, there followed him a vast flame of a shining, not of a burning fire, in so much that every place, where he stood to shew the pretious Cross, seemed to be all on a flame. And this hapned not once, or twice, but oftner, whilst the Bishop went round all that place, and whilst the people there assembled earnestly entreated *Thomas* that that might be done. Which thing predicted that safety which hapned to the *Apamians*. A picture therefore was hung up at the Roof of the Church, which \* by its representation might declare these things to those who know them not.

\* *Tῆς γερῆς* which \* by its representation might declare these things to those who know them not. doubtful what *γερῆς* should signifie here, whether a picture, and an image of that flame which had followed the wood of the Cross; or, a Writing. Musculus took it for a Writing, or, an Inscription; as did also Christophorson, who renders it thus: *Ob quam causam imago in testudine Sanctuarii statuta fuit, quæ Inscriptione in Basi incisa, hoc miraculum illis qui ejusdem ignari erant, monstravit; For which reason an image was set up in the Roof of the Sanctuary, which by an Inscription cut upon its Basis, might show this Miracle to those who were ignorant of it. But this Rendition is intolerable. For first, a Basis is not a term properly used about a Painted Picture, but concerning a Statue only. Besides, if the Image were in the Roof, where, I pray, was the Basis set. My Sentiment is, that the Image [or, representation] of this Miracle was Painted in the Arched Roof of the Church, whereon perhaps some Verses were inscribed, which might record this Miracle. Such like Inscriptions are extant in Gruther's *Theaurus*, and in Paulinus's *Epistles*. Valef.*

Which [picture] was preserved intire until the incursion of *Adarmanes*, and the *Persians*. In Nice. At which time it was burnt, together with *phorus* and Gods holy Church and that whole City. And the Telle- these things hapned thus. But *Chosroes* at his *rian Ma-* going away violated his Articles of agreement, *nuscript* (for he had agreed to some things then also;) the read- and did the quite contrary; which [behaviour] *deapud* was agreeable indeed to his unstable and incon- *Ardaar-* stant humour, but does in no wise besit a man of *manes.* sense and reason, much less a King, \* who has a ning this value for his Articles of agreement. *Adarma-*

tain of the *Persians*, and his irruption into Syria, our *Evagrius* speaks in his sixth book. Valef. In Robert Stephens he is called *Adarmanes*. \* Or, Who makes an account of his, &c.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Chosroes's Expedition against Edeffa.

**T**He same *Protopius* records what has been related by the Ancients concerning *Edeffa* and *Agbarus*, and how Christ \* wrote to *Agbarus*. *Περὶ ἀγ- γάρου ἀπεσταλτοῦ.* I agree with *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who instead of ἀπεσταλτοῦ, sent away, have mended it thus, ἐπεσταλτοῦ, wrote. More- over, the words which immediately follow, (to wit, these, *ἔτα καὶ ἐς ἐτέραν ἐφοδόν*, &c.) are corrupted also. In the *Florentine Manu-* script 'tis thus worded, *ἔτα καὶ ὡς ἐς ἐτέραν ἐφοδόν*, &c. But the place as yet is not without fault. I write thus therefore: *ἔτα καὶ ὡς καὶ ἐτέραν ἐφοδόν ἐς παλαιοτάτων τῶν ἐδεστωμένων καὶ ἐς τὸν ὁ χοσροῦς*, Further also, how in [or, at] another incursion *Chosroes* resolved upon a Siege of the *Edeffens*. Valef.

Further also, how in another Incursion *Chosroes* \* Or, prove resolved upon a Siege of the *Edeffens*, supposing false. he should \* enervate what had been divulged † Or, E- by the faithful, [to wit,] that *Edeffa* should b *ὡς ἐστὶν* never be subdued by † an Enemy. Which thing *πρὸς φιλο-* is not indeed extant in that Letter sent from *πρὸς ἐλπίν*. Christ our God to *Agbarus*, \* as may be ga- I had rather thered by the studious from what has been re- write, *τὸς* lated by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who has inserted *φιλοπνοῖς*, by the stu- that Letter word for word [into his || *Hi-* dious. Val- story.] Nevertheless, 'tis both divulged and be- || Book 1. lieved amongst the Faithful, Chap. 13.

\* *Καὶ τὸ πῆμας ἐδεξάτο.* This whole place is corrupted, as 'tis ap- parent to the Readers. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy hath noted, that perhaps it should be *ἐδεξάτο*, demonstrated, or, de- clared: Which emendation *Nice-* phorus confirms, in chap. 16. book 17. where he writ's out this place of *Evagrius* thus; *ἐδεξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξον τῶν τῆς πίστεως ἀπορρήτων, ὡς μάλιστα ἀληθὴ ἐστὶ καὶ σύνφωνον*; that is, as *Langus* renders it, *Res ipsa quoque prædictionis ejus fidem, quod vera maxime sit & sibi ipsi consentiens, confirmavit; the thing it self also confirmed the authority [or, faith] of that prediction; that it might be very true and agreeable to it self. My Sentiment therefore is, that this whole clause of *Evagrius* must be written thus: καὶ τὸ πῆμας ἐδεξε τὸ ἀληθές, τῆς πίστεως ἐς ἐξον τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀσάβε- ons, and the event it self declared the Truth, Faith bringing the prediction to effect. Valef.*

he laid it round in the form of a circle, cast Earth into the midst of it, and advanced it directly towards the City. Building in this man- ner



\* Or, Byner \* by degrees upon the wood and on the little and earth, and making nearer approaches to the City, he raised it to so vast a height, and made it surmount the City-wall so far, that from an higher place he could throw darts against those who in defence of the City endangered themselves on the wall. The Besieged therefore, when they saw the Rampire (like a Mountain) coming near and approaching the City, and were in expectation that the Enemy would set foot into the City; very early in the morning attempted to work a Mine directly opposite to the Rampire which by the Romans is termed an *Aggesta*; and put fire therein, to the end that, the wood being consumed by the flame, the Rampire of Earth might fall to the Ground.

<sup>a</sup> See Procopius (out of whom Evagrius borrowed this,) book 2. *Perfic.* pag. 82. In what manner these *Aggesta* were built by the Romans, Apollodorus informs us incomparably well in his *Mechanicks*. Which Book, being lately done into Latine by me, by Gods assistance I will ere long publish, together with some other Writings of the same subject. Valef.

\* Or, They And that work was brought to perfection. But, <sup>miss of their</sup> after they had kindled the fire, \* their project <sup>design.</sup> proved unsuccessful, in regard the fire had not <sup>† Or, Embrace the</sup> a passage, whereby the air being let in, it <sup>matter.</sup> might † catch hold of the heap of wood. Being

|| Or, To the greatest difficulty, or, highest pitch of desperation.

<sup>c</sup> This place of Evagrius is cited in the *Seventh Oecumenical Synod*, pag. 613; and likewise by Barlaam in his book *Contra Latinos*. Further, concerning this Image not-made-with-hands, which Christ is said to have sent to Agbarus, see Gesner in his book *De Imaginibus non Manufactis*. But, it is to be noted, that no mention is made of this Image transmitted by Christ to King Agbarus, either by Eusebius in the *First Book of his Ecclesiastick History*, or by Procopius in his *Siege of the City Edessa*. For these Authors relate, that a Letter only was sent by Christ to Agbarus, by the Apostle Thaddeus. Valef.

† Aggesta. In Robert Stephens's Edition 'tis Aggestas. Lexicographers have no such word. I meet with the term *Aggesta*, which signifies a Flag, or Stone-bottle. \* At the small Tongues of Fire appeared coming forth out of the earth, and then those of the Persians who fought † upon the Rampire, were sensible what imminent danger they were in. But Chosroes, as if he resolved to make a resistance against the Divine power, turned the *Aggestas* which were before the City, upon the pile of fire; and attempted to extinguish it. But,

the fiery pile received the water as if it had been rather Oyl, or Brimstone, or some such matter as is † combustible, and was much more increased, till such time as it had destroyed the whole Rampire, and perfectly reduced the *Aggesta* to ashes. Then therefore Chosroes, disappointed of all his hopes, and being experimentally sensible, that he had gotten great disgrace by supposing he could vanquish that God worshipped by us; made an inglorious return into his own Territories.

† Or, Wone to catch, or, nourish a flame.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Miracle which was performed at Sergiopolis.

Moreover, I will relate another thing, which was done by [the same] Chosroes at the City *Sergiopolis*; in regard 'tis [a passage] worthy to be recorded, and in reality deserves to be consigned to eternal memory. For Chosroes came to this City also, and attempted to take it by a Siege. After therefore he had made an Attacque against its walls, † the Inhabitants came to a Parley with him about a preservation of the City. And it is agreed [at length on both sides,] that the sacred Treasure and Gifts [which had been dedicated to the Church] should be the Ransome of the City; amongst which [gifts] was that

<sup>a</sup> A Cross also which had been sent thither by Justinianus and Theodora. After these things had been brought to Chosroes, he asked the Priest and those Persians who had been sent with him [into the City on that account,] whether there were any thing remaining. Then a certain person of those not accustomed to speak the truth, returned answer to Chosroes, that there were o-

<sup>a</sup> Concerning this Golden Cross which Chosroes had taken out of the Church of the *Sergiopolitans* for the price of its Redemption, Theophylactus Simocatta speaks in the *Fifth Book of his History*, Chap. 13. Where also Chosroes, Grandchild [or, Nephew] to this Chosroes here mentioned by Evagrius, does in express words attest, that that Cross in honour of the Martyr Sergius had been sent by the Emperour Justinian to *Sergiopolis*, and was placed in the Church of St. Sergius. Valef.

ther sacred Gifts of great value, which were concealed by the Citizens who were very few in number. Now, of [the sacred Treasure] which was brought out [of the City to Chosroes,] nothing of value had been left behind consisting either of Gold or Silver, but of another sort of matter more pretious, and which was wholly dedicated to God; to wit, the most holy Reliques of the Victorious Martyr Sergius, which lay in a certain oblong Chest covered over with Silver. When Chosroes, persuaded hereby, had sent his whole Army to the City, on a sudden, round the whole Circuit [of the City walls] there appeared an innumerable multitude of Souldiers, who with Bucklers defended the City. Which [Apparition] those sent by Chosroes having beheld, returned, and with admiration declared both their number, and their kind of Armour. But Chosroes, after on a second enquiry he understood that very few persons were left in the City, and those either very aged or very young, the men of strength and vigour being all cut off and destroyed; found that the Martyr was the Author of this Miracle. And being [on this account] put into a fear, and having admired the Faith of the Christians, he returned into his own Kingdom.



<sup>b</sup> In the excellent *Floren-* dom. <sup>b</sup> They say also, that at the close of his Life he was vouchsafed [the Laver of] Divine Regeneration.

*manuscript* these words are written in the margin here: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χροσός, ὅπερ ἄλλος πρὸ τῶν ἱσορῶν ἔκ εἶπεν; that is, [ *Note that Evagrius* ] *speaks that concerning Chosroes, which no other Historian has mentioned*; to wit, that about the close of his Life he received the Sacrament of Baptism. *Val.*

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Concerning the Pestilential Distemper.*

Moreover, I will give a Narrative of that [Pestilential] Distemper which brake out [in these times,] and which has raged now these Two and fifty years, (a thing which is never related to have hapned before,) and has in a manner destroyed the whole Earth.

<sup>2</sup> Μὴ ποτε ἰσο- is never related to have hapned before,) and  
τησιν ἵστο-  
γνῶν. A has in a manner destroyed the whole Earth.  
*Postposit-*  
*-ive Article* seems necessary to be added, in this manner ; ὃ μὴ πρότερον  
ισογενέν, *a thing which is never related to have hapned before.* Which  
Emendation Nicephorus confirms book 17. chap 17; who hath  
worded this place of Evagrius thus ; ὅπερ ἄποτ' ἤλθεν εἰς ἀκοήν,  
αὐτέρεον καὶ πενήκωδόν ἐτος δμίων τῷ γυν, *which thing never was*  
*heard of, that it [a Plague] should invade the earth for the space of two*  
*and fifty years.* Indeed, no Plague is recorded to have raged so long.  
This Pestilence is said to have begun on the year after Basilus's Con-  
sulute, which was the year of Christ 543, as 'tis attested by Victor  
Tunonensis in his Chronicon, and by the Continuer of Marcellinus  
Comes's Chronicon. Victor Tunonensis writes thus concerning this  
Plague : Horum exordia malorum generalis orbis Terrarum morta-  
litas sequitur, &c. *A general Mortality of the world follows the be-*  
*ginnings of these mischiefs and the greater part of the people is killed by*  
*a Persecution of their Groynes.* The words of Marcellinus's Continuer  
run thus : Indictione 6 Anno Secundo post Consulatum Basili, &c; in  
the sixth Indiction, on the Second year after Basilus's Consulute, a great  
Mortality destroys Italy, the East and Illyricum having in the same  
manner been already consumed. Victor does indeed seem to agree with  
Marcellinus, relating that that Plague began on the second year after  
Basilus's Consulute, as Marcellinus records. But, in reality he dis-  
fents in the space of one year. For, the second year after Basilus's  
Consulute, in Victor Tunonensis is the same with the first year after Ba-  
silus's Consulute, to wit, the year of Christ 542. For, Victor Tuno-  
nensis does always term *that year, immediately following the Consulute*  
*of any Consul, the second year, not the first;* as may be proved by ma-  
ny instances. Further our Evagrius seems to follow Victor Tunonensis's  
opinion. For Evagrius says, that that Pestilence began two years after  
Antioch had been taken by the Persians. Now, Antioch was won by  
the Persians when Justinus Junior was Consul, on the year of our  
Lords Nativity 540, as Marcellinus and Marius relate in their Chro-  
niques. But Baronius will have this Plague to have begun on the year of  
Christ 544. Valef.

For, two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, a Pestilential disease began to rage, in some things like to that recorded by \**Thucydides*, in others far different. And it took its beginning from *Aethiopia*, as 'twas then reported: but by turns it has over-run the whole world; this Distemper having, I think, left no Mortals untouch'd. Some Cities were so sorely oppressed [with this Calamity,] that they became wholly empty of Inhabitants: but in other places where the Distemper arrived, its chastisement was more light. Nor did [this Pestilence] rage at any certain and set season [of the year; ] nor, after it had raged, did it in a like manner recede: But, it seized some places at the beginning of Winter, others in the Spring time, <sup>b</sup> others in Summer; again, othersome during the procedure of the Autumn. And, in some Cities, when it had touched some parts, it abstained [from infecting] the other parts thereof. And you might frequently see in a City not infected, some Families utterly destroyed: But in other places, one or two Families having been consumed, the rest of the City in future continued untouch'd by the Distemper. But, after a more accurate inspection in-

to the matter, we found, that those Families which had continued untouch'd, were on the year following the only ones which suffered [by this Distemper.] But that which was the most wonderful thing of all, was this, that if it hapned that the Inhabitants of those Cities infected, removed to any other place where this Distemper raged not, they were the only persons seized with these Diseases, who [coming] out of infected Cities, made their Residence in Cities uninfected. And these things hapned frequently, both in Cities and in other places, at the periods of those Cycles termed the *Inditions*. But, most especially

on the 2<sup>d</sup> year \* of each Indiction, almost a total destruction befel men. In so much that I my self who write these things; (For I thought good to interweave into this History what has a relation to my self, by a fit insertion of what is Congruous at places opportune and convenient: [I my self, I say,]) who <sup>d</sup> as yet frequented [the School of] a *Grammar-Master*, was seised with those termed the † *Bubo's*, about the beginning of this [Pestilential] Distemper. And in those Sicknesses which raged at several times, I lost many of my Children, my Wife, and several others of my Relations, <sup>c</sup> my Servants also, and very many of those who look'd after and tilled my Grounds: the Circles of the *Indictions* dividing as 'twere the Calamities that befel me amongst themselves. At what time therefore I did write these things, being in the <sup>f</sup>fifty eighth year of mine age, <sup>s</sup> within these two last years, when this Distemper had raged at *Antioch* now the fourth time.

\* Or, Of the Cycle of fifteen years.

† Or, swellings in the Groyn.

the year of Christ 539. Sir Henry Savil thought indeed, that by these words *Evagrius* meant, that that Plague had raged chiefly on the Second Indiction. But *Evagrius* says not that; nor, had that Plague begun to rage on the year of Christ 539. *Evagrius* therefore says this only; viz. that on the second year of each Indiction that Plague raged more sorely than 'twas wont to do at other times. *Valeſ.*

<sup>d</sup> In the excellent *Florent.* and *Tellerian* MSS. I found it written, *ἡ χαμαιδιδασκαλία ἐπὶ φοιτῶνι*, as yet frequented [the School of] a Grammar Master; which is more elegant. And thus *Evagrius* speaks above, at chap. 16; where he writes, that he frequented the School of the Grammarians, at such time as *Antioch* was taken by *Chosroes*, that is, on the year of Christ 540. *Vale!* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, *ἡ χαμαιδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ φοιτῶνι*, as yet frequenting the Grammar-Masters.

<sup>e</sup> Οἰκέτης τε καὶ χεῖρας : This is, *Servos & Colonos, my Servants and Husband-men.* For, *χεῖραι* are *Rusticks*, or *Tillers of Ground*, who are likewise termed *χεῖμοι*, as I have remarked at book 6. of *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* chap. 40. note (e.) So *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* pag. 139. speaking of *Dioscorus Junior's* Election; ἀνεχέοντες, says he, πλείονι τῶν χεῖμων. Where *Anastasijs Bibliothecarius* renders it well, thus, *Multitudinem Rusticorum, the multitude of the Rusticks.* Vale!

From this place, *Evagrius's* Birth may easily be found out. For, whereas he has said in the beginning of this chapter, that at such time as he wrote these things, it was the fifty second year of that Plague; and does now assert, that whilst he wrote the same things, he was in the fifty eighth year of his age; it necessarily follows, that he had been born six years before the beginning of this Plague. Further, that Plague began on the year after *Basilius's* Consulate, or, two years after the destruction of *Antioch*, as *Evagrius* has said above. *Evagrius* therefore was born on the year of Christ 536. or 537. *Vale.*

(For



(For the fourth Cycle [of the Indictions] hath passed from the beginning [of this calamitous Disease:]). Besides the persons forementioned, I lost my Daughter, and my Grandchild born of her. Further, this Distemper <sup>\* Or, Was</sup> per <sup>\* consisted of</sup> a complication of many Diseases. For, in some it began from the head, and having made the eyes bloody, and tumified the face, it descended into the throat, and sent the person seized with it from among men. In others there hapned a looseness of the Belly. In others some arise Bubo's, and thence [hapned] very high Fe-

vers: and within two or three days they died, being as firm and sound in body and mind as those who had been afflicted with no Distemper. Others became distracted and mad, and so ended their lives. Carbuncles also breaking out [of the body,] destroyed many men. Some persons having once, twice, and thrice been seized [with this Distemper,] and escaped with their lives, afterwards were infected [with it] again, and died. The ways likewise of contracting this Distemper were different and manifold, and such as were <sup>\* unaccountable</sup>. For some died, meerly by conversing and living together [in the same house:] others, by a touch only: other some, by entring into an house: again, others [contracted the Infection] in the Forum. Some having fled out of infected Cities, continued uninfected themselves, but imparted the Disease to those who were not infected. Others contracted no Distemper at all, although they had lived with many infected persons, and had touched not only persons Distempered, but those likewise who were dead. Other some (although they made it their business to destroy themselves, because of the loss of their Children or Families; and on this account especially were continually conversant with the infected; nevertheless, as if the Disease made a resistance against their will,) were in no wise seized with it. This Pestilential Distemper therefore has raged Two and fifty years, as I have said, till this present time; having out-done all [Plagues] which [ever hapned] before. But

<sup>Philostrophus</sup> admires, because in his time a Plague raged Fifteen years. Now, the Events after this yet to come, are uncertain, in regard they proceed thither whither it shall seem well pleasing to God, who certainly knows both the Causes [of things,] and also whither they tend. But I will return to that place, from whence I have digressed, and will give a Narrative of the rest of Justinian's Transactions.

Philostrophus admires; which reading nevertheless I approve not of. But, who this Philostrophus should be concerning whom Evagrius speaks, and where he should have written this, 'tis uncertain. Philostrophus an Athenian Historian is mentioned by Georgius Syncellus in his Chronicon, on the first year of the Emperour Aurelian. Valef.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning \* Justinian's insatiable Avarice. <sup>\* Or, Justinian's love of money, and insatiable.</sup>

Justinian was indeed [a person] of an insatiable Avarice, and so † extravagant a Lover of what was another's, that for Gold he sold his whole Empire, to those who governed the Provinces, to the Collectors of the Tributes, and to any persons else who for no cause at all are wont to frame Plots against men. Besides, \* by patching Calumnies together, he punished many and [almost] innumerable persons, whose possessions were great, with the loss of their whole Estates. Further, if a woman who got her livelihood by the prostitution of her body, had † falsely objected a familiarity or mixture against any one, out of her desire to procure what he had; immediately all the Laws were abolished and made null, and, provided she had made Justinian a partaker of her \* filthy gain, she might remove all the riches of the person calumniated to her own house. Nevertheless, the same Emperour was profuse in his expending money: in so much that he erected many holy <sup>\* and magnificent</sup> Churches every where; and other pious Houses for the taking care of men and women, as well young as old, and of those disquieted with various diseases: and he allotted vast Revenues, out of the Income whereof these things might be done. He likewise did infinite other pious [Acts,] and such as are well pleasing to God, provided the doers thereof perform [those works] with such Goods as are their own, and offer their pure Actions, as a sacrifice unto God.

provided the words be only transposed, in this manner <sup>ὅτι καὶ πολλὰς ἐκασταχὺς ναὺς ἀναστήσας</sup>, in so much that he erected many holy and magnificent Churches every where. Valef.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning the Great Church of Saint Sophia, and [that] of The holy Apostles.

Further, [the same Emperour] erected not only many other Churches at Constantinople of a graceful compofure, [in honour] to God and [his] Saints: but he also built that great and incomparable Work, [the like whereto] is not to be found any where on record, [to wit,]

\* that most spacious Church of Saint Sophia, [a Structure] beautiful and eminent, and which exceeds the possibility of a description. Nevertheless, as far as I am able, I will attempt to describe this Church. † The fabrick of the Sanctuary is a

<sup>\* Τὸν μέγιστον τῆς ἐκκλησίας νῦν, that most spacious Temple of the Church.</sup>

<sup>† Ὁ τῶν ἀνατόρων νῦν, the Temple of the Sanctuaries.</sup>

See Evagrius, Book 2: Chap: 3. note (b.)

Tholus, erected upon four Arches, raised to so vast an height, that 'tis very difficult for those who look steadfastly from below, to see the Top of the \* Hemisphere: but such as stand above, though they be persons very bold and daring, will in no wise attempt to look down, and cast their eyes downwards to the Pavement. The Arches are raised <sup>\* empty</sup> from the Pavement to the very Covering [or, Top] of the Roof. Some <sup>On</sup> will per-



haps ask, what this word means. For *Evagrius* says, that the Arches or Vaults arose empty from the Pavement to the top. In this placethere-stand, that I have resolved to infer here the [number of] Feet, both of its Length, Breadth, and Height, as likewise the empty spaces, and height also of the Arches. The Measure therefore is this. The Columns length from that Door opposite to the Sacred *Concha*, where the unbloody Sacrifice is offered, unto the [Concha] it self, is an hundred and ninety Feet: the breadth from North attests this to South, One hundred and fifteen Feet: the height from the Center of the Hemisphere to the Pavement, is an Hundred and eighty Feet. The breadth of each of the Arches is . . . . . Feet. The length from

*Procopius* † Or, gate. Sacred *Concha*, where the unbloody Sacrifice is offered, unto the [Concha] it self, is an hundred and ninety Feet: the breadth from North attests this to South, One hundred and fifteen Feet: the height from the Center of the Hemisphere to the Pavement, is an Hundred and eighty Feet. The breadth of each of the Arches is . . . . . Feet. The length from

two of the Arches were raised up into the empty Air, at the rising and at the setting Sun. Valef.

*Αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἑστῆσαντες*. Translatours have rendred this Place very badly. *Musculus* turns it thus: In dextro latere ad sinistram ordinatæ sunt in illis Columnæ. In the right side on the left hand Columns are placed in them. *Christophorson* interprets it in this manner: In dextro latere, sunt homini ingredienti ad levam Columnæ ordine locatæ, &c. In the right side, on the left hand to a Man going in, Pillars are placed in order, &c. They were led into a mistake by the omission of one Conjunction, [to wit, *καὶ* and which is wanting in *Rob. Stephens's* Edition;] which we have put in from the *Florentine* Manuscript, in this manner, *ἐν δεξιῇ καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόξινον*, &c. On the right hand and on the left, &c. It remains now that we explain what those words mean which follow next; *ὡς ἑστῆσαντες αὐτῆς κίονες*. *Evagrius* himself therefore shall be his own Interpreter; who (in his first Book Chap. 14.) describing the Sacred Church of *Symeones* the *Syrite*, says it consisted of four Portico's. [But, by *Valesius's* favour, *Evagrius's* words in that Chapter are these; *ἐν τῇ τεσσάρων πλάσεων σοῦς κορυμνῶν*, beautified with Portico's of [or, at the] four sides. And then he adds these words, *περὶ τῶν σοῦς, κίονες*, &c. That is, opposite to [or, near to] those Portico's are placed Pillars; wherefore at this place, instead of *αὐτῆς*, I would more willingly read *αὐτῶν*; to wit, by understanding the term *ἄλλισι*, Arches. Valef.

These *Hyperæa* [Galleries, or, Upper Rooms] were designed for the Women, that being therein placed apart by themselves, they might behold the solemn performances of the Divine Service, as *Paulus Silentarius* relates in his Description of Saint *Sophia*; which Author says, that those Upper Rooms or Galleries, were upheld by six Columns of *Theffalick* Marble; whereas nevertheless, there were only two Columns below, which upheld the Galleries, pag. 110. *Paulus* terms them *ἀνδρῶν ὑπερώια*, The Women's *Hyperæa*; in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here, and also *Procopius* in his first Book, where he describes this Church of Saint *Sophia*: altho' *Procopius* rather terms them *Porticus's*. Valef.

By these words *Evagrius* sets forth the difference which was between the Columns of the Church of Saint *Sophia*. For he says, that the Columns which were at the right and left side of the Church, that is, at the North and South, had Galleries or Chambers laid upon them, out of which the Faithful might behold the Sacred Mysteries which were celebrated at the Altar. But the Columns which were placed at the East and West, upheld no Gallery, but were left naked. It was my sentiment that these things were to be more largely explained; for this reason, because I perceived Translatours, especially *Christophorson*, saw nothing here. Valef.

Ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἰσχυρῆς κόλπης. He means, I suppose, the most Eastern part of the Church; which, because the whole Structure was a *Tholus*, must be almost semicircular, or made in the form of a Shell.

In *Robert Stephens's* Edition, as likewise in this of *Valesius's*, there is an imperfection in the Greek Text here. *Curterius*, *Grynæus*, *Christophorson*, and Dr *Hanmer* in their Versions, have inserted this number Sixty six, from what Authority I know not. *Musculus* and *Valesius* leave a Blank here in their Versions; the latter of whom says nothing concerning this Imperfection in his Notes.

East to West [contains] Two hundred and sixty Feet. The breadth of their Light is Seventy five Feet. There are besides at the West two other Porticus's very splendid, and Open Courts on all sides of an admirable Beauty and Gracefulness. The same *Justinian* built the Church of The Divine Apostles, which will not readily give precedency to any other Temple. In which Church the Emperours and the Prelates are customarily interred. But, concerning these and such things as these, let thus much every way [suffice] to have been said.

published, pag. 254. *Paulus Silentarius* describes these Windows, in his *Ecphrasis*, (which the most Learned Person *Carolus de Fraxino* hath newly published;) and *Procopius*, in his first book *De Edificiis*. Valef.

*Sozomen* says the same in the Close of his second Book of *Ecclesiastick History*. But, (which is to be taken notice of,) neither of them (neither *Evagrius* nor *Sozomen*;) do affirm it was peculiar to the *Constantinopolitan* Bishops, that they, in like manner as were the Emperours, should be buried in the Church of the Apostles; but they speak in general concerning the Bishops. Indeed *Nicephorus* (book 8. chapter the last,) does expressly attest, that not only the *Constantinopolitan*, but other Bishops also, who for sanctity of Life had excelled others were interred there. For it often hapned, that Bishops, either sent for by the Emperours, or making a journey to the Imperial City, on account of Ecclesiastick Affairs, ended their Lives there. Thus in the times of *Anastasius*, *Alcissus* and *Gajanus* died at *Byzantium*, and by *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*, are recorded to have been buried in one Sepulcher. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Emperour [Justinian's] madness rather than kindness shewn towards the Faction of the Venetiani.

Here was also another thing in *Justinian*, that exceeded the utmost ferity of Savage Beasts: (which whether [it proceeded] from a fault of Nature, or from Sloth and Fear, I cannot say; but, it took its beginning from that popular Sedition [termed] *Nica*.) For he seemed so highly to favour the one of the Factions, I mean that || of the *Venetiani*, that they committed murders upon Persons of the contrary Faction at noon-day, and in the midst of the City; and not only feared not punishments, but also obtained rewards: in so much that hence it hapned, that many were made Murderers. Moreover, a liberty was indulged them of entring even into Houses, of plundering the Riches laid up therein, and of selling [miserable] Men their own safety. And if any one of the Magistrates had attempted to punish them, he endangered his own safety. 'Tis certain, a Personage who was Comes of the East, because he had ordered some seditious Persons to be beaten with Bow-strings, he himself was lead through the midst of the City and scourged with Bow-strings.

*Callinicus* likewise Governour of *Cilicia*, because according to the Prescript of the Laws he had inflicted a capital punishment upon two *Cilician* Murderers, *Paulus* and *Faustinus*, who fell upon him and would have murdered him; was Crucified, undergoing this punishment on account of his great prudence in passing Judgment

† *Nd'egis*: The term signifies originally a Nerve, or, Snew; it imports also a Bow-string, or Rope.

\* Or, To: wards [the Faction in the Blue Colour.

† See Chap. 13.

† Manifestly, or, openly.

|| Τῶν κυανέων, Those of the Blue.

*Robert Stephens's* Edition, the Verb *δεῖ* is wanting, which the *Geneva* Printers have inserted unhappily from the Conjecture of *Christophorson* and others. But from the *Tellerian* and *Florentine* Manuscripts I have mended this place thus, *καὶ ἐπεὶ*, &c. There was also another thing, &c. Which Emendation *Nicephorus* confirms. For instead of these words of *Evagrius*, he substitutes these, *ἐν δὲ πᾶσι τῶν ὑπερώων*. Valef.



ment, and of [his observing] the Laws. Hence it hapned, that \* those of the other Faction, having fled out of their own Country, and finding reception amongst no Men whatever, but being driven from all places as persons most detestable; beset Travellers, and committed Rapines and Murders: and all places were filled with untimely deaths, Robberies, and such like horrid and impious Crimes. But sometimes † he turned to the contrary opinion, and slew the *Persecutants* themselves; subjecting them to the Laws, to whom he had given permission of perpetrating nefarious Facts, in a Barbarick manner, throughout every City. But, to give a particular Narrative of these matters, is a thing above Relation or [any compass of] time: nevertheless, these things [I have mentioned] are sufficient for the making a conjecture concerning the rest.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

## Concerning Barfanuphius the Asceta.

AT the same time, Divine persons, and such as were Workers of great Miracles, lived in various parts of the world: but such of them, whose Glory shone every where, [were thus termed]. *Barfanuphius* by extract an *Egyptian*: This person led an un fleshly life in the flesh, in a certain Monastery near the Town *Gaza*: insomuch that he performed many Miracles, and such as are superiour to [any] Relation. Moreover, 'tis believed that he lives at this present, shut up in his Cell; although Fifty years and upwards are now past, since he hath been seen by any person, or has pertaken of any thing that is upon the Earth. Which things *Eustochius* Prelate of *Jerusalem* <sup>a</sup> disbelieving, when he had ordered the Cell, wherein this man of God had inclosed himself, to be dug open, a fire brake out thence, which burnt almost all persons that were there present.

<sup>a</sup> Δυσωπισθὲν εὐστόχῳ. In stead of the Verb [δυσωπισθὲν, easily believing] which undoubtedly is corrupted, *Nicephorus* makes use of *δυσωπισθὲν, disbelieving*. And instead of *Eustochius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the same *Nicephorus* has *Salustius*. *Salustius* was indeed Bishop of *Jerusalem* in the Reign of *Anastasius Augustus*. But *Eustochius* governed the same Bishoprick about the beginning of *Justinus Junior's* Empire, as *Theophanes* attests in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

## Concerning the Monk Symeon, who for Christ's sake [feigned himself] a Fool.

MOREOVER, at [the City] *Emisa* there was one *Symeones*: this person had in such a manner divested himself of the Garment of Vain-glory, that amongst all persons who knew him not, he was accounted an Idiot, although he abounded with all manner of wisdom and divine Grace. Further, this *Symeones* for the most part lived alone by himself, allowing no person whatever a Liberty of knowing, either when or in what manner he † prayed to God; not [permitting them to know] at what time he abstained from, or partook of nourishment at home. At some times being abroad in the streets, he seemed <sup>a</sup> to be a person distracted, and to have nothing of prudence or wisdom in him.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐκτετατός. Doubtless it must be made *κατασκευαστός*, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 17. chap. 22. Valef.

At other times he would go into a Victualling-house, and eat of whatever food or provision he met with, when he was hungry. But, if any person bowed his head and revered him, he would immediately run from that place in anger, being afraid that his own Virtue should be found out by the Vulgar. And in this manner *Symeones* behaved himself in the *Forum*. But there were some persons that held a familiarity with him, with whom he usually conversed without any thing at all of dissimulation. Amongst those of his acquaintance therefore, one had a maid, who having been debauch'd and got with child by some person, when she was forced by her Masters to declare the man who had done this, she affirmed that *Symeones* had had to do with her in private, and that she was with child by him, and that she would swear that the matter was so, and (if need should require,) could manifestly prove the thing. Which when *Symeones* had heard, he assented, saying that he carryed flesh about him, which was a frail and mutable thing. But when this matter came to be divulged amongst all persons, and *Symeones* (as it seemed) was obnoxious to a great ignominy, he withdrew himself, and feigned that he was ashamed. When therefore the Woman's time of delivery was come, and she sate in the usual posture of women in Travail; her Labour caused most acute, many, and intolerable pangs, and brought the woman into the imminentest danger of her life. But the Birth \* fell not in the least. *Symeones* therefore being designedly come thither, when he was requested [by those present] to go to Prayers, he declared before them all, that the woman should not be delivered, until she would confess who was the Father of the child in her womb. Which when she had done, and had named the true Father, the Infant leap'd forth immediately. Truth it self doing [as 'twere] the office of a Mid-wife. The same person was one time observed to go into the house of a Strumpet, and having shut to the door, he and she continued alone for some time: after this he opened the door again, and ran away in great hast, looking round lest any one should see him, whereby he much increased the suspicion. In so much that the Persons who had seen him, brought forth the woman, and enquired of her, both what the meaning of *Symeones's* coming in to her was, and why he made so long a stay. The woman swore, that for three days before that, because of her want of necessaries, she had tasted of nothing but water only: but, that *Symeones* had brought victuals and meat and a Vessel of Wine along with him, and having shut the door, had spread the Table, and bad her go to supper, and fill herself with provisions, because she had been sufficiently afflicted with want of nourishment; and she fetch'd out the Remains of the victuals [which *Symeones*] had brought to her. Further, some small time before that Earthquake hapned which shook *Phoenice Maritima*, wherein <sup>c</sup> *Berytus*, *Byblus* and *Tripolis*, suffered more [than other Cities, the same *Symeones*] holding a whip on high in his hand, scourged most of the Columns in the *Forum*; and cryed out, *Stand, You must dance*. Because therefore nothing was done unadvisedly and without design by this man, some

<sup>b</sup> The *Laicks* were wont to bow their heads, not only before the *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, but before the *Monks* also, to receive their Blessing. An illustrious instance of which is extant in *Sozomen*, book 8. chap. 13. Valef.

\* Or, *Was not in the least forwarded*.

<sup>c</sup> Concerning this Earthquake, the Author of *Antoninus Martyr's Itinerary* speaks in some



these words: *Inde Venimus in partes Syriae, ubi requiescit sanctus* Some persons present at his doing hereof, took particular notice of those Columns, which he passed by, and did not scourge: which Pillars fell not long after, being ruined by the Earthquake. Moreover, he did very many other things, the Relation whereof requires a peculiar Treatise.

*Leontius, &c. Thence we came into the parts of Syria, where Saint Leontius rests, which City, together with other Cities, was ruined by an Earthquake in the time of the Emperor Justinian. From thence we came to Byblus, which City also, with all things that were therein, was destroyed. From thence we came into the City Triari. which was likewise ruined. Thence we came into the most splendid City Beryto, wherein there was lately a study of Learning; which was also ruined, as we were told by the Bishop of the City, to whom the persons were known, except the strangers who perished there. Further, that City wherein Saint Leontius rests, is Tripoli, as I have remarked before, book 3. chap 33. note, (c.) This Earthquake hapned on the twenty fourth year of Justinian's Reign, as Cedrenus writes in his Chronicon, and Theophanes pag. 192. What those Authors relate concerning Borry a City in Phœnice, is memorable, viz. that in that City there was an Haven made by that Earthquake, (there having been no Port there before,) the Promontory which was called Lithoprosopon being removed. But in Theophanes 'tis written βόργου, instead of βόργου. By which fault in the writing the Translator was induced to render it Bofra; which is a very gross mistake; in regard Bofra is a Mid-Land City of Arabia. The name of this City is in my Judgment to be restored in Antoninus Martyr's Itinerary, at that place which I have quoted above. For, instead of the City Triari, it must be written Borry. Valef.*

### CHAP. XXXV.

*Concerning the Monk Thomas, who in like manner feigned himself a Fool.*

There was also at the same time one Thomas, who followed the same course of life in Syria-Cœle. This person went [one time] to Antioch, to receive the annual stipend [allotted for the maintenance] of his own Monastery.

*Ἰππὸκλῆς δὲ ἐν τῇς δούλιον ἐκκαταστάσι. Who would not admire, that three Learned men should have been mistaken in the Rendition of this place? Johannes Langus translates it thus: Illius enim Ecclesie censuatur, for he was reckoned of that Church. And Musculus renders it almost in the same manner. But Christopherson has translated it worst of all, thus: ab eâ signidum Ecclesiâ Presbyter fuerat ordinatus, for he had been ordained Presbyter by that Church. These persons thought that these words [ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης, this Thomas] were here to be understood; whereas we are to understand ἡ ἐπὶ τῇς ἐκκαταστάσι, this annual stipend, or, Alms which was wont yearly to be distributed out of the Revenues of the Church of Antioch to the Monastery of the Abbot Thomas. Valef.*

*† Or, Give. Johannes* being translated to an immortal life *in the* *Moschus, Hospital of the Infirm at the Daphnensian in his Li. Suburb, whilst he was on his Return home. They laid his dead Body in the Monuments of the Strangers. But, in regard when one or two had been buried after him, Thomas's Body was dyed in the still above them, God shewing a great Miracle, even after his death: for [the other Bodies] were removed and thrust down;)\* *Moschus* [the Inhabitants] admire this holy person, and declare [the thing] to \* *Ephraïmus*. Then his \* Holy dead Body is removed to *Antioch* with a publick Festivity and [a \* Or, Most holy. olemn] pomp, and is honourably buried in the Cœmety; having at its translation caused the Pestilential distemper, which then raged at *Antioch*, to cease. And the Inhabitants of *Antioch* do magnificently celebrate an anniversary Feast [in honour] of this [Thommas] till these our times. But let us † return to the † Or, Turn our course. \* proposed Series of our \* Present, or, opposite. History. of Constantinople terms this person *Domnus*. Valef.*

### CHAP. XXXVI.

*Concerning the Patriarch Menas, and concerning the Miracle which hapned then to the Boy of a certain Hebrew.*

*Anthimus* having been ejected (as I have \* *Book 4. said,)* out of the Chair of the Imperial Chap. 11.

City, \* *Epiphanius* succeeded in that Episcopate: and after *Epiphanius*, *Menas*; in whose times hapned a Miracle highly worthy to be recorded. There is an *ancient* usage at *Constantinople*, that when a great quantity of the Holy parts of the immaculate Body of Christ our God are left remaining, [some] young Boys of their number who frequent the Grammar-Schools are sent for, that they may eat them. Which thing having hapned at that time, the Son of a \* *Glass-maker* (as to his opinion a Jew,) was † called amongst the other Boys. This child told his Parents, who † Or, enquired the reason of his stay, what had hapned, and what he together with other boys had tasted of. His Father, highly incensed and enraged, snatcht up the boy immediately, and threw him into the Furnace of coals, wherein he usually formed Glass. But his Mother sought for her son, and when she could not find him, she went all about the City mourning and \* making great lamentation. And on the third day after standing at the door of her Husband's work-house, she called her Son by his name, † weeping and tearing herself. The Boy knowing his Mother's voice, answered her out of the Furnace. She breaks open the doors, goes in, and sees her Son standing in the midst of the coals, the fire having not touch'd him in the least. The Child, when afterwards asked in what manner he had continued un-hurt, said, that a woman cloathed in a purple Garment came to him frequently, gave him water, quenched the coals that were near him, and fed him as often as he was hungry. Which passage having been brought to [the hearing of] *Justinian*, he [ordered] the Boy and his Mother to be † Baptized in the Laver of

*a* We have taken notice of this mistake of *Evagrius's* above at chap. 11, note, (c;) which *Nicephorus* has also corrected. But *Nicephorus* himself, whilst he amends *Evagrius's* error, has committed another. For he relates, that *Menas* was ordained by Pope *Agatho*, whereas he was ordained by *Agapetus* in the place of *Anthimus*, as 'tis agreed amongst all persons. Valef.

*b* *Nicephorus Callistus* (Book 17. Chap. 25.) attests, that this Custom, (viz. that the Particles of the Sacred Eucharist which remained, were at *Constantinople* distributed amongst the Boys to be eaten;) continued even in his age; and he writes, that he himself, whilst he was a Boy and was frequently conversant in the Churches, partook of those parts. Valef.

*† Or, Taken.* † Or, Tearing herself. † Or, Tearing herself with weeping.

|| *Phanias*, *en-* *lightened.*



of generation; and enrolled them amongst the Clergy: but his father, because he would not embrace the Profession of Christianity, was [by the Emperour's order] crucified in [the Suburb] a Syce, as designing to have murdered his own Son. These things hapned in this manner.

*Lavacro adhibuit, deoque dicavit, He admitted the Boy with his Mother to the Divine Laver of Regeneration, and dedicated [them] to God. But Musculus and Christophorson have translated it far worse. For Musculus terms it, servavit, he kept, or, preserved. But Christophorson has rendred it thus: Puerum cum matre Lavacro Regenerationis tingendos decernit, He decreed the Boy with his Mother to be Baptized in the Laver of Regeneration. I doubt not but the place is thus to be rendred: Puerum simul ac matrem Regenerationis Lavacro initiatos Clero adscripsit, He enrolled the Boy and his Mother, having been initiated in the Laver of Regeneration, amongst the Clergy. Which must be understood in this manner, That the Emperour ordered that Boy to be reckoned amongst the Readers of the Church; but, commanded his Mother to be ordained a Deaconess. Valef.*

In this Suburb of the City of Constantinople, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on Criminals, as I have already intimated in my Notes on Book 28. *Amm. Marcell. pag. 362. Whereto add a passage of Saint Jerome out of his Commentaries on Matth. 26th, which runs thus: Extra urbem enim & foras portam loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, & Calvaria, id est, Decollatorum sumpsere nomen. Valef.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Who were Bishops of the greater Cities at that time.

After Menas, Eutychius ascends the [Episcopal] Throne [at Constantinople.] But at Jerusalem, after Martyrius, Salustius succeeds in that See, and after him, Helias. After Helias, Petrus; and after Petrus, Macarius; [whose Election] the Emperour approved \* not of; so that he was [afterwards] ejected out of his own Chair: a For they affirmed that he asserted Origen's Opinions. After this [Macarius] therefore, Eustochius succeeded in that Bishoprick. After the Ejection of Theodosius, as has been related † above, Zoilus is declared Bishop of Alexandria. And when he was added b to [the Alexandrian Bishops] his predecessors, Apollinaris undertakes [the Government of] that Chair. After Ephraemius, Dominus is entrusted with the [Episcopal] Throne of Antioch.

\* Or, Not as yet.  
† Indeed, many Monks severed themselves from his Communion, because he was thought to assert Origen's Opinions.

One of their number was the Abbot Elias, who was also called βοαδς, as Johannes Moschus relates in the nineteenth Chapter of his *Limnarium*. And yet Theophanes, in his *Chronicon* pag. 205. says, Macarius was ejected out of his See κτ' (Quod dicitur), that is, by subornation, fraud and calumny. But Theophanes relates that in a place wholly unfit and incongruous, to wit, in the Empire of Justinus Junior. Now, Macarius was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem on the year of Christ 546. and having after two years been expelled out of his See, Eustochius was substituted in his room on the year of Christ 548, as Baronius relates. Nevertheless, Victor Tunonensis differs herefrom, in his *Chronicon*. For he attributes eight years of the Episcopate to Macarius, and says that Eustochius was ordained whilst he survived, on the year before the Fifth Synod, that is on the year of Christ 552. and my Sentiment is, that this is truer. Valef.

Tois αὐτὸν ἡγήσαντο. The same is the Reading in Nicephorus also, book 17. chap. 26. But do not think it can be said in Greek, αὐτὸν ἡγήσαντο. I write therefore, & xj τοῖς αὐτὸν ἡγήσαντο, &c. For, αὐτὸν ἀλεξάνδρειον is understood. Valef.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Fifth Holy Oecumenical Synod, and on what account it was convened.

During therefore Vigilius's precedency over the Elder Rome; whilst in the first place Menas, and then Eutychius [was Patriarch] of Constantinople; and whilst Apollinaris [was Bi-

shop] of Alexandria, Dominus of Antioch, and Eustochius of Jerusalem; Justinian convenes the Fifth Synod, on this Account. The Assertours of Origen's Opinions abounding and growing powerful [in the Monasteries of Palestine,] and especially a in that termed The new Laura; Eustochius made it his whole business to eject them. And going to The new mentioned Laura he drove them all out, and pursued them to a great distance, as being the common pest [of Mankind.] They, dispersed into several places, associated many Persons to their own par-

Theophanes (though in an unfit place, to wit, in the Affairs of Justinus Junior,) writes thus: εὐστόχιος δ' ἀπελθὼν εἰς ἱερουσόλυμα, &c. But Eustochius removing to Jerusalem, out of that hatred he bore to Apollinaris, Agatho and Macarius, ejected those Monks of the New Laura, as Origenists: And on this account he himself was also [afterwards] ejected, and Macarius was again restored to his own Chair. Baronius thinks indeed, that Macarius was restored to his own See, a little before Eustochius's Ordination; and then, that Eustochius had obtained the See of Jerusalem again, because by his Legates he was present at the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod on the year of Christ 553. as 'tis sufficiently manifest from our Evagrius, and from the Acts of the aforesaid Synod. But Baronius was widely mistaken. For Macarius (Eustochius being ejected,) was restored to his own See long after the Fifth Synod, in Justinian's Thirty seventh year, on the Twenty fourth year after Basilus's Consulute; as Victor Tunonensis relates in his *Chronicon*, who lived in those very Times; and could not be ignorant of that. Valef.

Theodorus surnamed Ascidus (Bishop of Caesarea the Head-City of the Province Cappadocia; [a Prelate] resident with Justinian, faithful to him, and of whom the Emperour made great use;) undertook the Patronage of these [Monks.] Upon \* his making a disturbance therefore at the [Imperial] Palace, and terming [Eustochius's] Fact the † highest impiety and wickedness; Rufus Abbot of Theodosius's Monastery, and b Conon [Abbot] of the [Monastery] of Saba (Persons of the chiefest note \* amongst the Monasticks, both for their own worth, and on account of the Monasteries over which they presided;) are sent to the Imperial City by Eustochius. They were accompanied with others also, not much inferiour to them in dignity. And these Men resolved to debate concerning Origen primarily; and concerning Evagrius and Didymus. But Theodorus the Cappadocian, desirous of diverting them to another matter, c proposes to be debated the Cause of Theodorus [Bishop] of Mopjuestia, and that

\* Theodorus's Or, All impiety.  
† Cyrilus Scythopolitanus has composed an illustrious Elogy of this Conon, in the Life of St. Saba, about the end, in these words. Qui Cassianus cum decimum mensem implesset

in Administratione, &c. Which Cassianus, when he had compleated his tenth month in his Administration, departed out of this life; after which the Monks commit the Praefecture to Conon. They command, but God, I suppose, moved the minds of the Monks to this. Now, he was a person highly eminent for true Sentiments, all manner of Virtue and good Actions: who also made use of great care and diligence in his Praefecture. For he both recollected those Fathers which had departed from thence, being ejected by the Origenists; and likewise erected and as it were renewed the Laura, which by those frequent Tumults and Wars of Hereticks, was now brought to its knees. Johannes Moschus speaks of the same Conon Governour of St. Saba's Laura, in chap. 42. where he intimates, that he was an Acquaintance of Eustochius's Bishop of Jerusalem. Valef.

Εὐεστόχῳ τὰ κτ' ἀδελφῶν, Superinduces the Cause of Theodorus. Liberatus relates the same in his *Breviary*, chap. 21. Yet Liberatus says nothing concerning Rufus and Conon the Abbots sent by Eustochius to Constantinople. On the other hand Evagrius makes no mention of that Condemnation of Origen, which had been made by the Emperour Justinian by the Endeavour of Pelagius Apocrisiarius of the Roman See; to which Condemnation all the Patriarchs had subscribed; to wit, Zoilus of Alexandria, Euphramius of Antioch, Petrus of Jerusalem; as Liberatus writes in the foregoing chapter: now, that hapned on the year of Christ 538. as Baronius relates. But that Embassy of Conon, Rufus, and the other Palestine Monks, was sent to Eustochius by Constantinople on the year of Christ 551. For on that year Apollinaris was put into the place of Zoilus Bishop of Alexandria, as Baronius affirms. But Eustochius, out of his hatred chiefly to Apollinaris Bishop of Alexandria, ejected the Monks of the New Laura out of their Monastery, as being Origenists; agreeable to what we have related above out of Theophanes. Valef.



Hereto



\* Or, Hereto they also annexed whatever \* Heads  
 Chapters. Origen's followers had [from their Masters]  
 learned to assert; which [Heads] manifested  
 both their agreements, as also their disagree-  
 ments, and likewise their manifold error.  
 Amongst these there was a Fifth Head [which  
 contained] the Blasphemies broacht by some  
 private persons of that termed The New Laura;  
 the Contents of which Head run thus. <sup>m</sup> Theo-  
 dorus Ascidas the Cappadocian said: If the A-  
 postles and the Martyrs do now work Miracles,  
 and are in so great honour; unless in the Re-  
 surrection they shall be made equal to Christ,  
 what manner of Resurrection shall they have?  
 a Greek

word. To my best remembrance I have noted the same fault somewhere  
 before this But the place comes not at present into my mind. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> As far as may be gathered from these words of Evagrius, this Theo-  
 dorus the Cappadocian was one of the Monks of the New Laura, which  
 was near the City Jerusalem. This therefore is the Theodorus, follower  
 of Nonnus the Origenist, who being afterward made Bishop of Caesarea  
 in Cappadocia, openly undertook the patronage of the Origenists, as  
 Cyrillus Scythopolitanus relates in the Life of Saint Saba. Further,  
 whereas this Theodorus Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia acted the chief  
 parts, as I may say, in the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod, as may be  
 seen from its Acts, how is he now accused in the same Synod as an  
 Origenist? We may therefore not without Cause conjecture, that  
 these things which Evagrius, Theophanes, and Cedrenus say were done  
 in the Fifth Synod against Origen, were long after that Synod added  
 to it, on account of the likeness of their Subject: but, were not  
 done in that Synod. So also, the Acts of the Fifth Constantinopolitan  
 Synod under Menas, against Anthimus and Zoaras, were wont to be  
 joyned to this Fifth Oecumenical Synod, as Photius attests in his Bi-  
 bliotheca. The same thing may also be proved by what Evagrius sub-  
 joyns. For he says, that many impious expressions gathered out of the  
 Books of Evagrius, Didymus, and Theodorus Mopsuestenus, were related  
 to that Synod. Now, if these things had been done in the Fifth Constan-  
 tinopolitan Synod, as Evagrius says, it would have been altogether super-  
 fluous and unuseful, to repeat those expressions of Theodorus, which had  
 so often been reckoned up and condemned in the abovesaid Synod. My  
 Sentiment therefore is, that these things were acted against Origen  
 in another Constantinopolitan Synod on the Year of Christ 538; then,  
 when certain Monks of Jerusalem, who were favoured by Pelagius a  
 Deacon of the Roman Church, and by Menas Bishop of Constantinople,  
 presented a Libel to Justinian, containing certain Heads collected  
 out of Origen's Books; and requesting of the Emperour, that those  
 Heads might be condemned; as Liberatus tells us chap. 23. of his  
 Breviary. See Baronius at the year of Christ 538. Moreover, our  
 conjecture is fully confirmed by what Evagrius writes a little before  
 this; viz. that into those things done against Origen was inserted the  
 Emperour Justinian's Letter to Pope Vigilius concerning the errors  
 of Origen. These matters therefore were not transacted in the Fifth  
 Constantinopolitan Synod on the Year of Christ 553. For on that Year  
 Vigilius was at Constantinople; nor was there any need that Justinian  
 should treat with him by Letters. Wherefore these things were done  
 against Origen long before, to wit, then when Justinian, having re-  
 ceived the Libel of those Palestine Monks, wrote a Letter to Menas  
 Bishop of Constantinople concerning the errors of Origen; giving  
 him order, that when he had assembled the Bishops that were present  
 in the Imperial City, and the Abbots of Monasteries, he should con-  
 demn those errors. This Letter of Justinian's is extant in Greek and  
 Latin, published at the end of the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod. In  
 a place altogether foreign and unfit. For it belongs not to the Fifth  
 Constantinopolitan Synod which was celebrated on the Year of Christ  
 553, but to another Constantinopolitan Synod, which by the Emperour  
 Justinian's order had been convened on the Year of Christ 538. There-  
 fore Baronius has rightly placed that Letter of Justinian at that Year  
 I have mentioned. Now at the close of his Letter Justinian affirms  
 in express words, that he had also written a Letter to Vigilius Bishop  
 of Rome upon the same Subject. For thus he says. *Hec porro eadem*  
*scripsimus non modo ad Sanctitatem tuam, &c. Moreover, we have writ-*  
*ten the very same things not only to your Sanctity, but to the most Holy*  
*and most Blessed Vigilius also Pope and Patriarch of the Seignour Rome,*  
*and to all the other most Holy Bishops and Patriarchs, of Alexandria,*  
*Theopolis, and Jerusalem, that they might both take care of this matter,*  
*and also that these things may come to an end. Lastly, those Anathe-*  
*matisms which Nicephorus says were thrown against Origen's opinions*  
*in the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod, occur in the self same words*  
*in Justinian's Letter to Menas, which was written long before the*  
*Fifth Synod, on the Year of Christ 538; as Baronius informs us from*  
*Liberatus. The same also may be proved from the Letter which*  
*Gregory the Great wrote to the Four Patriarchs in the beginning of*  
*his Episcopate. For, although he does expressly profess in that Letter,*  
*that with Veneration he gives Reception to the Fifth Constantinopolitan*  
*Synod, in which Letter some writings of Ibas, Theodorus, and Theodore*  
*are condemned; yet he says not one word concerning Origen's condem-*  
*nation. Which certainly he would not have omitted, if Origen had*  
*been condemned in that Synod. Valef.*

The same Fathers related several other Blasphe-  
 mies of Didymus, Evagrius, and Theodorus, which  
 with great diligence they had collected out of  
 their Books. Further, some interval of time  
 after this Synod, <sup>n</sup> Eutychius is ejected, and <sup>o</sup> Jo-  
 hannes is placed in the Chair of the Constantino-  
 politan Church in his room. This Johannes was  
 born at <sup>p</sup> Sirimis, which is a Village situate  
 in the Cynegick Region, in the Antiochian Terri-  
 tory.

of Eutychius's deposition, least he should in any wise offend the Me-  
 mory of the Emperour Justinian. If any one be desirous of reading  
 a compleat Narrative of this matter, 'tis extant in Surius in the Life of  
 the Blessed Patriarch Eutychius, elegantly written by his disciple Eu-  
 stathius, and in Nicephorus Book 17. Chap. 29. Baronius says that was  
 done on the Year of Christ 564, which was the Emperour Justinian's  
 last Year. Valef.

<sup>o</sup> This is Johannes Scholasticus who has a Collection of Canons Ex-  
 tant. Victor Tunonensis in his Chronicon, gives us this account of his  
 Ordination: Anno 39. Imperii sui Justinianus Eutychium Constantino-  
 politanum Episcopum, &c. In the 39th Year of his Empire Justinian  
 sends into Exile Eutychius Bishop of Constantinople, a Condemner of  
 the three Heads, and of Evagrius the Hermit a Deacon, and of Didy-  
 mus the Monk an Alexandrian Confessor, whose praises we have pro-  
 duced above from the authority of illustrious Men; and in his room makes  
 Johannes Bishop a like [assertor] of the same Error. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Εν τῷ οικῷ. In the excellent Florentine Manuscript I found  
 it written οικῷ, both here and in the following Chapter. Theo-  
 phanes makes mention of this Mannor or Village, in his Chronicon,  
 pag. 151; where he writes concerning Alamundarus's irruption into  
 Syria; καὶ ἐκαύσεν (says he) τὰ ἐξω καλῶν δὲν καὶ τὸ σερῖον κτήμα καὶ  
 τὴν κωμὴν γάραν: that is, And he burnt the outward parts of  
 Chalcis, and [ruined] the Mannor [or, Possession] Sarimium, and the  
 Cynegick Region. In the Greek, instead of καλῶν δὲν, Chalcedon, I  
 have mended it thus, χαλκίδος, Chalcos. Valef.

# CHAP. XXXIX.

That Justinian \* having forsaken the right \* Or, Be-  
 Faith, asserted the Body of [our] Lord to ing per-  
 be incorruptible. verted  
 from the  
 right opi-  
 nion.

AT the same time Justinian † deflected from  
 the right High-way of [Orthodox] Sen-  
 timents, and having entred a path untrodden by  
 the Apostles and Fathers, fell into Thorns and  
 Brambles. Wherewith being desirous to fill the  
 Church, he mist of his design; the Lord having  
 securely fenced \* the High-  
 way \* with hedges not to be  
 broken, that Murderers [and  
 Thieves] might not break  
 in, as if the wall had been  
 fain and the Fence broken  
 down: [and thus] he ful-  
 filled the Prophets Predi-  
 ction. Johannes therefore,  
 who was also termed Cate-  
 linus, having <sup>b</sup> succeeded Vi-  
 gilius in the Bishoprick of  
 the Elder Rome, and Johan-  
 nes born at Sirimis Govern-  
 ing the Constantinopolitan Church, and Apolli-  
 narius that of Alexandria, Anastasius successour  
 to Dominus presiding over the Antiochian  
 Church, and over that at Jerusalem <sup>c</sup> Macarius,  
 who was again restored to his own Chair: <sup>c</sup> This

place is  
 chiefly to be taken notice of against the Sentiments of Baronius, who be-  
 lieved Macarius was restored to his own See before the Fifth Constan-  
 tinopolitan Synod. But this passage of Evagrius refutes Baronius's  
 Opinion; Evagrius informing us here, that Macarius's Restitution  
 was made long before that Synod. To Evagrius agrees Victor Tu-  
 nonensis in his Chronicon, in these words: Anno 37. Imperii Justiniani,  
 &c. On the 37th Year of Justinian's Empire, Eustochius Bishop of  
 Jerusalem who had been ordained whilst Macarius was alive, is ejected;  
 and Macarius is again put into his own See. But Theophanes, in his  
 Chronicon, places Macarius's Restitution on the times of Justinus Ju-  
 nior, as I have observed above. Valef.

U u x

when



\* *Justinian*. when \* he had Anathematized *Origen*, *Didymus*, and *Evagrius*, after *Eustochius's* Deposition; *Justinian* writes that which amongst the Romans is called an *Edict*, wherein he has termed the Body of [our] Lord incorruptible; and incapable of Natural and irreprehensible + passions; affirming that [our] Lord ate in the same manner before his Passion, as he did eat after his Resurrection, his most holy Body having received no change or alteration from its very Formation in the Womb, neither in the Voluntary and Natural Passions, nor yet after [his] Resurrection. To which [Assertions] *Justinian* [resolved] to force the Prelates in all places to give their assent. But when all of them affirmed, that they earnestly expected [the Opinion of] *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, they [thereby] repress the [Emperour's] first Attempt.

† Or, Affections.

CHAP. XL.

Concerning *Anastasius* Archbishop of *Antioch*.

Moreover, this *Anastasius* [was a Person] both incomparably well skilled in the Sacred Scriptures, and also accurate in his Morals and way of living: in so much that he would \* take consideration about the most trivial matters, nor would he † deflect at any time from a constancy and firmness, much less in things momentous, and which had a relation to the Deity it self. And he had \* tempered his disposition so, that neither an easiness of access to and conference with him, might render him exposed to what was unmeet and inconvenient; nor should an Austerity and Rigour make him inaccessible in relation to what was fit and rational. In [conferences that were] weighty and serious, he was of a ready Ear, and fluent Tongue: But in [discourses that were] impertinent and superfluous he had his Ears perfectly shut. A bridle repress his Tongue in such a manner, that he † measured his discourse with reason, and rendered Silence far better than Talk. This Person therefore *Justinian* makes an Attack against, as against some inexpugnable Tower, and sets upon him with all manner of Engines; considering with himself, that if he could ruine <sup>a</sup> this [Tower,] he should afterwards become Master of the City with ease, enslave the Doctrine of the true Faith, and lead captive the Sheep of

\* Or, Observe.  
† Or, Make an excursion.  
\* Or, Mixt

† Or, Directed his discourse by reason.

<sup>a</sup> *ἢ τὸν πύργον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ποιμένας.* In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellurian* Manuscript it is truer written thus, *εἰ τὸν πύργον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ποιμένας.* If he could ruine this [Tower.] For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. 'Tis a Metaphor drawn from Machines used in Sieges, where with Cities are wont to be assaulted. Further, concerning the constancy

of this *Anastasius Sinaita* in defending the true Faith against the Heresy of the *Aphthartodocite*, *Eustathius* writes also in the Life of the Blessed *Eusebius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Valef.

Christ. But *Anastasius* by a divine height of mind raised himself so far [above the Emperour,] (for he stood upon a Rock of Faith not to be broken;) that by his own *Relation* sent to *Justinian*, he openly contradicted him, and in the same [Relation] demonstrated [to him] most Perspicuously and with great Eloquence, that the Body of [our] Lord was corruptible in passions natural and irreprehensible, and that the Divine Apostles and \* Holy Fathers both thought \* Or, and taught so. The same answer he returned to the Monks of the *First* and *Second Syria*, who had consulted him: and he confirmed the minds of all Persons, and † prepared for the Conflict, reciting daily in the Church that saying of that Vessel of Election; \* If any one preach any other Gospel unto you, than that you have received, though he be an Angel from Heaven, let him be accursed. 8, 9. Which [words] when all Persons had || weighed in their minds, a very small number only excepted, they imitated him. The same *Anastasius* wrote a <sup>b</sup> *Valedictory Oration* to the *Antiochians*, after he had received Information, that *Justinian* was resolved to send him into Banishment. Which Oration is deservedly delightful and admirable, for the elegancy of its words, the abundance of its \* sententious expressions, the frequent Quotations of Sacred Scripture, \* Or, Sentences, and for the Accommodateness of the History.

*phorson*, should all mistake in the Rendition of one word. The *Gracians* termed *ὑπομνηστικὴ* and *ὑπομνηστικὴ λόγος*, *Valedictory*, or, Farewell *Oration*, and have handed down to us the peculiar method of those *Oration*, as I have remarked in my Notes upon *Eusebius's* Life of *Constantine*, book 3. chap. 21. note (a.) Valef.  
<sup>c</sup> *Καὶ ὁ ὁμοῦς ἐν τῷ ἰσοεῖας.* Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy has mended it, *καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦς*. For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. But I have observed that the Rules of Grammar are sometimes despised by our *Evagrius*. *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this passage of *Evagrius*, instead of the Conjunctive Particle, substituted a Preposition, in this manner, *ὅτι τὸ ὁμοῦς ἐν τῷ ἰσοεῖας.* Valef.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the death of *Justinian*.

But this Oration was not published, God having provided some better thing for us. For *Justinian* whilst he dictated a Sentence of Deportation against *Anastasius* and the Prelates about him, was invisibly wounded, and ended his Life, after he had reigned in all thirty eight years and eight months.

The End of the Fourth Book of *Evagrius's Ecclesiastical History*.



*EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,*  
And [one] of the EX-PRÆFACTS.

*Concerning the Election of [the Emperour]  
Justinus, and concerning his Morals.*

\* Or, *Fu-  
dicatories.*

\* Or, *Running of Horses in the Cirque.*

† Or, About to do and submit himself to the fates of an Empire.

\* *Ludi Circenses*, † in order to his performing and undertaking what usually belongs to an Emperour.

is superfluous; we will remark this only, that the *Curopolates* always went before with a Golden Rod, as often as the Emperour would appear in publick. *Cassidorus* tells us this in his *Formula Curæ palatii*, in these words: *Considera quâ Gratificatione tracteris, &c.* Consider with what Gratification you are treated, how being adorned with a Golden Rod, amongst numerous obeysances, you seem to go first before the Royal feet. So also *Corippus* in Book 2. Chap. 7. *De Laudibus Justinî Minoris*; where he describes *Justinus's* procession to the Cirque [ in these words, ]

Tunc ordine longo  
Incedunt summi proceres, fulgensque Senatus,  
Ipse inter primos vultu præclarus honoro,  
Fratris in obsequium gaudens Marcellus abibat.  
Dispositorque novus sacre Baduarius Aulæ,  
Successor Socræ, factus mox Curopalates:

Concerning this Golden Rod which was wont to be carried before the Roman Emperours, *Paulus Silentarius* speaks, in his description of the Church of Saint Sophia, not far from the beginning:

Ὡς θεῖμις, ἐκ ἀνέμιμνε συνέμπτωρον ἀσπιδαίτην,  
 Οὐ χρυσὸν πνα ῥάεθον δὲ ἐπεκλάθειν ἀνάκτων.

For I assent not to that Learned man, who hath rendred it; *Aureas*  
*Secures, Golden Axes.* And at first this dignity was finall, for it was

under the dispose of the *Castrensis* [ See Dr. Howell's *History*, Second part, pag 64. ] of the *Sacred Palace*: But afterwards it began to be accounted the chiefest dignity of the *Palace*, from such time as *Justinus* Nephew to *Justinian* bore it. It was a *Civil*, not a *Military* dignity, as *Alemannus* thought; who (in his *Notes on Procopius's Historia Arcana*,) confounds the *Curopolates* with the *Comes Excubitorum*. Valef.

After these [Solemnities] therefore were over, when nothing of an \* opposition had in any wise been attempted [against him,] he returned to the Palace. [By] the first Edict he promulged, the <sup>b</sup> Prelates who had been convened in all places, were sent home to their own Sees, in order to their worshipping God in the usual and received manner, no Innovation being made in relation to the Faith. And this Action done by him was highly commendable. But, as to his Life, he was dissolute, and \* altogether a slave to Luxuries and † obscene pleasures: so ardent a lover also of other mens money, that he sold all things for illegal gain; and revered not the Deity even in the Ecclesiastick preferments, which he made his markets of to any persons he could meet with, and publickly proposed even these to sale. Moreover, being possess'd with [two most contrary] Vices, Boldness and Sloth, in the first place he caused his <sup>a</sup> kinsman *Justinus* to be sent for, a personage of an universal honour and esteem, both for his skill in Military affairs, and for those other dignities [which he had born:] he at that time made his residence about the *Danube*, and hindred the *Abari* from passing that River.

this interpretation. Therefore *Christophorson* chose to interpret this place concerning the Bishops, who from all places had been assembled together at *Constantinople*. But neither can I approve of this Rendition; in regard *Evagrius* says those Bishops were not convened at *Constantinople*; but *πανταχῇ*, that is, in all places. Vale.

<sup>c</sup> *Tais xanlaus*. Some word seems to be wanting, which may be supplied in this manner; *tais epumwrtatals xanlaus*, most contrary Vices. And so *Christophorson* seems to have read. *Valef.* See chap. 19. note (d.)

<sup>d</sup> This *Justinus* was Son to *Germanus Patritius*, and Cousin-german to the Emperour *Justinus*, as *Johannes Biclariensis* informs us in his *Chronicon*: Indeed, *Germanus* and *Justinus Junior* were akin. For *Germanus* was *Justinian's* Nephew by his Brother. But the Emperour *Justinus* was the Son of *Vigilantia Justinian's* Sister. Further, this *Justinus* Son to *Germanus* had born the Consulate in the year of Christ 540. The Emperour *Justinian* had created the same person

V v 3

Master



Master of the Milice throughout Colchis and Armenia, in place of Martinus, as Agathius writes in his Fourth Book; but afterwards he made the same person Master of the Milice throughout the Thracia's; as Menander Protector declares in the First Book of his History, pag. 99. Valef.

The Abari are a Scythick Nation who live in Waggon, and inhabit the Regions situate beyond Caucasus. Which people, in regard they

\* Or, In what manner these Abari, or Abares, having been vanquished by the Turks, betook themselves into Europe, Theophylactus Simocatta relates, Book 7. Chap. 7. Valef.

had been sorely afflicted by the Turks their Neighbours [left their habitation, and] with their whole Families fled from them, and came to the Bosphorus. Then leaving the Shore of that termed the Euxine Sea, (where many barbarous Nations who had left their own dwellings, inhabited; moreover, Cities, \* Castra,

\* Or, Camps. and some Stations had been built [there] by the Romans, when either † Veteran Soldiers, or Colonies had been sent thither by the Emperours: ) they continued on their journey, engaging all the Bar-

barians they met with, till such time as they were arrived at the Banks of the Danube, and had sent Embassadors to Justinian. From thence

therefore Justinus was sent for, on pretence as if he were to enjoy [the advantage of] that Compact which had been made betwixt him and the Emperor Justinus. For, in regard both of

them were equal as to their Secular Grandeur and Power, and whereas the Empire \* hung as it were betwixt them; after many debates they had come to this agreement, that he who was arrived at the

Empire, should give the other the Second place; that so, by being Second in the Empire, he might be First in respect of all other persons.

be thus written, ἐνταῦθα συγγράμματα μὲν ἔστιν ὑποθέμενα ἡλικίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, &c. where many Barbarous Nations, &c. according as we have rendered it. Valef.

\* In Justinianus Augustus's times, the Abares having passed into Europe, became first known to the Romans, as Theophylactus Simocatta relates in Book 7. Chap. 8: for when they had come to the places of Scythia and Mesia, they sent Embassadors to Justinian, on the thirty first year of Justinian's Empire, as Theophanes relates in his Chronicle and Anastasius Bibliothecarius. But Victor Tunonensis mentions this Embassy a little later. Post Consulatum, &c. After the Consulate of the most famous personage Basilus on the twenty third year; the Emperor Justinian makes the Embassadors of the Nation of the Abari whence they had come, &c. This was the thirty sixth year of Justinian's Empire. Concerning the same Embassy of the Abares to Justinian, Menander Protector is to be consulted in the First Book of his History, pag. 99 of the King's Edition, where he excellently well describes that Embassy, and confirms Victor Tunonensis's opinion. For he says, that Justinian died not long after. Valef.

## CHAP. II.

### Concerning the Murder of Justinus Kinsman to the Emperor Justinus.

THE Emperor Justinus therefore received Justinus with great appearances of kindness and friendship; but soon after he framed [various] causes and pretences, and [by degrees] deprived him of his \* Satellites, his Dome-

\* Guards, or, Partisans. sticks, and the Protectors of his Body, and forbids his Access to himself: for he sate at home.

πρὸς αὐτὸν. Nicophorus took away the Proposition here. For he has exprest this place of Evagrius thus: καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποβόδας ἀπέσχετο, and hindered him from going abroad. But I had rather write with Evagrius, τὰς τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἀποβόδας ἐσχέων. Which reading I have followed in my Version. Valef.

† Καθὼς γὰρ οἶμαι Nicophorus and Christophorus understood these words of Evagrius concerning Justinus kinsman to the Emperor Justinus. But I had rather take them as meant of the Emperor Justinus himself. For he being sickly, for the most part sate at home, and forbade his kinsman Justinus access to himself. Indeed, Cedrenus and Zonaras

do attest what I have said concerning Justinus; For Cedrenus's words are these: ἔτι δὲ ἰατρῶν συνεχόμενος νοσηλεύμενος καὶ σποδονίαν, καὶ μὴ ἐνδύμενος περιέρχεται, This Justinus was continually sick, and disabled, and unable to come abroad. Valef.

[At length] by Justinus's order he is removed to the Great City Alexandria; where he is most inhumanely murdered in the dead of the night, whilst he lay in his bed; this being the reward he received for his kindness to the Republick, and for those eminent Services he had performed in the Wars. Nor would the Emperor Justinus and his wife Sophia abate of their rage, or could they satiate their burning fury [conceived against Justinus,] till such time as they had seen his head after it was cut off, and had trampled it under their feet.

δὲ, &c; Nicophorus reads, ἐξαιδίον, and understands that place of Evagrius concerning the Barbarians who had been carried thither by the Romans. Further, this Justinus was made Augustalis and Dux of Alexandria, by the Emperor Justinus in the sixth year of his Empire, as Theophanes and Cedrenus do relate. Cedrenus's words are these: ἀύστου δὲ ἰατρῶν, ὅτι ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ αὐστὸς, ὅς ἦν δὲ ἀλεξανδρείας συσχεδὸν μελετῶν καὶ τὰ βασιλείας, πέμψας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φάλλου. But Justinus having heard that his kinsman, who was Augustalis and Dux of Alexandria, meditated treachery against the Emperor, he sent and beheaded him. Write thus, ὅς ἦν ἀύστου καὶ δὲ ἀλεξανδρείας, according as the reading is in Theophanes. For those two dignities, Augustalis and Dux, although they were distinct, yet were now and then given to one and the same person by the Emperours, as may be proved by many instances. Further, this dignity was bestowed on Justinus by the Emperor, not in honour to him, but rather that he might send him far off from the Imperial City. Therefore the City Alexandria was to Justinus instead of a prison. Hence 'tis, that Theophanes in his Chronicle relates, that Justinus Augustus detained his Cousin German Justinus prisoner as 'twere at Alexandria. Moreover, Johannes Biclariensis, in his Chronicle, places the murder of this Justinus on the second year of Justinus Junior's Empire; to wit on the same year whereon Aetherius and Addæus had a capital punishment inflicted on them. And this is more agreeable to the account given here by Evagrius. Valef.

## CHAP. III.

### Concerning those Miscreants Addæus and Aetherius.

Moreover, a not long after, the Emperor delivered up Aetherius and Addæus, (persons of the Senatorian Order, who had been great Favourites of the Emperor Justinian,) to a judiciary process, they being charged with an accusation of High-Treason. Of these two, Aetherius confessed that he designed to kill the Emperor by Poyson, and said that he had Addæus his Accomplice in this attempt, and his Assistant in all [his other designs.] But Addæus with horrid Oaths affirmed, that he was wholly ignorant of these [Treasons.] Nevertheless, both of them were beheaded. Addæus at such time as his head was cut off, affirmed, that in this matter he had been falsely accused, but that he was deservedly punished by [divine] Justice, which inspects all affairs where-ever transacted: for [he said] that by Magick he had murdered Theodotus the Præfectus-Prætorio, principis, &c. On the

second year of the mentioned Emperor, in the Imperial City, Aetherius and Addæus Patritii, being detected whilst by Physicians they attempted to kill Justinus by Poyson rather than sword, are ordered to be punished with a capital sentence: the former was devoured by wild Beasts, the second was burnt to death. I know not whether Johannes Biclariensis termed these men Patritii instead of Senators; but there is a great difference between the Patritian and Senatorian dignity. Concerning the same Aetherius and Addæus, Eustathius in the Life of Eutychus Patriarch of Constantinople, writes thus: Quâ quidem die, id est, certâ Oâobris, &c; On which day, that is the third of October, those persons also who had framed Plots against the holy man and had cast him into Exile, [I mean] Aetherius and Addæus, the latter of whom was Præfect of the City, and the former was Curator of [the house of] Antiochus, died, &c. Valef.

But



He means  
the house  
of *Antio-*  
*chus*, of  
which *Æ-*  
*therius*

was *Curator*, as *Eustathius* attests in the place just now cited: *ille autem Antiochiæ Curator*. *Eustathius's* words in Greek, if I mistake not, are these; ὁ δὲ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, that is, *But Ætherius Curator of the House of Antiochus*. The same *Eustathius* makes mention of this house, when he describes in what manner *Eurychius* was ejected out of the Imperial City: *Dicebant enim quidam graves viri*, &c. For some grave men said, if he should go out of the Sacred Temple, he would be killed. For some Armed men, who were placed in the Manner-House of Antiochus, stayed for him without, for that purpose. *Theophylactus* mentions the same Imperial House in his third Book, Chapter 3. There were many such houses, at *Constantinople*, as the House of *Placidia*, the House of *Flaccilla*, the House of *Hormisdas*, and several others belonging to the Emperor: each of which Houses had its *Curator*, who look'd after that House or Palace, and all its Revenues. These Officers are termed *Cura Palatiorum* in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*, under the dispose of the *Castrensis of the Sacred Palace*. But then, the dignity of these *Curators* was the chiefest, and their Title was *Most Glorious* and *Most Magnificent*; as *Tiberius Augustus's Constitution de Nomibus Imperialibus* informs us. *Valeſ.*

*Concerning the Edict of our Faith, which Justinus wrote to the Christians in all places.*

Moreover, the same *Justinus* wrote an Edict to the *Christians* in all places, [the Contents] whereof [ran] in these express words. IN THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR GOD, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, FAITHFUL IN CHRIST, MILD, THE GREATEST, BENEFICENT, ALEMANICUS, GOTTHICUS, GERMANICUS, ANTICUS, FRANCICUS, ERULICUS, GEPÆDICUS, PIOUS, HAPPY GLORIOUS, VICTOR, TRIUMPHATOR, ALWAYS ADORABLE, AUGUSTUS.

\* My peace I give unto you, says the Lord Christ, our true God. My peace I leave with you, declares the same [Christ] to all men. The purport of which [expressions] is nothing else, but that those who believe in him should † unite in one and the same Church: being of the same mind in relation to the true || Faith of the Christians, and having an aversion for them who affirm or think the contrary. For, the \* Primary safety [which] has been appointed to all men, [is] the Confession of the true Faith. Wherefore, We also following the Evangelick Admonitions, and the Holy Symbol, or Creed of the Holy Fathers, do exhort all men to betake themselves to one and the same Church and Opinion: believing in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, in the Consubstantial Trinity, in the One Deity, or Nature and † Essence, both in word and deed, and || asserting One Might and Power and Operation, in the three Hypostases or Persons, into which we have been baptized, in which we have believed, and to which we have been conjoined.

For we adore the Unity in the Trinity, and the Trinity in the Unity, which hath an admirable both Division, and \* Union: and Unity in respect of the † Essence or Deity: but a Trinity in respect of the proprieties or Hypostases or Per-

sons. For, that we may so speak, it is indivisibly divided, and divisibly conjoynd. For [there is] One in Three, [to wit,] the Deity, and Three [are] One, in whom [namely] is the Deity, or, to speak more accurately, which [are] the Deity it self: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, when as each Person is considered by himself; the mind [to wit] dividing those things which are inseparable: the Three [Persons being one] God; understood together, on account of the same Motion and the same Nature. For we ought both to confess one God, and also to assert Three \*Hypostases or Proprieties. But \*Or, Sub-  
we Confess him, the only Begotten Son of God, sistences.  
God the Word, who was begotten of the Father before Ages and without time, not made; in the last days to have descended from Heaven on our account and for our Salvation, and to have been incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and of our Lady the Holy Glorious Theotocos and Ever-Virgin Mary, and to have been born of her: <sup>a7</sup> who is our Lord <sup>Or, is</sup>  
Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity, Glorified <sup>τῷ πατρὶ</sup>  
together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. <sup>ᾧ τῷ ἀγίῳ</sup>

who is to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. In Nicephorus, Book 17. Chap. 35. where this Edict of the Emperour Justinus concerning the Faith is recorded, this place is read thus: ὃς ἐστὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἰσῶ. who is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. Which reading Christophorson hath followed. For he renders it thus; Qui est equalis Patri & Spiritui Sancto, who is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. But in this place the equality of the Father and Son is not treated of: but, whether Christ be one of the Trinity. I have therefore supplied this place righter from the excellent Florentine Manuscript, in this manner; ὃς ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἰσοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, συνδοξόμην τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, who is our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. The Tellerian M. S. has it written thus: ὃς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, who is in the Father and in the Holy Spirit. Valef. In Robert Stephens. the reading is the same with that set at the beginning of this note.

For the holy Trinity hath not received an addition of a Fourth Person, although one of the holy Trinity, God the Word, hath been incarnate: but he is One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Consubstantial to God and the Father according to the Deity, and the same [Person is] of the same substance with us in respect of the Humanity: passible in flesh, and the same [Person] impassible in the Deity. For we acknowledge not One God the Word who wrought Miracles, and another who suffered: but we confess One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ God the Word, to have been incarnate and perfectly made man, and that the Miracles † belong both to One † Or, *Act of.* and the same, as likewise the sufferings, which he voluntarily underwent in the flesh on account of our Salvation. For \* a man gave not himself for \* Or, *a certain, or, some one man.* but God the Word himself, made man without [any] Conversion, || underwent both a Spontaneous Passion, and a death in the Flesh for || Or, *Received.* us. Although therefore we confess him to be God, yet we deny not that the same person is also Man: and by our confessing him to be man, we deny not the same Person to be also God, Whence, whilst we profess one and the same [Person] our Lord Jesus Christ to be \* compounded \* Or, *Made up.* of both Natures, the Deity and the Humanity, we introduce not a Confusion into the Union. b *Disjunctive*

ἡ ἐπεισόδιον. Christopherson has rendered this place ill, in this manner: *Non Confusionem in Unitatem introducimus, We introduce not confusion into the Unity.* Nor has Musculus done right; who translates it thus: *Unitatem non confundimus, We confound not the Unity.* I do not wonder at Musculus, who in this Edict of Justinus, Justin renders ἑνωσιν *Unitatem, Unity*, very erroneously. That learned man hath committed the same mistake, who has done into *Latin the Fragments of Ephraemius Bishop of Antiech, which are extant in Photius's Bibliotheca.* But why Christopherson, who everywhere renders ἑνωσιν; *Copulationem, Copulation,* should at this place translate







Τὴν δὲ he demanded money of him at his promotion to the Bishoprick, *Anastasius* would not give it him. Moreover, other matters were objected against *Anastasius*, by some persons who, I suppose, were desirous of serving and promoting the Emperor's design.

these words, omitted them, as may be seen in book 17. chap. 36. For he has exprest this place of *Evagrius* thus Περὶ τοῦ δὲ μὴ δώσειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι περὶ ζήτησις χρημάτων, ἡ ἀρετὴ δὲ δυνάει, But 'twas said that *Justinus* was angry with him, because he refused to give him money when he demanded it. But 'twas easy to have mended the place of *Evagrius*, in this manner; ὅτι γὰρ ζήτησιν χρημάτων ἔλῳ ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγχειρεῖς ἢ ἢ ἐλῳ δυνάει, because having been promoted to the Bishoprick he refused to give [*Justinus*] money who demanded it. And so *Christophorson* and *Musculus* seem to have read. For thus *Musculus* renders it: *Dicitur autem Anastasio succensuisse, quod quum pecuniam pro Episcopatus collatione exigeret, dare illam noluerit; But 'tis said that he had been angry with Anastasius, because when he exacted money for his Collation to the Bishoprick, he refused to give it.* This occasion of hatred therefore against *Anastasius* was of a long standing, before *Justinus* had arrived at the Empire. Wherefore *Evagrius* used the word μὴ δώσειν, which signifies an ancient and concealed Anger. 'Tis certain, whilst *Justinian* survived, *Anastasius* had been elected Bishop of *Antioch*. Now, the Grandees at Court, and those whose interest was great with the Emperour, were wont to exact money of them who were elected Patriarchs, as may be proved by the Example of *Chrysapius* the Eunuch, who demanded money of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*; as *Evagrius* has related above, see book 2. chap. 2. Nevertheless, this was forbidden by the *Novel Constitutions* of *Justinian*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Indeed, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, brings another reason, on account whereof *Anastasius* *Sinaïta* was deposed from the See of *Antioch*. But, because Translators have in no wise hit the meaning of *Theophanes*, I will annex his words here: Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐτεῖ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀντιόχειας ὁ μέγας, καὶ ἀναψύχων ἐν τοῖς ἀντισηχοῖς ὅτι συνοδικῶν, ἰδόντι τὴν κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὴν χειροτονίαν τὴν ἰδόντι τὸν ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τὴν τέρψιν χειροτονίαν, ἐξελκίσθη τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου: That is, as I render it. On the same year *Anastatius* the Great, Bishop of *Antioch*, in regard in his answer to the Synodick Letters, he had reprehended *John* Bishop of *Constantinople* who had ordained *John* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and had [at the same time reproved him] who had been ordained by him, was ejected out of his Bishoprick by reason of *Justinus*'s indignation. I read therefore in *Theophanes*, καὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν, which emendation is most certain. *John* Bishop of *Alexandria* had been ordained at *Constantinople* by *Johannes* Scholasticus, on the fifth year of *Justinus*'s Empire, in the year of Christ 570. as *Baronius* also relates. After his ordination, when (as 'twas usual) he had written Synodick Letters to *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Anastasius* in his answer to those Letters, had severely reproved his Ordainer *Johannes*; in regard, contrary to the Ecclesiastick Rules, he had been thrust into the place of *Eutychius* as then living. He had also reprehended him, who having been ordained by him, had drawn upon himself the fault and blot of his own Ordainer. The Emperor *Justinus* (who loved *Johannes* Scholasticus, as being the person by whom he had been Crowned,) taking offence, at this thing, ejected *Anastasius* out of his See. *Theophanes*'s Latin Translator thought, that those Synodick Letters which *Anastasius* had given answer to, had been written by *Johannes* Bishop of *Constantinople*; which is a mistake. For they were written by *Johannes* Bishop of *Alexandria* in the beginning of his Episcopate. Therefore, after the word συνοδικῶν a Comma must be put, as *Anastasius* *Bibliothecarius* has done. Further, *Baronius* places this Deposition of *Anastasius* on the year of Christ 573; which is the eighth year of *Justinus*'s Empire. But I had rather with *Theophanes*, place it on the Fifth or Sixth year of the same *Justinus*, in regard it hapned a little after the ordination of *Johannes* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which was performed on the year of Christ 570, as *Baronius* himself does attest. Valef.

## CHAP. VI.

That after *Anastasius*, *Gregorius* was made Bishop, and concerning his disposition.

<sup>a</sup> *Musculus* and *Christophorson* BUT after *Anastasius*, *Gregorius* is preferred to the Episcopal Throne, whose glory, that I may use the Poet's expression, is far spread.

have rendred this place very ill, as if by these words *Evagrius* would have shown, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* had been eminent for Poetry. But *Langus* has turned these words righter, thus: Cujus lata est Gloria, ut Poetae verbis utar, whose Glory is far spread, that I may use the Poets Words. Valef. *Evagrius* makes use of the same expression at chap. 15. book 1. where he speaks of *Isidorus* *Pelusiota*:

[This person] from his younger years had been exercised in the Monastick Conflicts, and had striven with so much courage and constancy

of mind, that in a very short time, || even during his youthful age, he arrived at the highest degrees; and Governed the Monastery of the *Byzantii*, where

he embraced a Monastick life.

[Afterwards,] by the \* order of

*Justinus* [he presided over the

Monks] of mount *Sinai* al-

lo; in which place he fell into the greatest of dangers, by

undergoing a Siege from those *Arabians* [termed]

*Scenita*. Nevertheless, when he had procured that place

a profound Peace, he was called from thence to the

† Patriarchate. For understanding and virtue of mind;

and in all other things he was the eminentest person of

all men, and the most active in [effecting] whatever he

had proposed to himself; || of an undaunted

spirit, and a man || Or, Not

not to be induced to yield, or to be

afraid of the Secular power. He made such magnificent

† distributions of money, and used such a boun-

tifulness and liberality towards all men, that

whenever he went abroad, numerous crowds

of people besides those that were his usual at-

tendants, followed him. And whatever per-

sons could either see, or hear he was<sup>a</sup> going forth, flock'd

together. <sup>c</sup> The honour given to the supreamest Pow-

ers [of this world] was inferior to that [paid] to this

man; for people were for the most part desirous, both

of seeing him as near as possibly they could, and coveted

to hear him discourse. For he was most excellently qual-

ified to excite a desire of himself in all persons, who upon

whatever account came to and conversed with him. For,

his aspect was admirable; and his discourse, by reason

of his pleasantness of speech, most delightful; as ready as ever was

any man, in the present apprehending of a thing,

and most quick in action: in || chooling the best || Or, Gi-

advice; and in passing a judgment; as well of his own, as the affairs of others, he was † most pru-

dent. On which account he performed so ma-

ny and such great things; never deferring any

business till the morrow. He was the admira-

tion not only of the *Roman* Emperours, but of

them of *Persia* also, in regard he so demeaned

himself in all affairs, as either necessity required;

or

|| Εκ πρώτων ἔβλεν, from the first down upon his Chin.

<sup>b</sup> Τῆς δὲ βυζαντίων μονῆς. *Johannes* *Langus* renders these words thus: Primum verò *Byzantii* Monasterio præfuit, but in the first place he presided over the Monastery of *Byzantium*. But *Evagrius* does not say, that *Gregorius* was a Monk or Abbot of *Byzantium*, but that he was Abbot of the Monastery of the *Byzantii*. This seems to have been a Monastery in *Syria*, where *Gregorius*, whilst he was yet young, had received the Rudiments of a Monastick life. *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 206. says *Gregorius* had been *Apocri-farius* (that is, Procurator, or Agent) of the Monastery of the *Byzantii*. Valef.

† Or, Arch-Bishoprick.

<sup>c</sup> Πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κρείττισθαι. I conjecture we should read here, πάντα τε ἐν πᾶσι κρείττισθαι; and in all things he was the eminentest person of all Men. For so *Evagrius* expresses himself hereafter, at chap. 19. of this book; where his words concerning *Mauricius* are these; καὶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι σὺν ἀκρίβει τε καὶ ἀδούλῳ, and every way accurate and immovable. Valef.

† Or, Contributions.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ ἰόντα. I had rather make it περιόντα, going forth. In *Nicephorus* the reading is δύντα, going. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ ἵν' ὅτε εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν δευτέρῃ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀνδρα μῆτις. *Nicephorus* read this place otherwise. For, instead of the word τοιαύτην he has κοσμικήν, Mundane, or, Secular. Which in my judgment is far righter. *Johannes* *Langus* has translated *Nicephorus*'s words thus: Et honorem mundanis dignitatibus debitum, præ viri hujus observantiâ secundo loco habebant, And they placed [or, had] the honour due to Secular dignities, in the second place, in respect of the observancy of this man. Valef.

|| Or, Gi-

† Or, Most

sufficient

or



or occasion would bear; [to which he was] never wanting, as I shall manifest particularly in due place. There was in him much of vehemency, and also sometimes passion. But on the other hand, his Lenity and Mansuetude was not little, but rather † abundant and extraordinary. So that, that

† Περσιστορ.

faying which with great wisdom hath been uttered by *Gregorius the Divine*, might incomparably well besit him; an *Austerity* so well tempered with † *Modesty*, that the one is not injured by the other; but both are an ornament and commendation to each other.

|| Or, Bashfulness.

## CHAP. VII.

How those termed the *Perfarmerii* surrendered themselves † to the Romans: on which account a War broke out || between the Romans and Persians.

† Or, To the Christians.

|| Or, with the Persians.

**D**URING the first Year of this [*Gregorius's*] Governing his Bishoprick, the [Inhabitants] of that [Country] anciently termed *Armenia the Great* (which afterwards was named *Perfarmeria*; this [Region] had heretofore been subject to the Romans; but, after *Philippus* successor to *Gordianus*, had betrayed it to *Sapor*, that termed *Armenia the Less* remained in subjection to the Romans; though all the rest was in the power of the Persians:) being professors of the Christian Religion, in regard they

a The same reason of the defection of the Armenians assigned by *Theophanes Byzantius* in *Photius* and by *Johannes Biclariensis* in his *Chronicon*; whose words are these: *Armeniorum*

|| Or, In relation to their own Sentiment or Opinion † Or, Might be made.

had a suffered grievously from the Persians, and especially || in those matters which related to their Religion, sent an Embassy secretly to *Justinus*, entreating they † might be received as subjects to the Romans; to the end they might with freedom and security perform [the Rites] of the Divine worship and honour, and that nothing might obstruct them [in those performances.] [Which Embassy] *Justinus* having admitted of, and some [Conditions set forth] in writing having been agreed to by the Emperour, and confirmed with great and solemn b Oaths,

† Iberorum Gens qui a predicatione Apostolorum Christi fidem susceperant, &c. The Nation of the Armenii and Iberi who from the Preaching of the Apostles had embraced the Faith of Christ, whilst by *Chosroës* Emperour of the Persians they were compelled to the worship of Idols, refused Obedience to that impious Command, and Surrendered themselves with their Provinces to the Romans. Which thing broke the League of Peace between the Romans and Persians. But the Abbot of *Biclaire* is mistaken in this, to wit, his placing the defection of the Armenii on *Justinus Junior's* First year. For the Peace between the Romans and Persians was broken on the Seventh year of the Emperour *Justinus*, as *Theophylactus* relates in the Third Book of his History, Chap. 9; and likewise *Theophanes*, and his Translator *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Cedrenus*. Besides, even *Johannes Biclariensis* himself disagrees from himself in his Narrative of this affair. For he subjoins these words a little after: *Anno quinto Justinus Imperator, &c. On [his] Fifth year the Emperour Justinus, having repelled the Persians, makes Armenia and Iberia Roman Provinces.* Valef.

b Concerning this Oath, wherein the Emperour *Justinus* had bound himself, that he would never deliver up the Armenii and Iberi (who had Surrendered themselves to the Romans,) to the Persians, *Menantius Protektor* speaks in his *Excerpt. Legationum*, pag. 121, of the King's Edition: *Δόξαν δὲ ἔχει ἡμεῖς ἐποιεῖν πάλιν ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἑμμεσῶν ἐπὶ ἱεσίου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς περσικαῖς καὶ τοῖς μεταχρησασιν ἱεσίου. ὁμοίως δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, &c.* Which words the Translator understood not. In the first place therefore, instead of *ἐπὶ ἱεσίου* by *Justinianus*, it must be mended thus, *ἐπὶ ἱεσίου* by *Justinus*. And then, the whole place is to be rendred in this manner. For *Tiberius Cæsar* deservedly made the greatest account of those Oaths, which by the Emperour *Justinus* had been given to the *Perfarmerii* and *Iberi*, who had revolted to the Romans. For the Emperour had

sworn, that he would use his utmost endeavour, to reduce that Land, which had nourished them, to a subjection to himself. But, if he should not be able to effect that thing, and could not put an end to the War; yet, that he would never Surrender up to the Persians the Authors of that defection, and their Relations, and in general those who should have a mind to be Subjects [or, partakers] of the Roman Republick. Valef.

the Armenii kill their own c Governours, and \* in one intire Body joyn themselves to the Roman Empire, together with their Neighbours whom they had taken into an Association with themselves, as well those of the same, as of other Nations; *Var-danes* [being their Leader,] a person eminent amongst 'em for descent, dignity, and skill in Military affairs. When therefore *Chosroës* complained of these things, *Justinus* dismissed [his Embassadors] with these words, that the peace [which had been made between them] was terminated, and that 'twas not possible for Christians to reject Christians when they made them their refuge in a time of War. This was *Justinus's* answer. Nevertheless, he made no preparations for a War; but yielded up himself to his usual Voluptuousness, and || postponed all affairs to his own pleasures.

\* Or, By a general consent.

c To wit, *Surenas*.

For he had been made

κλειμενός, or, *Var-danes*.

† Or, of Armenia.

by the King of the Persians; after he was slain, the *Perfarmerii* delivered up themselves to the Romans, as *Theophylactus* tells us in his third book, chap. 9; and *Theophanes Byzantius* in his *Excerpta in Photius*. Lastly, *Menantius* says the same, in his *Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 115. Valef.

|| Or, Put all affairs in the second place to, &c.

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning *Marcianus* the † *Magister Militum*, and concerning the Siege of *Nisibis*.

† Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

**F**URTHER, he sends a *Marcianus*, who was his Kinsman, *Magister* of the *Oriental Milice*, but allows him neither an Army fit for an engagement, nor any other sufficient provision for the [carrying on a] War. *Marcianus* arrives in *Mesopotamia*, to the manifest hazard and Subversion of all affairs, drawing along with him some few Soldiers, and those unarmed; having also with him some Trench-makers and b Ox-drivers, whom he had by force taken from among the c Provincials. He comes to an Engagement therefore with the Persians in a small Fight about *Nisibis*, (the Persians themselves being as yet unprovided for a War;) and having got the better, lays Siege to the City: the Persians [in the interim] thought not fit to shut the Gates, but most scornfully reproach'd and derided the Army of the Romans. Many other Prodigies were seen, which fore-shewed the future misfortunes; but at the beginning of this War, we our selves saw a Calves newly calv'd, out of whose neck grew forth two heads.

a *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* calls this person *Martianus*, as does likewise his Translator *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. But *Theophanes* *Byzantius* whose *Excerpta* are extant in *Photius's* *Bibliotheca*, terms him *Marcianus*, and calls him

his Brother's Son.

† Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

|| Or, Master of the Milice, or, Soldiers.

*Iesius* in his note here, renders that Greek word, thus, *Consobrinum*, Sister's Son.] And says, he was sent *Magister Militum* into the East by *Justinus* on the Eighth year of his Empire. Valef.

b *Bondatias*. From the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. I have mended it thus, *βονδατίας* Drivers of Oxen; and so *Nicephorus* read. But *Nicephorus* inserts two words here. For he expresses this passage thus, *σκαπανεῖς καὶ παγεῖς καὶ βονδατίας*: that is, as *Langus* renders it, as also *Ditchers*, and *Tailors*, and *Drivers of Oxen*. Which word [*Tailors*] *Nicephorus* seems to have read in his Copy. For I see not whence he could have gotten it. Further, there was use of these *Tailors* in the Camps, to mend the Soldiers Clothes, or else to sow Skins together for Tents or Tabernacles. Valef.

c *Σωτηρῶν*. Translators have rendred this place ill. For *Mucius* translates it thus: *Et fossores quosdam ac bubulcos ex municipiis acceptos secum habens, And having with him some Ditchers and Ox-drivers taken out of the Towns.* But *Christophorus* renders it in this manner: *Inter quos habuit fossores & Bubulcos ex numero vectigalium exemptos, amongst whom he had Ditchers and Ox-drivers exempted [or, taken] out of their number who payed Tribute.* They knew not what



the word *οὐτελευτῆς* signified. *Evagrius* has made use of this word above, at chap. 42. book 3. At which place we have remarked, that by that word, are meant the *Provincial Tributaries*, who are also termed *Collatores* in the Code. From those therefore *Martinus* the *Magister Militum* had by force drawn Ditchers and Oxe-drivers, and Taylours, that he might make use of their Labour in his Army: for he reckoned them not amongst the Souldiers, as *Christophorson* seems to have thought. *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

*How Chosroes (after he had sent his General Adaarmanes against the Romans, who afflicted them with many and those severe Losses;) went himself in person to Nisibis.*

**B**UT *Chosroes*, after he had made sufficient provision of all things necessary for a War, went to a certain [place,] and having pass'd the *Euphrates* in his own Country, sends *Adaarmanes* into the *Roman* Territories, by a [place] termed *Circesium*. This *Circesium* is a Town most commodious to the *Romans*, situate in the utmost confines of the Empire. Which [Town] is fortified not only with walls raised to a vast height; but the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Aboras* do likewise encompass it, and make the City as 'twere an Island. But [*Chosroes*] himself having, together with those [Forces] about him, pass'd the River *Tigris*, march'd directly to *Nisibis*. [Though] these things had been done, [yet] the *Romans* were a long while ignorant of them: in so much that *Justinus*, giving overmuch credit to report, (which said that *Chosroes* was either already dead, or drawing his very last breath,) became highly incens'd, because the Siege of *Nisibis* was protracted so long; and sent some persons who might hasten *Marcianus* forward, and might forthwith bring him the Keys of the Gates: But when this affair was not in the least forwarded, but rather he himself procur'd great ignominy and disgrace, in regard he would attempt those things which could not be done against such and so vast a City, and with so pitiful and despicable an Army; in the first place a message is brought to *Gregorius* Bishop of *Theopolis*. For whereas the Bishop of *Nisibis* was an intimate friend to *Gregorius*, in regard he had received great presents from him; and moreover being one that was highly displeased at the *Persians* contumelious usage of the *Christians*, which the *Christians* had continually suffer'd from them, being also desirous that his own City might become subject [to the Empire] of the *Romans*; he gave *Gregorius* an account of whatever was done in the Enemies Country, and in due time made known [to him] all things. Of which [matters *Gregorius*] forthwith sent *Justinus* a Relation, declaring to him *Chosroes*'s sudden irruption. But *Justinus*, involved in his usual pleasures, heeded not what had been written [to him by *Gregorius*]; nor would he give credit thereto, but only supposed [that true,] which he himself desired. For \* 'tis usual with persons who are dissolute, that they should be both a slothful and confident against the Events [of affairs;] and if any thing happens contrary to their wills, they disbelieve it. He wrote therefore to *Gregorius*, [in which Letters] he perfectly reject'd those things [told him by *Gregorius*,] as being wholly false: or if they were true, yet, that the *Persians* could never prevent the

Siege; but, that if they did prevent it, they wou'd retire [from hence] with great loss. [At the same time] he sends one *Acacius* (a wicked and spiteful person,) to *Marcianus*, giving him order, that although *Marcianus* should have set one of his feet into the City, he should nevertheless \* turn him out of Commission. Which thing [*Acacius*] performed exactly, obeying the Emperour's Commands though to the disadvantage of the Republick. For being arrived in the [Roman] Camp, he divests *Marcianus* of his Command, in the Enemies Country, without having acquainted the Army therewith. But the *Centurions* and Leaders of the Ranks, having understood at their coming off the Watch, that their Commander in chief was turn'd out of Commission, \* would not appear in publick any more, but left [the Service,] were disperf'd here and there, and brake up the ridiculous Siege. In the interim *Adaarmanes* having an Army of *Persians* and barbarous *Scenitæ* fit to engage, pass'd by *Circesium*, and ruin'd the *Roman* Territories with all manner of depopulations, burning and killing, designing in his mind or performing nothing that was mean and trivial. He also takes Castles and many Villages, no body making a resistance against him: First, because [at that time] there was no Commander [of the *Romans*:] and then, in regard the [Roman] Souldiers were by *Chosroes* shut up in *Daras*; as well Excursions to fetch in forage, as irruptions, were made without impediment. He made an attack also upon the † *Theopolites* † *Antiochians* by the Souldiers he had with him; (for he went not thither in person.) Nevertheless, those [Souldiers of his] received a repulse beyond all expectation, although no body, excepting only a very small number, continued in the City; and though the Bishop was fled, and had carried a long with him the sacred Treasure, because, both most part of the wall was fallen down, and the people also had rais'd a Sedition, being desirous of beginning an Innovation, as it usually happens, and most especially at such times as those. Moreover, [the Seditious] themselves betook themselves to their heels, and had left the City empty; nothing at all being to be found out, \* that might either annoy the Enemy, or on the other hand keep them off.

words which I have not yet met with, used in such a sense, as by all the Translatours they are taken here.

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning the taking of Apamia and Daras:*

**W**HEN therefore <sup>a</sup> *Adaarmanes* had been <sup>a</sup> *Adaarmanes* frustrated in this attempt, having burnt that City anciently termed *Heraclea*, but afterwards named *Gagalice*, he took *Apamia*, which had been built by <sup>b</sup> *Seleucus Nicator*, a [City] written

in ancient Authors. In *Theophanes's* *Chronicon*, he is called *Artabanus*, and *Ardamanes* in the *Palatine Manuscript Copy*. *Anastasius Bibliotecarius* terms him *Dux Adermanus*. In *Nicephorus's* *ἐξ ἀπαρχαίων*, *Adaarmanes*. In *Theophanes Byzantius*, *Baraamanes*. Hereafter in the thirteenth chapter he is termed *Ardamanes*. *Theophylactus*, Book 3, calls him *Adormaanes*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Σελεύκῃ τῷ νικητορῷ*. Undoubtedly it must be made *Nicatoris*. For *Seleucus* the first king of Syria, because of his famous Victories, had the surname of *Nicator*, as we learn from the *Old Coins*, which ascribe this Title or Surname to him. *Valef.* See *Valesius's* notes on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 41.

heretofore

\* Or, It follows.

<sup>a</sup> *Τὸ τε ἀδρῆς*. In *Nicephorus's* *ἐξ ἀπαρχαίων*, with a double *ν*. So a little before, where the reading is *ἀδρῆς*; *Nicephorus* has it written *ἀδρῆς*, which is more usual. Yet, that word may be written with a double *λ*, as *Hesychius* tells us. *Valef.*

\* Or, Remove him from his Command.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὁν παρήγε τὸ πλῆθος*. I think it must be made *ἐς τὸ πλῆθος*. And so *Musculus* seems to have read. For he renders it thus: *Exercitui porro adesse nolunt, would not be any more present with the Army*. *Christophorson* translates it in this manner, *Copias non ulterius ducunt, lead not the Forces any more*. But the Greek will not bear this sense. *Valef.*

\* *Εἰς ἐπιτέχνησιν, ἢ ἀντεπιτέχνησιν*.



heretofore rich and populous, but in [process of] time it was become extremely ruinous. Having possess himself of this City on some Articles of agreement, (for [the Inhabitants] were in no wise in a capacity to make a resistance, the wall by reason of its age being fallen to the ground;) he utterly destroyed it by fire; and when he had made plunder of all things, contrary to the conditions agreed to by him, he went away, and lead away Captive all the Citizens, and [the Inhabitants of] the adjacent Villages. Amongst which [Prisoners] he carried away, alive the Bishop of the City, and that person who was entrusted with the Government [of the Province.] Moreover, he committed all manner of \* outrages at his departure, there being no body that might restrain or give him any the least resistance, excepting a very few Souldiers sent by *Justinus*, under the Command of one *Adagnus*, who was heretofore *President* of the † *Argentarii* at the Imperial City, but had afterwards by *Justinus* been made *Curator* of one of the Imperial Houses. And these [Souldiers] also ran away with all the last imaginable, there having wanted but little of their being all taken by the Enemy. When therefore *Adarmanes* had performed these Exploits, he came to *Chosroes*, who had not yet taken the City [*Dava*.] His joining Forces with *Chosroes* was of great importance to [their] affairs, both because it gave encouragement to their own men, and also struck a terror into the Enemy. Further, [*Chosroes*] found that City encompassed with a wall, and a vast Rampire of earth cast up hard by the wall, also those Engines [termed] \* *Helepoles* standing ready; and especially the *Catapultæ* wherewith stones are thrown from an Eminence, which [Machines] they usually term † *Petrariae*. || In this manner *Chosroes* became Master of that City by force, in the Winter time, *Johannes* the Son of *Timostratus* being its Governour, who was very little solicitous about it, or rather betrayed it. For both are reported. Now, *Chosroes* had laid Siege to that City five months and more, no body appearing in its defence. Having therefore brought all persons out of the City, (which were a vast multitude,) and in a cruel manner killed some of them there, and preserved others, which were the most in number, alive; he fortified the City with a Garrison, because its site was commodious; but he himself returned into his own Country.

## CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour *Justinus* was seized with a \* Frensie: but *Tiberius* undertook the care of the Republick.

\* Or, Frantick distemper.

WHICH [proceedings] when *Justinus* was made acquainted with, having in his mind not so much as one thought that was sound and prudent, nor bearing his <sup>a</sup> misfortune so as it becomes a man to do; from such an height of pride and haughtiness he falls into a Frantick distemper and madness, and in future became insensible of what was transacted. From thence forward therefore *Tiberius* had the management of the Republick, a person by descent a *Thracian*, but one who bore the chiefest place of trust, [and was the greatest Favourite] with *Justinus*.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ. It must be made οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ; as I found it written in the Tellerian MS. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> This person had heretofore been sent [by *Justinus*] against the \* *Abari*, [accompanied with] a vast Army of Souldiers which had been raised.

\* Or, *Abares*, or, *Avares*.

<sup>b</sup> The Emperour *Justinus* sent *Tiberius* the Comes

But, the Souldiers not enduring so much as the fight of the *Barbarians*, *Tiberius* wanted but little of being taken, had not the Divine providence in a wonderful manner protected him, and reserved him for the Roman Empire; which had been reduced to such danger by *Justinus*'s absurd and rash attempts, that [twas feared least] together with the whole State it should be utterly ruined, and might yield to the \* prevalent power and dominion of the *Barbarians*.

of his Guards, against the *Avares*, with an Army sufficiently strong, on the ninth year of his Empire, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*. But *Johannes Biclariensis* says that was done in the fourth year of *Justinus*'s Empire: where he relates, that from this Battle *Tiberius* returned a Conqueror to *Constantinople*. Which yet is declared to be false by *Evagrius* and *Theophanes*. Valef.

\* Or, So great.

## CHAP. XII.

That *Trajanus* having been sent Ambassador to *Chosroes*, \* repaired the affairs of the Romans.

\* Corrected, or, restored,

*Tiberius* therefore resolves upon a † Course very seasonable, and accommodate to the [present juncture of] affairs; which repaired the whole misfortune. For

† Council, or, advice.

<sup>a</sup> *Trajanus*, a wise person of the Senatorian Order, a man highly valued by all men for his gray-hairs and understanding, is dispatch'd away to *Chosroes*: He was not to perform that Embassy in the name of || the Emperour, nor of the State; but was to speak in behalf only of [the Empress] *Sophia*. Moreover, She wrote to *Chosroes*, [in which Letter] She lamented both the calamities of her Husband, and also the State's being deprived of an Emperour; adding withall, that 'twas misbecoming [a Prince] to insult over a woman that was a widow, over a || dead Emperour, and over a de- || Or, Deserted State: For, that \* he himself, when he had fallen sick sometime since, had not only experienced the like [humanity and kind usage,] but had likewise had the best Physicians sent him by the Roman State, who also freed him from his distemper. [Hereby] therefore *Chosroes* is prevailed upon. And although he was just ready to make an Invasion || upon the Territories of the Romans, yet he concludes a Truce for the space of three years, in the Eastern parts. In Nice- But, 'twas thought good, that *Armenia* <sup>b</sup> should not be included in the like [conditions of a Truce;] so that, he might wage War there, provided no body disturbed the Eastern parts.

<sup>a</sup> This *Trajanus* was *Patritius* and *Questor* of the Sacred Palace; concerning his Embassy, to the *Persians*, *Menander* *Protektor* speaks in the Sixth Book of his *Histories*, pag. 157. and 165. This, as I think, is the *Trajanus* *Patritius* who had written a *score* *Chronicle*, an admirable work, as *Suidas* attests. *Theophanes* mentions him in his *Chronicon*, pag. 56. *Suidas* writes indeed, that he had lived in the times of *Justinianus Rhinometus*. But I am of opinion that *Suidas* is out, in regard no person of this name is mentioned in the Empire of *Justinianus Rhinometus*. But in the Reign of *Justinus* junior, *Trajanus* *Patritius* is commended by *Menander* *Protektor* in his Sixth Book, and by our *Evagrius* here. Valef.

|| Τὴν βασιλείαν, of the Empire.

|| Or, Deserted. \* *Chosroes*.

upon the Territories [or, affairs] of the Romans. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικαῖς μέναι. In my own Judgment I have restored this place very happily, so that instead of the word μέναι, it must be written, μὴ εἶναι. For in the Truce which was made between the Romans and *Persians*, it had been expressly cautioned, that there should be a Cessation of Arms throughout the East only: but in *Armenia* and *Iberia* it should be lawful to wage War. See *Menander* *Protektor* in the Sixth Book of his *Histories*, pag. 157. which author does fully confirm this our emendation. And so does *Theophylactus*, Book 3. Chap. 12. Valef.

During



During the transaction of these affairs in the East, *Sirmium* was taken by the *Abares*: which [City] the *Gepidae* had possessed themselves of before, but had afterwards surrendered it to [the Emperour] *Justinus*. *Nicephorus* is the same. Nevertheless, I doubt not but it should be written *περὶ τῆς ἀβάρων*, by the *Abares*. For the *Abares* took the City *Sirmium*, as *Menander Protector* attests in his *Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 117. Which City having before been in the hands of the *Gepidae*, the *Abares* who had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Gepidae*, affected, that that City, with the rest of the riches of the *Gepidae*, had passed into their power and dominion, as the same *Menander* relates, pag. 114 and 130. See *Theophylactus*, Book 1. Chap. 3. *Valeſ*.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Election of *Tiberius* to the Empire, and concerning his disposition.

ABOUT the same time, *Justinus* by the advice of *Sophia*, proclaims *Tiberius*, *Cæſar*. At which Election [*Justinus*] made such a speech, as transcends all History, as well ancient as modern: the most Compassionate God allowing *Justinus* this opportunity, both for a confession of his own sins, and also that he might be the Author of wholesome advice for the advantage and benefit of the State. For, at a convention <sup>a</sup> in the *Atrium* of the [Imperial] Palace

<sup>ἐν τῇ ἀνοικτῇ αὐλῇ, in the open Court</sup> [of the Palace.] *Nicephorus* adds a word here, in this manner, ἐν τῇ ὑπαίθρῳ αὐλῇ τῶν ἀνακτόρων, in the open Court of the Imperial Palace. *Theophylactus* makes mention of this place, Book 1. Chap. 1 and relates, that the Emperours were usually proclaimed there; φορεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀχθεῖς ὁ πῆξις [says he,] ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῶν βασιλείων αὐλῇ, ὅπου παρὶνῶται τῇ πολυστάδῳ τῶν ἀνακτόρων οἰκίᾳ, &c. Which place the Latin Translator has expressed in a long circuit of words, in this manner: *Tiberius namque in atrium palatii juxta domum, in qua multi ex herbis, seu frondibus, ad cœnandum, dormiendumve tori, sive Leæsternia, vestibulum illustre, visendumque proscenium* Huc, inquam, gestatus, &c. Whence it appears, that he understood not what was meant by these words. Likewise *Nicephorus Callistus*, when he wrote out this place of *Theophylactus* omitted the latter words. But my Sentiment is, that by these words, πολυστάδῳ οἰκίᾳ, *Theophylactus* means that House which in Greek was termed δεκαεννέα ἀκκῆσιτα; Because in it there were nineteen *Accubita*, or *Sisbadia*, whereon the Emperour with his Nobles lay down and banquetted at Christmas, and on the more solemn Festival days, as *Theophanes* and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* do relate in the one and thirtieth year of *Justinian*; and likewise *Luitprandus* in Book 6 *Rerum per Europam Gestarum*, Chap. 3. where his words are these: *Est domus que Decaenna accubita dicitur, &c.* There is an House which is termed the *Decaenna accubita*. It is so called for this reason, because nineteen Tables are spread there on the Nativity of our Lord. Whereon the Emperour and likewise his Guests do banquet, not in a sitting posture, as on other days, but by lying down. Near this House was the Tribunal, or Throne, in which the Emperours and Empreses were crowned. *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*, pag. 176, speaking of *Haurus Leo*; ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ (says he) δεκαεννέα ἀκκῆσιτῶν ἐπέειπεν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ σὺν ἑαυτῷ εἰς θάσιναν, in the Throne termed the *Decaenna accubita* he Crowned his Son *Constantine Emperour*. *Anastasius* relates the same, as does likewise the Author *Historiæ Miscellæ*, Book 21. The same Writer, book 22, speaking of *Constantinus Copronymus*: *Anno 28 Imperii sui coronavit, &c.* On the 28th year of his own Empire, the Emperour Crowned his Wife *Eudoxia*, after he had been thrice married, in the Tribunal of the nineteen *Accubita*. Hence 'tis, that *Codinus* (in his *Origines Constantinopolitane*,) places τὸ στέφανον, The *Steffimon*, near the House of the nineteen *Accubita*: by which term [The *Steffimon*] he means the throne whereon the Emperours were Crowned. Now, this House was, in the Third Region [of the City,] near the *Hippodrome*, as *Luitprandus* attests. Indeed, the Old Description informs us, that in that Region was the Great Cirque, and the Semicircular [or, half-round] Porticus, which was called The *Sigma*, and lastly the Tribunal of the Forum of *Constantine*. And 'tis very likely, that of that Porticus was made the House of the nineteen *Accubita*; for a *Sigma* is the same with a *Sisbadium* or an *Accubitum*. Moreover, the Church of *Saint Stephen* is by *Codinus* placed near the Tribunal of the nineteen *Accubita*, which *Petrus Gyllius* (book 2. chap. 15.) relates, from an Old Author, to have been near the *Sigma*. Further, this House of the nineteen *Accubita*, was also termed The *Delphica*, or, The *Delphicum*, as *Procopius* attests book 1. of his *Pandalicks*, pag. 116. and *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*. *Valeſ*.

(where ancient custom says such Solemnities were performed,) both of *Johannes* the Patriarch, whom we mentioned before, together with his Clergy, of the Magistracy and *Honorati*, and of all the Grand Officers about the Court; *Justinus*, an old custom, that when he had invested *Tiberius* with the Imperial Coat, and had clothed him in the [Purple] \* Robe, with a loud voice spake \* O, publicly [these following words.] *Or, Constantinople*

proclaimed in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Palace. For the old custom was, that the *Augusti* should be proclaimed in the Seventh *Milliarium*, or, mile, from the City, in the presence of the Army, in the *Campus*, or Field without the City. And *Valens* [was] the first that had been stiled Emperour in that Suburb, by his Brother *Valentinian*. After whom, the following Emperours of the East were proclaimed in the same place, as I have long since observed in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*'s 26th book, pag. 115, 116. The Emperour *Zeno* also was Crowned in the Seventh *Milliarium* by his own Son *Leo*, as *Victor Tunonensis* relates in his *Chronicon*. Likewise *Basiliscus* was a little after stiled Emperour in the *Campus*, as *Theophanes* informs us. Now, the *Campus* was in the Seventh *Milliarium*, as *Theophylactus* attests, book 8. chap. 12. But who was first saluted *Augustus* in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Palace, at *Constantinople*, I have not yet plainly found. Indeed, *Justinus Junior* seems to have been proclaimed Emperour there, as may be gathered from the first chapter of this book. *Valeſ*.

<sup>c</sup> *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* attests, that (not *Johannes Scholasticus*, but) *Eutychius* was then Patriarch of *Constantinople*. For *Johannes Scholasticus* died on the Tenth Indiction, in the Month *August*, the day before the Calends of September. And *Eutychius* was reitored to his own See on the same year, in the Month *October*, on the Eleventh Indiction, as *Theophanes* attests. On the year following (which was the year of Christ 578, in the Twelfth Indiction, on the 26th of September,) this *Eutychius* Crowned *Tiberius Augustus*, as *Theophanes* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* inform us. But, on a more attentive examination of the thing, I have perceived nothing is to be found fault with here: for *Evagrius* speaks not here concerning *Tiberius*'s being proclaimed *Augustus*, but of the Appellation of *Cæſar* granted to him. Further, *Tiberius* was made *Cæſar* on the Eighth Indiction, as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us: at which time *Johannes* was Patriarch of *Constantinople*. *Valeſ*.

Let not the Magnificence of Your Attire deceive You, nor the Scene of those things which are seen: by which I have been imposed upon, and have rendred my self obnoxious to the Extremest of Punishments. Do You correct my mistakes, and with all \* Lenity and Mansuetude Govern \* the State. Then pointing to the † Magistrates; You ought not, said he, in any wise to be persuaded by them; and further added, For they have reduced me to those Circumstances wherein You now behold me. [He uttered] several other such like [expressions,] which put all persons into an amaze, and drew from them plenty of Tears. Now, *Tiberius* was very tall of Body, and besides his Stature, the Comeliest person, not only of Emperours, but of all other Men, as far as any one may conjecture; in so much that, in the first place, even his very shape deserved an Empire. His temper of mind was Sweet and Courteous, [a person] that received all Men kindly even at the first sight. He esteemed it [the greatest] Riches to be liberal to all Men in reference to bountiful Contributions, not only as far as a necessity, but even to an affluence. *Nor do I*

doubt but *Evagrius* left it thus written. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*, wherein I found it plainly written in this manner. Away therefore with the rendition of *Musculus*, who translates it thus: *Insignis magis, quàm ut quisquam illi conferri possit, more eminent, than that any one might be compared to him.* But *Christopherson* turns it in this manner; *Pulchritudinis excellentiâ omnium opinione major, for the excellency of beauty, greater than the opinion of all men.* *Valeſ*.

<sup>e</sup> Καὶ πρῶτον ἰδοὺ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ. The reading in the *Flaventine Manuscript* is truer, thus, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν, &c. in so much that, in the first place, &c. *Evagrius* alludes to that known Verse of the *Tragædian*; πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου. *Valeſ*.



For he considered not, what Petitioners ought to receive, but what it became an Emperour of the Romans to give. 'Twas his Sentiment, that that Gold was adulterate || which was Collected with the Tears [of the Provincials.] Hence ('tis certain) it was, that he remitted the Collection of one whole years Tribute, to the Tributaries. And those possessions which *Adamanes* had ruined, he freed from the Tributary Function, not only in proportion to the damage they had suffered, but also much above [the loss.] Moreover, those illegal Presents were remitted to the Magistrates, for which [Bribes] the Emperours had heretofore sold their Subjects [to them.] He also wrote Constitutions concerning these matters, making thereby provision for the security of posterity.

*Or, 'tis written ἵκελον. Valef.*

There is extant a Constitution of *Justinus Junior*, wherein he has remitted to the Provincials the Remains of the Tributes of the past year, until the Eighth Indiction of the Cycle current. Which *Justinus* seems to have done by the perswasion of *Tiberius*, whom a little before he had Created *Cesar*, at the beginning of the Eighth Indiction, as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us. Into this first Constitution therefore of the Emperour *Justinus Junior*, the name of *Tiberius* the *Cesar* ought to have been inserted.

At this present there is extant a Constitution of the Emperour *Justinus Junior*, concerning the promoting Rectours of Provinces without reward. Which amongst the *Novel Constitutions* of *Justinus Junior* is the Fifth in number. In that Constitution *Justinus* gives permission to the Provincials, that they may make known to the Emperour those persons whom they should judge fit to Govern their own Province; and the Emperour promises, that he will give forth the *Codicils* and the *Disignia* [Marks, Tokens] of Magistracy freely, without any present or gift. Which Law, in regard it bears date on the Eighth year of *Justinus Junior*'s Empire, was, we doubt not, set forth also by the perswasion and suggestion of *Tiberius* the *Cesar*. Valef.

#### CHAP. XIV.

That the Emperour *Tiberius* raised a vast Army [to be employed] against *Chosroes*; [at the head whereof] he sent *Justinianus* the Dux, and drove [Chosroes] out of the Roman Pale.

Having therefore employed the ill gotten Treasure to a good use, he made provision for a War. And raises so vast an Army of valiant Men, by lifting the choicest Soldiers, both of the || *Transalpine* Nations who [inhabit] about the *Rhine*, and also of the || *Cisalpine*, of the *Massageta* likewise, and other *Scythick* Nations; of those also about \* *Pannonia* and *Moesia*, of the *Illyrii* and *Isauri*: that he intermixt near an Hundred and fifty thousand Men with his incom-

parable Troops of Horse, and Routed *Chosroes*: who after his taking of *Daras*, immediately in the Summer had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and from thence

resolved upon an Invasion of *Casarea*, (which is the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*,) and of the Cities in that Region. He contemned the Roman Empire in such a manner, that when *Cesar* dispatch'd away an Embassy to him, he would not vouchsafe the Ambassadors access to himself: but ordered them to follow him to *Cæsarea*: for there, he said, he would \* give them audience. But when he saw the Roman

Army fronting him, (Commanded by *Justinianus* Brother to that *Justinus* who had been barbarously murdered by [the Emperour] *Justinus*,) accurately well Armed, the Trumpeters sounding an Alarm, the Colours raised in order to an Engagement, the Soldier greedy of slaughter, and with a most incomparable decency breathing forth rage and fury, [lastly] such and so great a number of Horse, as none of the Emperours had ever conceived in their mind; he was stricken with a great amazement, sighed deeply at so unhop'd for and unexpected a thing, and would not begin a Fight. When therefore he deferred an Engagement, made delays, spent the time, and only feigned a Fight; the *Scythian*, a Person that Commanded the Right Wing, makes an Attack upon him. The *Persians* were not able to bear the Shock of his Charge, but apparently deserted their || Ranks; whereupon [Curs] made a great slaughter amongst the Enemy. Then he Attacks the *Rere* [of the *Persian*,] where *Chosroes* and the whole Army had their Baggage: and he takes all the Kings Treasure, and more-over the whole Baggage, in the very sight of *Chosroes*, who bore it with patience, and thought his own trouble might with more ease be indured, than the Attack of *Curs*. In this manner therefore *Curs*, together with his Soldiers, possesses himself of great Riches and Plunder, and drives away the Beasts of burthen together with their Burthens, amongst which happened to be *Chosroes*'s Sacred Fire, adored by him as a God: [after this] he marches round the *Persian* Army singing a Victorious Song, and about Candle-lighting returns to \* the Roman Army, which † had now left its Station; neither *Chosroes* nor the Romans having begun a Fight: only some Skirmishes had happened, and (as it usually hap-

of the East being sent by *Tiberius*, makes ready for a War, and in the Field which lies between *Daras* and *Nisibis* engages in a brave Fight, having with him those most valiant Nations, which in the Language of the Barbarians are termed *Hermani*; where he vanquishes the fore-mentioned Emperour. Valef.

\* *T' ἀδελφῷ ἱεστὺν δευτέρῳ ἀντιπρὸς αὐτὸν.* From the Florentine and Tellerian Manuscripts I have made good this place thus; † *ἀδελφῷ ἱεστὺν τῷ πρὸς ἱεστὺν δευτέρῳ ἀντιπρὸς αὐτὸν.* Brother to that *Justinus* who had been barbarously murdered by [the Emperour] *Justinus*. This *Justinian* therefore was a Son to *Germanus*, (which *Theophylactus* does also attest in his Third Book,) Brother of that *Justinus* who had been slain by the Emperour, as *Evagrius* relates in the beginning of this book. Valef.

a *Theophylactus* mentions this person, in book 3. chap. 16. and in book 1. chap. 9. In which places the *Latine Translator* terms him *Cursus*. But, he had better have translated it *Cursus*. For so *Menander Protector* calls him, in the sixth book of his *Histories*, pag. 159. of the King's Edition. In *Theophanes's Chronicle*, pag. 214, he is corruptly termed *κέρς*, *Crous*. Valef.

\* *Ἀνεξιτήτην δὲ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ὀπισθοφύγης τῷ κέρς ἡσμεν.* I rather approve of *Nicephorus's* reading, (book 18. chap. 2.) which runs thus; *ἀνεξιτήτην δὲ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ ὀπισθοφύγῃ τῷ κέρς ἡσμεν*: only, I would add an Article, in this manner, *τῆς τῷ κέρς ἡσμεν*. That is, as *Johannes Langus* renders it, *Quod facilius is impressionem suam, quam ipsius Cours sustineri posse existimaret, because he thought his own impression might with more ease be endured, than the Attack of Cours*. Further, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* relates this Flight of the *Persians* and Victory of the Romans, after the death of the Emperour *Justinus Junior*, when *Tiberius* had obtained the Empire alone. But *Theophylactus*, from whom *Theophanes* seems to have taken his Relation, attests that that happened whilst *Justinus* was yet alive, when *Tiberius* bore the Title and Dignity of *Cesar* only, and governed the State; as may be seen in *Theophylactus's* third book, chap. 14. To whom agrees our *Evagrius*; for he relates the Death of *Justinus Junior* hereafter, in the nineteenth chapter of this book, where he says in express words, that after *Justinus's* death, *Tiberius* deprived *Justinian* of the Dignity of *Magister Militum*. Valef.



pens,) sometimes one Man [came out] of each Army and engaged in a single Combat. On the night following Chosroes kindled many Fires, and prepared for a Night-Fight: and whereas the Roman Army was divided into two Camps, in the dead of the Night he falls upon those who were Encamped to the Northward. After he had routed them by his sudden and unexpected Attack, he invades Melitina a City that lay near, which was then without a Garrison and destitute of Inhabitants. And after he had burnt down this whole City, he made preparations for his passing over the River Euphrates. But when the Roman Army was got together into one Body, and followed him, being put into a fear in relation to his own safety, he himself got upon an Elephant, and so past the River. But a vast number of the [Forces] about him were buried in the Torrent of the Euphrates. After he had received information of their being drowned, he marched away from thence. Chosroes therefore having undergone this last punishment for his so great insolence towards the Romans, in company of those [of his Forces] who had made their escape, went into the East, where he had a Truce, to the end no one might make an Attack upon him. But Justinianus with the whole Roman Army entered the Persian Empire, where he passed the Winter season, nobody giving him any the least molestation. About the Summer Solstice he returned, without the loss of any part of his Forces, and with great felicity and much glory spent the Summer about the Confines of both Empires.

† Petulan-  
cy, or, Con-  
tumelie.

## CHAP. XV.

That Chosroes being heavily disquieted at his own overthrow, ended his life: but his Son Hormisdas undertook the Government of the Persians.

The death of Chosroes King of the Persians is related too soon here. For he died after Tiberius had gotten the Empire, as Theophylactus attests, book

3. chap. 16. which is also confirmed by Menander Protector in his Excerpt. Legat. Wherefore Theophanes is mistaken in his Chronicon, who relates Chosroes's death, and the Inauguration of his Son Hormisdas, in the Empire of Justinus Junior. Valef.

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐαυτοῦ. In the Tellerian Manuscript I found it written, ἐν οὖν ἐαυτοῦ, of whom I must at present omit to speak: which reading I prefer far before the Vulgar one. Valef.

## CHAP. XVI.

Who at that time were Bishops of the Greater Churches.

After the departure of Johannes, called also Catelinus, out of this life, Bonosus undertakes<sup>a</sup> In Nice the Government of the Bishoprick of Rome; he phorus, was succeeded by another Johannes, whose successor was Pelagius. The Constantinopolitan Chair, when Johannes was dead, was restored to Eutychius, who had been Bishop before Johannes. After Apollinarius, Johannes succeeds in the Throne of Alexandria, who was succeeded by Eulogius. After Marcarius, Johannes is promoted to the Episcopate of Jerusalem, a person who had been exercised in the Conflicts of an unfurnished life, in that termed the Monastery of the Accemeti; nothing of an Innovation having been attempted in relation to the Ecclesiastick constitution.

chapt. 35. he is called Bonosus. This is he, whom Anastasius Bibliothecarius and the other Authors who have written concerning the Lives of the Bishops of Rome, do term Benedictus. Baronius thinks he had the Surname of Bonosus. Valef.

Chri-  
stophor-  
son under-  
stood these

words so, as if Evagrius would have said, that in the times of Johannes Bishop of Jerusalem, no tumult had been raised in the Church. But to me Evagrius seems to mean another thing; to wit, that during that whole time, wherein those Prelates, here named by Evagrius, sat, there had been no tumult in the Church. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Earthquake which happened at Antioch in the times of Tiberius.

But, in the third Year of Tiberius the Caesar's Governing the Roman Empire, there happened at Antioch and the Suburb Daphne which is near it, a most dismal shaking of the Earth, at the very hottest time of Noon-day. At which time all Daphne was totally demolished by this Earthquake, and the Edifices at Antioch, as well the publick as the private ones, were rent in sunder to the very earth, but fell not to the very ground. Some other accidents happened likewise, highly worthy to be recorded, both at Theopolis it self, and at the Imperial City also: which disquieted both those Cities, and incited them to the greatest Tumults. [These Accidents] took their beginning from a divine Zeal, and obtained a conclusion besitting God. Which [matters] I come [now] to give a Narrative of.

Ἡ Τρίτη καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῶν βασιλείων δαυιδος τῶν τριῶν Νί-  
cephorus (book 18: chap. 3.) thought that by these words was meant the third Year of Tiberius Augustus's Empire. The same was the Sentiment also of Chri-

stophorson and Musculus, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But in my judgment, Evagrius seems to mean here the Year of Tiberius's Caesarean Dignity. For, in the first place the words themselves do sufficiently show that. Then secondly, Evagrius has not yet related Justinus Junior's death, nor the Coronation of Tiberius. For he speaks of these hereafter, in the nineteenth chapter of this book. Wherefore, those things related in this chapter, hapned whilst Justinus Junior was yet alive. Valef.

Ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῆς μεσημέρας τὸ σαδερῶν τὸν. It must be made ἐξ αὐτοῦ, at the very; as 'tis in the Tellerian MS; or, κατ' αὐτό, as it is in Nicephorus. Valef.

Ἀξίων δεῖξαι, I begin to relate. I had rather write, ἐρχομαι, I come: for so Gracians are wont to speak. In the Tellerian MS. I found it plainly written, λέγων ἐρχομαι, I come to give a relation of. Valef.



## CHAP. XVIII.

## Concerning the Insurrection against the Execrable Anatolius.

<sup>a</sup> Πολλῶν τε ἐπιδη-  
φείων. In the  
excellent  
Floren-  
tine Ma-  
nuscript I  
found it  
plainly  
written,  
ὅτι πολ-  
λῶν τε καὶ  
ἐπιδηφείων,  
of the ordi-  
nary rank,  
and one of  
the Sedentary  
Mechanicks.  
Further, 'tis  
strange that  
three Transla-  
tors should have  
been mistaken  
in the rendition  
of one word. For  
Johannes Langus  
renders it thus:  
Erat Theopoli Anatolius quidam, ex plebeis ille quidem & ignavis  
unus, There was at Theopolis one Anatolius, a person of the ordinary  
rank and one of the slothful. Musculus translates it in this manner;  
Unus ex multis illis qui vitam delicatè insitunt, One of those  
many who lead a delicate life. Christophorus's Version runs thus;  
Anatolius vir quidam plebeius primùm & mollis. Anatolius a man at  
first a plebeian and effeminate, or, soft. Which interpretation they  
seem to have drawn from Suidas and the Author of the Etymologicon;  
who expounded ἐπιδηφείων in this manner, ἀργός καὶ γυναικώδης,  
idle and effeminate. But, this term signifies something else here, as  
is concluded from the preceding term. Wherefore I doubt not, but  
by this word *Evagrius* means the *Artifices Sellarii*, Sedentary Me-  
chanicks, which the Greeks also term ἐδεγίς, for the same rea-  
son, to wit because they do their work sitting. So Julius Pollux  
book 7. chap. 1. and the Author of the Etymologicon in the word  
βίβανος. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τὰ μὲν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα διαλεξάμεθα. I write, τὰ μὲν ὥς διαλε-  
ξάμεθα, partly that he might confer with him; the word περὶ-  
ταῦτα must be expunged, which crept in here from the foregoing  
line. Valef.

This [*Anatolius*] was afterwards discovered to have sacrificed [to the Gods;] and having on that account been called to Examination, was detected to be a most execrable wretch, a Conjuror, and a person involved in innumerable impieties. But he † corrupted the Comes of the East with Money; and wanted but little of gaining his dismissal, together with his Accomplices; (For he had several others of the same Morals with himself, who had been apprehended at the same time that he was:) had not the populace made an Insurrection, and by raising a great disturbance, spoiled that design. Moreover, they exclaimed against the Patriarch

himself, and said that he \* was a party in that Consult. Also, some turbulent and destructive *Dæmon* † had perswaded some persons, that he was † present together with *Anatolius* at the [detestable] sacrifices. For this reason *Gregorius* was reduced to the imminentest of dangers, most violent incursions being made against him by the populace. And this suspicion was raised to such an height, that the Emperour *Tiberius* himself became desirous of knowing the truth from *Anatolius*'s own mouth. He gives order therefore, that *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should forthwith be conveyed to the Imperial City. Which when *Anatolius* understood, he ran to an Image of the *Theotocos* hung up by a rope in the Prison, and having folded his hands behind his back, shewed himself in the posture of an humble Suppliant and Peritioner. But she, abominating [the man,] and reproving [the Wretch] as impious and

hateful to God, † turned [her face] quite back-  
ward; an horrid sight, and worthy to be for-  
ever remembred: which thing having been seen,  
both by all the Prisoners, and also by those who were entrusted with the custody of *Anatolius* and his Accomplices; was declared to all persons. Moreover, she was seen by some of the Faithful, inciting them against that Pest *Anatolius*, and saying that he had been injurious to her Son. But after he was brought to the Imperial City, and having been \* exposed to the acutest of Tortures, had not anything in the least to say against the Prelate [*Gregorius*]; he, together with his Associates, became the Occasioner of greater Tumults there, and [was the Author] of a popular Sedition in that City. For, when some of † them had † received a sentence of Banishment, but were not † to be taken off by a capital punishment; the populace, incensed by a kind of Divine zeal, put all things into a disturbance, by being exasperated, and highly enraged. And having seized the persons that had been condemned to Exile, they put them into a Boat, and burnt them alive; which sentence the People pronounc'd against them. They likewise exclaimed against the Emperour, and against *Eutychius* their own Patriarch, as being betrayers of the Faith: And they were about to have murdered *Eutychius*, and those persons to whom the Cognizance of this Cause had been committed, going up and down to all places in quest of them; had not providence, the preserver of all things, delivered them out of their hands who sought after them, and by degrees appeased the Rage of so numerous a multitude, in such a manner, that no mischievous Action was committed by their hands. Further, *Anatolius* himself in the first place was cast to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, and his Body having been torn by them, was afterwards fixt to a Cross. But neither in this manner found he an end of his punishment in this life. For the Wolves having drag'd his impure Body down from the Cross, (a thing never before seen,) divided it for a prey amongst themselves. There was also a certain person amongst us, who (before these things happened,) affirmed, that he saw in his sleep, in what manner the Sentence against *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should be \* pronounced by the People. And an Illustrious † Curator of the Imperial Houses, who was a vigorous defender of *Anatolius*, affirmed that he saw the *Theotocos*, who said, how long would he defend *Anatolius*, who had cast such great contumelies, both on her self, and on her Son. And in this manner were these affairs concluded.

For the Houses of the Emperours, as well those in the Imperial City, as them in the Suburbs, had their Curatores, who look'd after their Revenue. And this dignity was not the meanest, for the persons who bore it had the Titles of Most Glorious and Most Magnificent, as I have remarked before at the third chapter of this book. They seem also to have had a Jurisdiction, as *Agathius* shews in his Fifth Book, speaking concerning one *Anatolius* an Ex-consul; ἀνδρῶν τῶν τε ἐξ ἐπαύων ἀξίῃ περιμενέων, &c. A person that had both been honoured with the Dignity of the Consuls, and besides had obtained an Office, [which was,] to take care of and to look after the Houses and posses-

must be written, ἐς τὴν πλάτην ἐπιστρέψαν, turned [her face] quite backward. And so Nicephorus read, who has express'd this place of *Evagrius* thus, ἐς τὴν πλάτην παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεστρέφον, turned her self quite away from him. Whence it appears, that Nicephorus put a Comma before the word τέλειον, after the term διελέχυσθα: which punctuation I do rather approve of. Valef. In Robert Stephens's Edition, this passage is worded and pointed thus; ἡ δὲ, μυσταγωγείσα καὶ τὸν ἐαγὼν καὶ διαμυστῶν διελέχυσθα τέλειον, ἐκ τῆς πλάτης ἐπιστρέψαν; But she, both abominating this impious person and perfectly reproving [the Wretch] hateful to God, turned backward.

\* Or, Subjected.

† Viz. Anatolius's Accomplices.

\* Given out, or, executed. † Τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμενέον, that is, Curator of the Imperial Houses.

† Or, Bought off.

\* Or, Was a partaker of that design. † Εὐέπει. σεν ἐνίς. Doubtless it must be made, ἐπεπεισεν, had perswaded as the reading is in Nicephorus. Valef. † Or, Intermixt.



sions of the Emperour. Those Officers are by the Romans termed *Curatores*. The term *ἀρχὴν*, Office, in this passage of *Agathias* (though *Vulcanius* has omitted it in his *Version*.) is in no wise superfluous; but it imports an Office of a Magistrate, or a Jurisdiction. Besides, that purple Ribband [or Garland,] and the Tables which the same *Anatolius* was wont to affix to the Houses of private persons, that he might challenge them for the Treasury, (as *Agathias* subjoins in his following words,) do manifestly enough declare, that *Anatolius* had a Jurisdiction as *Curator* of the Imperial Houses. 'Tis certain, the Constitution of the Emperour *Tiberius* concerning the Divine Houses, doth plainly attest, that those *Curatores* had Jurisdiction. For in that Constitution, *Tiberius* does make an express establishment, that an *Agor*, who shall prefer a *Plaint* [or, *Sue Process*] against a *Curatarius* or a *Conductor* or a *Colonus* of an Imperial House, concerning any matter belonging to an House of the Emperour, may, if he will, come to an hearing before the *Most Glorious* and *Most Magnificent Curator*. But if he suspects him, he may prosecute his Cause before any other Judge who shall have been put into Commission by the Emperour. But the Emperour *Tiberius* in that Law prohibits the *Curatores* from fixing *Tables* or *Fiscal Titles* on the Houses of private persons, and from Sealing them. For the *Curatores* were wont to sell such *Titles* as those to the meaner sort, and to exact something of them for their Patronage and Protection, as *Tiberius* does there shew. Moreover, these Houses, and the *Conductores* [Hirers] of them enjoyed many privileges and immunities, as may be seen in the *Theodosian Code*, *Tit. de privilegiis domus Augustæ*, and in the fore-mentioned Constitution of *Tiberius*. *Valef.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Mauricius's Generalship, and concerning his Vertues.

But, *Tiberius* being now, after the death of *Justinus*, encircled with the [Imperial] Crown, turns *Justinianus* out of Commission, in regard he managed not [the War] against the *Barbarians* with the same fortunate success as

Yea, *Tiberius*, whilst *Justinus* as yet survived, created *Mauricius* *Magister of the Oriental Milice*, after he had turned out *Justinian*; as *Theophylactus* attests, book 3. chap. 15. *Valef.*

*Arabissus*, or *Arabissum*, was heretofore a Town of *Armenia Secunda*, as *Hierocles* informs us in his *Notitia of the Provinces of the Eastern Empire*. Indeed, in the *First Constantinopolitan Synod*, a Bishop of *Arabissus* in *Armenia* the less is mentioned. Moreover, *Philostorgius* ascribes this Town to *Armenia the Less*, as may be seen in *Suidas*, in the word *Ἀραβισσοῦ*. But afterwards it was attributed to *Cappadocia*, if we may believe *Evagrius*. I know not whether it be the same with *Arabissus*, whereof *Menander Protector* makes mention in his *Excerpta Legationum*, (pag 159 of the *Kings Edition*.) which Town was near *Theodosiopolis*. *Valef.*

Or, not easie of Access as to Conferences with *the Many*, nor gave attention [promiscuously to all persons;] being sensible, that the first produced contempt, and the second opened the way to flattery. He permitted very few Visits to be made to himself, nor those except concerning affairs of consequence. But to matters superfluous he stopt his ears, not with wax, according to the Poet, but with reason rather: that so, reason might be the best key of his Ears, which should opportunely both open and shut them in Discourses. He had in

such a manner, || clear'd himself of ignorance, the Mother of Rashness; and of Sloth, which dwelleth with her and is her Comrade: that his being in danger was [to be ascribed] to Wisdom, and his slowness of Action, to security. For, Courage and Prudence rode on Opportunities as 'twere on an Horse, and governed the Reins according to what the Utility [of the Republick] might order. And, the Remissness and \* Intenseness of his very Assaults were performed in a certain Measure, Order, and Proportion. But concerning this matter we shall speak more accurately in the Sequel. For, what and how eminent a person he was, must be reserved to his own Empire; which had made a more manifest discovery of this man, and, by having allowed him an uncontrollable power of doing any thing, has displaid his very inmost Recces. This *Mauricius* therefore having at the head of the *Roman Army* made an Expedition into the *Persian Territories*, takes from the *Persians* their Cities and most convenient Castles: and possessed himself of so great Spoil, that the \* Captives he had brought away [out of Persia] peopled whole power of access to himself; and he bestowed that, not without very earnest intreaty. Neither of these Translatours have hit the sense of this place. But the *Florentine Manuscript* hath shown us the true reading of this passage. For, instead of *ἐπαυσιμίας*, it is there written *ἐπαυσιμίας*. I doubt not therefore but this whole place is thus to be read; *τὸς μὲν ἐν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσθλὸς παρὰ τὸν παρὰ τὸν ἐπαυσιμίας*. *αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνοὺς τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ*. He permitted very few Visits, &c. as we have rendred it. Further, in the *Florent. Manuscript* these words are set in the Margin: *ἐν τῇ λέξει αὐτῇ μαυρικὸς δαμασκὸς πληρὸν καὶ ἐπαύων ἀξία*, Those things which he speaks concerning *Mauricius* are full of admiration and worthy of praise. There occurs another Elogie of *Mauricius*, elegant enough, in *Suidas* in the word *μαυρικῶς*, taken out of *Menander Protector's History*: to compare that with this here, would not be unuseful. *Valef.*

*ἢ τὴν ἀπωσιμίας*. I am not of the same opinion with *Christophorson* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who at this place read *ἐπαυσιμίας*. For there is no such Greek word as *ἐπαυσιμίας*, as I think. *Asculus* also seems to have read in the same manner. For he renders it thus; *Inscitiam verò matrem temeritatis, et ignaviam illius domesticam ac sociam sic a se repellerebat*, &c. for he so drove from himself Ignorance the Mother of Rashness, and Sloth her Domestic and Companion, &c. in the same manner *Evagrius*, in the beginning of this book, hath spoken concerning *Justinus Junior*; *Ἐπαύει δὲ καὶ δολίαν τὰς κακίας κατὰ μὲν*, &c. being possessed with Vices, Boldness and Sloth: where (as it seems from this place) we should read *τὰς συνδύους κακίας*. with two Vices that were Comrades or Chamberfellows. But if any one had rather read *ἐπαυσιμίας*, as *Sir Henry Savil* does, then the passage is to be rendred thus; *Et inquilinam ejus, ac contubernalem ignaviam*, And Sloth which dwelleth with her, and is her Comrade. For, there is as much difference between the word *ἀπωσιμίας* and *ἐπαυσιμίας*, as between *ἀποικῶν* and *ἐποικῶν*. Now, *ἀποικῶν* imports *Colonus*, but *ἐποικῶν* signifies *Inquilinus*; as *Suidas* informs us in the word *ἐποικῶν*. They who were carried out of their own Country into any Colony, were termed *ἀποικοι* or *Coloni*. But, he who voluntarily left his own Country and removed into a Colony or into any other City, was termed *ἐποικῶν*, or *μέτοικῶν*. *Christophorson* is mistaken therefore, who hath rendred this place thus: *Inscitiam autem Matrem Audaciae, et Timiditatem quae ei vicina ac finitima est, sic ab se depulit*, But he in such a manner thrust from himself ignorance the Mother of Boldness, and Timidity which is her Neighbour and Borderer. *Ἐπαυσιμίας* does not signify *Finitimam a Borderer*, but *inquilinam*, as I have said. And the Latine word *inquilina* does exactly agree with the Greek term. For 'tis called *inquilinus ab incolatu*, from habitation or dwelling. Besides, the words *συνδύους* does not signify *Vicinum, a Neighbour*; (for that would be *ἀσφύδους*;) but *Contubernalem, a Comrade or Chamberfellow*, who lives under the same Roof. But, after a more diligent inspection into the Matter, I should rather read at this place *ἐπαυσιμίας*. *Valef.*

*ἢ τὴν ἀπωσιμίας*. I think it must be *αὐτῶς*, understand, *τῶς*, *ἔργῳ*, Rashness. The reason of which emendation I have given a little before. *Nicephorus* (book 18. chap. 8.) writing out this passage of *Evagrius*, has exprest it thus; *δολίαν τὴν ἐπαυσιμίας καὶ σὺνδρονον αὐτῇ*, Sloth which dwelleth with her and is her Assessor: which is the worst way of all. *Valef.*

*ἢ τὴν ἀπωσιμίας*. In the *Florentine Manuscript* I found it written *ἐποικῶν*. *Nicephorus* has made use of the simple verb *ἀποικῶν*. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote *ἐποικῶν*. Peopled. *Evagrius* has used the same term in the first and second chapter of this book. *Valef.*



Islands, Cities, and Countreys, which in process of time had been deserted; and land that before had been wholly untilld, was by them rendred fertile; and out of them were raised numerous Armies, which with great Courage and Valour waged wars against other [barbarous] Nations: [in fine,] every family was filled with those that might perform Servile Offices, in regard Slaves could be procured at a most cheap rate.

## CHAP. XX.

*How Mauricius vanquished Tamchofroes and Adaarmanes Generals of the Persians.*

Moreover, He engaged with the Eminentest of the Persian Commanders, to wit, *Tamchofroes* and *Adaarmanes*, who had made an irruption [into the Roman Pale] with a Considerable Army. In what manner, when, and where this Action was performed, let others relate; or perhaps we will give a Narrative thereof in another work: for our present Subject promises an account of far different affairs. Nevertheless,

<sup>a</sup> *O ταμοχρόνης, Tamochroes.* It must doubtless be written *ταμοχρόνης, Tamochroes.* For so *Evagrius* calls him a little before. *Alexander Protektor* mentions this Commander, in his *Excerpta Legationum*, and *Theophylactus* in his *Third Book.* The same *Theophylactus* relates also (book 3. chap. 18.) how he was killed in a Battel against *Mauricius.* And attests, that that was done after the death of the Emperour *Iustinus*, at such times as *Tiberius* was promoted to be *Augustus.* In the *Tellerian Manuscript* it is written *χορροίς, Chorrois.* Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὁ γὰρ δὲ ὁ ἀδριανὸς καὶ ὁ ἰωάννης, &c.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading here is, *ὁ γὰρ δὲ ὁ ἀδριανὸς καὶ ὁ ἰωάννης, &c.*

† Or, Barbarous Scenitæ.

*Saracens* are not to be vanquished by others, because of the fleetness of their Horses: nor can

\* Or, In they be taken, if at any time they be \* stopt, closed, or and they prevent the Enemy in their Retreats. Notwithstanding also, <sup>b</sup> *Theodorichus*, who was Commander of the *Scythian Nations*, stood not even the first Charge, but fled together with the

Commander *Theodorichus*, in his third book, chap. 17. He was by Nation a *Goth*, as may be concluded from his name. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

† Or, De. Concerning those Signs which † presignified *Mauricius's being made Emperour.*

Further, here hapned Signs also shown from Heaven, which foretold, that *Mauricius* should be Emperour. For, as he offered incense late at night, within the Sanctuary of the Sacred House of the holy and most undefiled Virgin and *Theotocos Mary*, (which by the *Antiochians* is termed *Iustinian's Church*,) the Veil about the Sacred Table seemed to be all on fire; in so much that *Mauricius* was struck with Terrour and Amazement, and very much dreaded that sight. Gre-

*gorius* Patriarch of that City, standing by *Mauricius*, told him, that that thing proceeded \* from God, and portended the greatest and most eximious events to him. Christ our God appeared likewise to him<sup>a</sup> in the East, requesting of him that he would avenge him. Which [Vision] apparently declared that he should be Emperour. For, from whom else could [our Saviour] have requested such things, save from an Emperour; and from one who was so pious an Adorer of himself? Moreover, his

<sup>a</sup> That is when *Mauricius* was in the East. So *Nicephorus* expounds this place of *Evagrius*, in the ninth chapter of his 18th book. A little after, from the same *Nicephorus*, and from the *Tellerian MS.* I have mended it, *ὅταν ὁ ἐκδίκωνος ζῆλος*, and petitioned him in relation to avenge; whereas before it was one word, thus, *ὅταν ἐκδίκωνος*, &c. Valef.

Parents related to me several other memorable passages, and such as are worthy to be recorded, when I my self made enquiry of them concerning these matters. For his Father affirmed to me, that in his sleep he saw a vast Vine, which sprang out of his Bed at the very time of \* his \* *Mauricius's* conception, and that a great many and those the fairest sort of Grapes appeared hanging on it. And his Mother declared, that <sup>b</sup> at the very time of her delivery, the Earth sent forth a strange and unusual sweet smell. Also, that she termed <sup>c</sup> *The Empusa* had often carried away the Infant, as if she would have devoured it: but was unable to do it any mischief. *Symeones*, likewise who kept his Station upon a Pillar near *Antioch*, a man of extraordinary prudence in the management of affairs, and one adorned with all the Divine Virtues, spoke and performed many things, which declared that *Mauricius* should be Emperour. Concerning which person we shall speak more opportunely in the following book of our History.

red, that at the very time of her delivery, &c. And so the reading is in *Nicephorus*. In the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found it written, *ὅταν ὁ γὰρ δὲ ὁ ἀδριανὸς καὶ ὁ ἰωάννης*, at her very delivery. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> See, if you please, what I have remarked concerning *The Empusa*, at the eighth book of *Sozomen's History*, chap. 6. *Nicephorus*, who deservedly derides such Old-wives-fables as these, affirms (chap. 9. book 18.) that in his age this [She-devil] was called *Gillo*. Those termed *Striga* by the Romans, were like to those *Empusa*; concerning these *Striga* see *Festus*. The old Glosses, *Striga*, *λαίμαρξ*, γυνὴ φαρμακὸς, *Lestrygon*, a Witch. Concerning this *Gillo* or *Gello*, which heretofore was believed to snatch away Children, *Leo Allatius* has remarked much, in his *Letter to Paulus Zachias*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Concerning the Proclaiming of Mauricius and Augusta.*

Further, *Mauricius* is promoted to the Empire, at such time as *Tiberius* was drawing his last breath, and had delivered to him his Daughter *Augusta*, and the Empire instead of a portion, \* He survived his being made Emperour but a \* Or, He very short time; but left an immortal Memory lived in the Empire for the good Actions he performed. Nor, are they easily to be confined within the bounds of a Narrative. Moreover, *Tiberius* left an incomparable Inheritance to the Republick, to wit, his Proclaiming of *Mauricius* Emperour. To whom he distributed his Names also: for he styled *Mauricius*, *Tiberius*; and to *Augusta* [he gave the name of] *Constantina*. What was performed by them, the following book, divine strength affording me its assistance, shall set forth.



CHAP. XXIII.

† Or, Con-  
cerning a  
summary  
of, &c.  
\* Or, re-  
counted.  
† A Computation of the Times from Justinus  
Junior, to Mauricius.

Moreover, that the Times may be \* distin-  
guished with all imaginable accuracy, you  
are to know, that Justinus Junior reigned<sup>a</sup> by  
place gave himself twelve years ten months and a half;  
with Tiberius [his Colleague,] three years  
and eleven months. All which time put to-  
gether, [make up] sixteen years nine months  
and an half. Tiberius reigned alone four years.  
So that, from Romulus until the proclaiming of  
Mauricius Tiberius Emperour, there are con-  
cluded to be....., as both the for-  
mer, and present [description of] the years  
hath manifested.

But, the  
other Chronologers assign fewer years to Justinus. For, Johannes Bi-  
clariensis attributes but eleven years to him; Cedrenus, thirteen  
years and some few months. The Author of the Alexandrian Chro-  
nicle affirms, that he Reigned twelve years and eight months. Lastly,  
Dionysius Petavius, a most diligent Writer of Times, gives Justinus  
thirteen years of Empire, lacking one month. Which years he be-  
gins from the year of Christ 565, on the month November, in the  
fourteenth Indiction, whereon he judges, (with Theophanes and Ba-  
ronius,) that Justinian died. To the opinion of which person I do  
most willingly subscribe. Indeed, that the first year of Justinus Ju-  
nior was current with the fourteenth Indiction, we are informed from  
the same Justinus's First Novel to Julianus Prefect of the City,  
which has this Subscription: *Data 18. Kalendas Octobres Chalcedon.*  
*Imp. D. N. Justinus P. P. August. Anno Primo, Indictione quinta decima,*  
*Dated on the eighteenth of the Calends of October, at Chalcedon, Em-*  
*perour our Lord Justinus, Father of his Country, Augustus, on his first*  
*year, in the fifteenth Indiction.* For, the first year of Justinus's Em-  
pire began from the month November, as 'tis agreed amongst all  
writers. It must therefore necessarily have then been the fourteenth  
Indiction: in regard, on the month September of the year following,  
the fifteenth Indiction is reckoned. For, if Justinus had begun his  
Empire on the fifteenth Indiction, (as Victor Tunonensis, Johannes  
Biclarensis, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, have left  
it recorded;) and in the month November; 'tis certain, the first In-  
diction would have begun in the month September of the year following.  
Further, of these twelve years and eleven months, (during which  
compleat space of time we affirm that Justinus Reigned,) he Reigned  
alone and without a Colleague eight years nine months and an half: with  
Tiberius the Caesar, he Reigned four years and almost one month. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Tiberius Constantinus was made Caesar by Justinus, in the eighth  
Indiction, on the seventeenth day of the month September, as 'tis recorded  
in the Alexandrian Chronicle. But he began his Empire in the twelfth  
Indiction, on the fifth day of the month October. Hence there are  
four years and twenty eight days of Tiberius's Caesarean power. But, if  
we had rather follow Theophylactus, who writes, that Tiberius was  
made Caesar by Justinus on the seventh day of December, on the sixth  
Feria; there will be three years and almost ten months, which is, from  
the year of Christ 574, to the year 578. Further, 'tis to be observed,  
that Tiberius Constantinus, after the death of Justinus Junior, recko-  
ned the years of his own Empire from the beginning of his Caesarean  
power, as we are informed by the Subscription of the same Tiberius's  
Sacra Pragmatica, concerning the Confirmation of the Emperour  
Justinus's Constitution; which runs thus: *Data tertio Idus Augusti,*  
*&c. Dated on the third of the Ides of August, at Constantinople,*  
*on the eight year of the Emperour our Lord Tiberius Constantinus*  
*Augustus, and on the third year after his own Consulate, and on*  
*the first year of the most noble Flavius Tiberius Mauricius the most*  
*happy Caesar.* Valef.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Series of History, which is  
preserved till our Times.

\* Or, Pre-  
served.  
BY God's assistance, the History of the Church  
is \* handed down to us, digested into one  
body, by [the industry of the best] Writers.  
Till the times of Constantine, by Eusebius Pam-  
philus. From Constantine's Reign, to [the Em-  
pire of] Theodosius Junior, by Theodoret, Sozo-

men, and Socrates: and [Lastly,] \* by those<sup>a</sup> καὶ οὖν ὁ  
Collections, we have made in this our present παρὰ τὴν  
Work. The Ancient History, as well Sacred αὐτὴν ἡ  
as Profane, is extant, continued in a Series by the ἱερὰ καὶ  
Industrious. For Moses, who was the first that it must be  
began to write an History, (as 'tis most evident- written, καὶ  
ly demonstrated by those who have made Col- ὁ δὲ πα-  
lections in reference to these matters;) com- ῥα, &c.  
piled a true and most exact account of affairs Ἀνὰ τὰς  
from the beginning of the world, according to &c. For  
the information he had from God himself, with 'tis refer-  
whom he conversed in the Mount Sinai. Others red to the  
who followed him, preparing a way for our Re- foregoing  
ligion, have in the Sacred Volumes set forth words ἡ  
what hapned in succeeding Ages. Moreover, ἡ ἱστορία  
Josephus wrote a large History, which is every which the  
way useful and profitable. Whatever occur- Transla-  
rences, whether fabulous or real, have hapned tions per-  
amongst the Greeks and ancient Barbarians, ceived not.  
whilst the Greeks waged Wars amongst them- Valef.

themselves, or against the Barbarians; or what-  
ever else has been transacted from such time as  
they had an account that men first existed; have  
been Recorded by<sup>b</sup> Charax, Theopompus, and<sup>c</sup> Con-  
Ephorus, and by innumerable other Writers. cerning Cha-  
The Actions of the Romans, wherein is contained rax Perga-  
the History [almost] of the whole world, or what- menus a  
ever else hapned, whilst they were involved in Greek Hi-  
Civil and intestine Broyls, or acted against stories, see  
others; have been set forth in writing by Diony- what Vof-  
sius Halicarnassens, who began his History from sinus has  
those people termed the Aborigines, and con- his book de  
tinued it to Pyrrhus \* King of the Epirotes. Historici  
From that time, Polybius the Megalopolite hath Græcis.  
brought down [his History] to the destruction Valef.  
of Carthage. All which Apianus has<sup>d</sup> with \* Or, The  
great prespicuity distinguished, and hath gathered<sup>e</sup> Epirote.  
together each Action into one Body, although ciously.

they were performed at different times. In like  
manner, the Affairs transacted after the Times  
of those Historians I have mentioned, have been  
committed to writing by Diodorus Siculus, [who  
wrote] till [the Times of] Julius Caesar; and  
by Dion Cassius who brought down his History  
to the Empire of Antonius born at Emesa. He-  
rodian also, a Writer of the same Times, has  
given us a Record of Transactions till the death  
of Maximus. <sup>e</sup> Nicostratus the Sophist of Tra-  
pezus has compiled an History, wherein he sets seem to be  
forth an account of affairs from Philippus who the same  
succeeded Gordianus in the Empire, until Ode- person,  
nathus of Palmyra, and Valerian's disgraceful who by Vo-  
Expedition against the Persians. Dexippus also piscus  
has written at large concerning the same matters, the Life of  
who begins from the<sup>d</sup> Scythick Wars, and ends Aurelia-  
at the Empire of Claudius successor to Gallienus. nus, is ter-  
The same Dexippus hath compiled an History med Nico-  
of the Actions of the Carpi and other Bar- machus; he  
barous Nations, which they performed in their had writ-  
Wars within Achaia, Thracia, and Ionia, of those ten an  
Eusebius begins from Octavianus, Trajanus, and times, as  
Marcus, and has brought down his History Vopiscus  
as far as the death of Carus. Moreover, <sup>e</sup> Arria- attests  
nus and Asinius Quadratus have written some there. This  
Nicostra-  
tus here

was a different person from Nicostratus the Sophist, who flourish'd in the  
Empire of Marcus, as Suidas affirms, and also Georgius Syncellus in his  
Chronicon. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀπὸ μνηστικῶν ἀρχαίων. In my Annotations on the Excerpta  
Legationum out of Dexippus I have long since remarked, that at this  
place the reading must be, ἀπὸ σκυθικῶν, from the Scythick Wars.  
For Dexippus wrote the σκυθικὰ, that is the Wars which the Romans  
waged against the Scythians, as Phorinus attests in his Bibliotheca. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Arrianus wrote the Parthica and Alanica, in which books he re-  
lated the Actions performed by the Romans against the Parthians and  
Alans. Evagrius therefore means these books here. Valef.

things



things concerning the same times. The History of the following Times is given us by *Zosimus*, until the Emperours *Honorius* and *Arcadius*. After which Emperours, Affairs have been Recorded by *Priscus Rhetor*, and others. All these Transactions are excellently well reduced into an *Epitome* by *Eustathius Epiphanienſis*, in two Volumes; the first whereof [comprizes matters transacted] until the taking of *Troy*, and the second, unto the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius's* Empire. From whence, until the times of *Juſtinian*, *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* hath Recorded affairs. The History of thoſe Times next immediately following, until the flight of *Chofroes Junior* to the *Romans*, and his

This is the *Eustathius Syrus* whose Testimony our *Evagrius* has made frequent use of, in the foregoing books.

Concerning this Author *Suidas* writes thus: *Εὐστάθιος Ἐπιφανεύς Χερνικὸν ἐπισημὸν τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνέκτου μέχρι ἀνακτοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τόμοις, Εὐστάθιος Ἐπιφανιενſίς [wrote] a Chronological Compendium of affairs from Aeneas till the Emperour Anaſtaſius in Tomes. At my peril write, ἐν τόμοις 6, in two Volumes, or Tomes. I have Evagrius's authority here, for this Emendation. Valeſ.*

Restoration to his own Kingdom by *Mauricius*, (who made not any the least delay at that affair, but gave [the Fugitive] a Royal Reception, and with the Expence of a vast sum of money, and accompanied with great forces, conveyed him back into his own Kingdom, with all possible expedition;) hath been written in a continued Series by *Agathias* the *Rhetorician*, and *Johannes* my Fellow-Citizen and Kinsman; although as yet thy have not made their Histories publick. Concerning which affairs, we our selves also, the Divine Clemency giving us permission, will in the Sequel give such a Narrative as is accomodate and agreeable.

<sup>h</sup> This *Johannes* was an *Epiphanienſian*. For, whereas *Evagrius* calls him his own Fellow-Citizen, he must needs have been an *Epiphanienſian*, in regard *Epiphania* a City of *Syria*, was *Evagrius's* native place. Wherefore *Vossius* is mistaken in his *book de Histor. Græcis*, who thought that this *Johannes* was by birth an *Antiochian*. Valeſ.

*The End of the Fifth Book of Evagrius's Ecclesiastical History.*

THE



THE

SIXTH BOOK

OF THE

Ecclesiastical History

OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFACTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Marriage of Mauricius and Augusta.

\* *Ἀσέως*  
*plus pride,*  
or, *volup-*  
*tuosness.*

† Viz.  
*Πιτυ.*  
|| *Shewed,*  
or, *brought*

\* Viz.  
*Imperial*  
*Dignity.*

† *Μετὰ*  
*πρεπὺς τε*  
*ἐσπλάγους.*  
In *Nice-*  
*phorus*

(book 18 chap. 8.) the reading is, *ἐσπλάγους* Crowned; which I don't approve of. For 'twas not the custom amongst the Ancients, at least so far as I know, that those who were invited to weddings, should wear Crowns in like manner as did the Bridegrooms. Besides, the words next following do confute this reading. For *Evagrius* adds, that they were magnificently clothed for this reason, because they might more easily be distinguished, or known. But, that can have no relation to Crowns. For, they could not be known or distinguished by the Crowns which they wore. *Valeſ.*

amongſt men any thing more Splendid, or  
\* Richer than that || Show. <sup>b</sup> *Demophilus*, <sup>\* More</sup>  
writing concerning *Rome*, does indeed relate, <sup>prosperous</sup>  
that *Plutarchus Charonenſis* uttered a <sup>or, fortun-</sup> wife ſay-  
ing, viz. that for the ſake of that one <sup>nate.</sup>  
only † City, Virtue and Fortune had † Rome. || Or,  
entered into a mutual League. But I may ſay, <sup>Pomp.</sup>  
that Piety and Felicity in ſuch a like man- <sup>b</sup> Concern-  
ner had come together in one *Mauricius*; <sup>ing this</sup>  
for Piety had vanquiſhed Felicity, and would <sup>*Demophi-*</sup>  
in no wiſe permit her to make an eſcape. <sup>*lus, Suidas*</sup>  
After this, *Mauricius* made it his Buſineſs to <sup>writes in</sup>  
inveſt and adorn, not his Body only, but his <sup>*his Lexi-*</sup>  
mind alſo, with the Imperial Purple and Crown. <sup>con; in</sup>  
For, of all the Emperors that were his Pre- <sup>transcri-</sup>  
deceſſors, he alone Reigned over himſelf. And <sup>bing of</sup>  
being in reality made an Emperor, he expelled <sup>whom *ſof.*</sup>  
out of his own mind that † Democra- <sup>*ſius* (in *his*</sup>  
tical dominion of the Paſſions. And <sup>*book de*</sup>  
having Conſtituted an \* *Ariſtocracy* <sup>*Historicis*</sup>  
within his own Mind, he <sup>*Græcis,*</sup>  
ſhewed himſelf a living I- <sup>† Popular,</sup>  
mage of Virtue, inſtructing <sup>or, Ple-</sup>  
his Subjects to an imita- <sup>*beinn.*</sup>  
tion of himſelf. All this is <sup>nothing</sup>  
not ſpoken by me out of <sup>further.</sup>  
flattery. For, why ſhould <sup>But, in re-</sup>  
I utter theſe words with ſuch <sup>gard I</sup>  
a deſign, ſince † he is whol- <sup>have had</sup>  
ly ignorant of what I write? <sup>an account</sup>  
But, that what I have ſaid is really ſo, will be <sup>of his</sup>  
made evident, both by thoſe Gifts conferred on <sup>Country,</sup>  
him by God, and alſo from the ſucceſſful Ac- <sup>and way of</sup>  
cidents which have hapned at ſeveral times; all <sup>writing;</sup>  
<sup>nothing</sup>  
(or, *Demophilus*;) here mentioned was a Native of *Bithynia*, who <sup>further.</sup>  
wrote ſeveral uſeful ſtories and paſſages out of the books of the An- <sup>But, in re-</sup>  
cients, as *Julian* informs us in his *Misopog.* *Δημόφιλος τῷ βιβλῶν πρὸς* <sup>gard I</sup>  
*πολιτικῶν συγγραμμάτων τοιαῦτα,* &c. Such writings were compoſed by <sup>have had</sup>  
*Damophilus the Bithynian*, of which he made a Collection out of various <sup>an account</sup>  
*Authors*, and compoſed Relations that were pleaſing both to the Younger <sup>of his</sup>  
and the Elder Student. I am ſure *Julian* at that place produces a cer- <sup>Country,</sup>  
tain paſſage, which that *Damophilus* had Collected out of *Plutarchus* <sup>and way of</sup>  
*Charonenſis*, in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here. *Valeſ.* <sup>writing;</sup>  
<sup>in favour</sup>  
\* *Σαφὴς εἰπὼν*, uttered a plain ſaying. I had rather read, *σοφὴς* <sup>to the Sta-</sup>  
*εἰπὼν*, uttered a wiſe ſaying; as *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read; <sup>dious, I</sup>  
Further, the place of *Plutarch*, which *Evagrius* means here, is extant <sup>will here</sup>  
in his *book de Fortitudinē Romanorum*, not far from the beginning <sup>annex it.</sup>  
*Valeſ.* <sup>That *Da-*</sup>  
<sup>*mophilus*</sup>  
<sup>therefore</sup>

which



\* Or, *Con-* which must \* without controversy be by us a-  
fessedly. scribed to God.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning Alamundarus the Saracen, and his Son Naamanes.*

BESIDES all his other [Virtues,] this was the chiefest of his Care, that the blood of none of those who had been guilty of High-Treason, should in any wise be shed. Therefore, he did not put to death even *Alamundarus*, Chief of the *Saracens*, who had betrayed both the Republick and *Mauricius* himself, as I have \* already related: but only punished him with *Deportation* to an Island, together with his Wife and some of his Children, [ordering him] to dwell in *Sicily*. But *Naamanes* Son to this Man, (who had involved the State in innumerable mischiefs, and by the assistance of those *Barbarians* he had about him, had ruined and enslaved both the *Phœnice's*, and the *Palestine's*, at such time as [his Father] *Alamundarus* was seized;) although all [the Judges] were of opinion that he deserved a capital punishment, was only detained by him under a \* Custody at large; and he inflicted no further punishment on him. He used the same [Clemency] towards innumerable other persons, as shall be particularly related in due place.

\* Book 5.  
Chap. 20.

\* Or, *A*  
*free Custody*.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning Johannes and Philippicus Masters of the Milice, and the Actions done by them.*

FURTHER, *Mauricius* in the first place sent *Johannes*, (a Native of *Thracia*,) Commander of the Eastern Milice. Who having been worsted in some Engagements, and got the better in others, did nothing worthy of a Narrative. After him, [he sent] *Philippicus*, who was related to him; for he had married one of *Mauricius's* two Sisters. He entered the Enemies Country, ruined all things he met with, and possessed himself of a vast quantity of Plunder. He likewise slew many [Inhabitants] of the City *Nisibis*, who were of Noble Birth and well descended, and of other Cities also which stood beyond the River *Tigris*. Moreover, he engaged with the *Persians*: whereupon a great Fight hapned, in which fell several *Persians* of the greatest Note, and he took many \* Prisoners; he likewise sent away a † Body of *Persians* unhurt, who had fled to a certain \* Eminence conveniently enough situated, when 'twas in his power to have taken them; after they had made him a promise, to perswade their own King, forthwith to dispatch away [an Embassy] to treat about a Peace. He also behaved himself very well in relation to several other matters, during his command of the Roman Forces; for he freed the Army from all things that were superfluous, and which opened a way to Luxury; and the Soldiers were by him reduced to Modesty, tractableness, and obedience. But these matters must be left to those who have written, or do now write, according as they may either receive information from Report, or are lead by opinion: whose Relation, in regard it either sum-

\* Or, *Alive*.  
† Or, *Troop*.  
\* Or, *Hill*.

bles and is lamed by ignorance, or is softened by Affection and Partiality, or [Lastly] is blinded by \* Hatred, does [usually] wander from the Truth.

\* Or, *Antipathy*.

## CHAP. IV.

*Concerning Priscus's Mastership of the Milice, and what he suffered from the Army who raised a Mutiny against him.*

AFTER this *Philippicus*, *Priscus*, is preferred to the Mastership of the Milice; a Person to whom access was not easily obtained, and one who came not abroad but upon affairs † of consequence. For, it was his Sentiment, that he could transact every thing better and with more ease, if for the most part he continued retired: as if the Soldiery, induced by fear this way rather, would yield a more ready obedience to his Commands. At the time therefore of his first arrival in the Roman Camp, his looks were supercilious and haughty, and his garb too gorgeous; when he <sup>a</sup> published some [Edicts] also, concerning the Soldiers \* perseverance in undergoing hardships in the Wars, in reference to their being compleatly Armed, and in relation to the *Annona* which they were to receive out of the publick Treasury. They having had some intimation

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ τῶν πρᾶξ. These words are to be understood concerning the Edicts published by *Priscus*. For the word *περὶ τῶν πρᾶξ* shows that; which term has that import and signification I have mentioned. *Theophylactus* confirms our Exposition, book 3. chap. 1. whom by all means consult. *Vales.*

\* Or, *Patient Sufferance*.

of these matters beforehand, at that time broke forth into an open rage; and by a joynt consent made an Attack upon that place where *Priscus's* Tent was pitch'd, and in a barbarous manner made plunder of his magnificent Furniture, and of his richest and most valuable Treasure. Moreover, they mist but little of killing him; had he not mounted one of his <sup>b</sup> *Led-Horses*, and made his escape to *Edeffa*. To which City the Soldiers sent a Detachment of their own Body, and laid Siege to it, demanding *Priscus* to be Surrendered up to them.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸν γὰρ ἵππον. renders it, *equum Vehicularem*, an Horse belonging to the Carriages. *Christophorus* translates it, *Vehiculum*, a Chariot-horse. These Horses the Latines termed *Veredos*, because they conveyed the *Redes*, as *Festus* tells us. *Evagrius* uses this word again, at the fifteenth chapter of this book. Where see what I have observed at note (a.) *Vales.*

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Germanus's being forced against his will to undertake the Imperial dignity.*

BUT when the Inhabitants of *Edeffa* refused to do that; they left *Priscus* there, and by force lay hands upon *Germanus* Commander of the Militia <sup>a</sup> in *Phœnice Libanensis*, whom they create their Leader, and, <sup>b</sup> as much as they were able to do it, their Emperor. <sup>a</sup> Ἐν ποταμῷ τῇ Λιβανῶν. <sup>b</sup> ὡς ὡς ὡς ὡς. *Nicephorus* (chap. 11. book 18.) the reading is, *ἐν Λιβανῶν τῇ ποταμῷ* with a mistake on the other hand. For, it must be written, *ἐν ποταμῷ Λιβανῶν*. For, there were two *Phœnices* that were Provinces, the one termed *Libanensis*, the other *Maritima*. *Vales.*

Bat,



But, upon *Germanus's* refusal of that, and their urging it with a greater degree of heat and fierceness, a contention was raised on both sides; he [striving] that he might not be compelled, and they [contending] to bring about [what they desired:] and when the Souldiers \* threatened him with death, unless he would voluntarily undertake [that dignity they conferred on him;] and *Germanus* with a willing mind embraced death: at length, after they saw he could not be terrified, nor was to be abashed, they betook themselves to scourging him, and maimed the members of his body, supposing he would in no wise indure those Tortures: for they judged him not more hardy than Nature and his age would bear. Having therefore set about this matter, they made tryal of him with a kind of Reverence and Compassion, and in fine forced him, though unwilling, to consent, and to swear [in a set form of words,] that in future he would continue faithful unto them. In this manner therefore they compelled him their Subject to become their Ruler, him whom they governed to turn their Governour, and him a Captive to be their Sovereign. Then they displaced all other Officers in the Army, the *Præfects* of the Troops, the *Tribunes*, the \* *Centurions*, and *Decurions*; and put whom they pleased into their places; casting forth reproaches in publick upon the Empire. And, for the most part they behaved themselves towards the Provincials, with more of † Modesty indeed, than *Barbarians* usually do: but were far from being ° Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State. For, they neither received the *Annonæ* by appointed Measures or weights, nor were they contented with the *Man-sions* or *Quarters* assigned them. But every one's Sentiment was his Law, and his will his set Measure.

*erga Municipales quidem multò moderatius quàm Barbari faciebant; E contra facies verò belli, & Republicæ Ministros, admodum alieno erant animo; And towards free denizens [or, those of the same Country,] they behaved themselves with much more of Moderation than the Barbarians did; but towards their Companions of War, and Ministers of the State, they were of a mind quite different. Christophorson has also rendered it in the same manner. But Johannes Langus, who turned into Latine Nicephorus Evagrius's Compiler, has expounded this place far better, thus; Et mitiores quidem illi in vestigales, &c; and they were indeed more mild towards the people who paid Taxes and Tributes, than the Barbarians are wont to be. But they were very far from being Maintainers, or Defenders of the Republick or what I may stile them. Nicephorus, instead of these words, ἀλλοτρίων δὲ ἢ πολιτῶν δόλων Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State, had substituted these, ἀλλοτρίων δὲ πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, ἢ ἄλλως εἰποῦν, παρὰ τὸν ἀλλοτρίων δόλων, But they were very far from being Maintainers, &c. Whence it appears, that Nicephorus understood not the meaning of these words of Evagrius, πολιτῶν δόλων, Servants of the State. The Militia amongst the Romans, from the times of Augustus, was a kind of temporary servitude. Whence also the Souldiers were marked with brands on their skin, in manner of Servants, as Vegetius informs us. Moreover, the Missio Militaris, or, Military discharge, does plainly answer the Manumission, or, making free of Servants. Suidas (or rather a certain old Writer in Suidas,) in the word βέλτερον, tells us, that Souldiers were under Servitude, as long as they were in Pay. So also Petrus Chrysologus in his fifteenth Sermon de Centurione. Valef.*

*Ὁ δὲ δὲ μὲν τὰς ἐνοικεῖν ἀποδοῦναι. I agree with Musculus and Christophorson, who have mended it thus, νομάτας. For Musculus renders it in this manner; nec deputatis Mansionibus contenti erant, nor were they contented with the appointed Mansions. As often as the Roman Army was about making a long march, an Edict was published long before, wherein all the Mansions, in which the Souldiers were to stay, were set forth; as Lampridius informs us, in Alexander Severus: Itinerum dies publicè proponebantur, &c; The daies of the Marches were publickly set forth, in such a manner that an Edict was hung up two months before, wherein 'twas written: on such a day, at such an hour I shall go out of the City, and, if the Gods please, shall stay in the first Mansion. Then, at the Mansions in order,*

then at the Fortified or standing Camps, then when the Annona is to be received, and that also, Till such time as we are arrived at the Borders of the Barbarians. The Inns also, or Houses, wherein the Souldiers, either going to or returning from an Expedition, were to stay, were sent out by the Mensores, or Quarter-masters; as Vegetius informs us in book 2. chap. 7; and the Emperours likewise in the Theodosian Code, Tit. de Metatis. Valef.

CHAP. VI.

How the Emperour sent Philippicus again, but the Army refused to receive him.

IN Order to the Composure of these [disturbances,] the Emperour sends *Philippicus*. Whom the Souldiers not only received not; but if they suspected <sup>a</sup> any one to have an in-<sup>a</sup> *τινὸς ἐνείκῃ* <sup>any one to be a friend to him.</sup> *τινὸς ἐνείκῃ* <sup>any one to be a friend to him.</sup> The same likewise is the reading in Nicephorus; save that he, for perspicuity's sake, hath added these words *ἢ γένει, ἢ διαδέσει* either by descent, or affection. Yet Musculus and Christophorson have rendred it, *favere, to favour him*; though the word *ἐνείκειν* has not that signification. Therefore, I had rather read, *ἐνείκειν, to have an inclination towards him.* Valef.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Gregorius [Bishop] of Antioch, and the Calumny framed against him; and in what manner he evinced it to be false.

WHilst affairs were in this posture, *Gregorius* Bishop of \* *Antioch* makes his \* *Or, Theopolis.* return from the Imperial City, having now been Conquerour in a certain Conflict, which I will here give a Narrative of. Whilst *Asterius* was Comes of the East, a difference had risen between him and *Gregorius*, wherein all the eminentest Citizens of † *Antioch* had betaken themselves to *Asterius's* || side. The Com-† *Or, That* monalty also and Artificers of the City sided *City.* with *Asterius*. For all of them affirmed, that || *Or, Part.* they had received some injury or other from *Gregorius*. At length, even the Populacy were likewise permitted to cast reproaches upon the Bishop. <sup>a</sup> Both parties therefore, [as well the eminenter Citizens, as the Artificers,] agree in one and the same opinion with the Populacy; and both in the Streets, and in the Theater, exclaimed against the Patriarch in a reproachful manner: nor did the Players abstain from [loading him with] such contumelies. In the interim, *Asterius* is deprived of his Government, and *Johannes* undertakes it; who was ordered by the Emperour to make an enquiry into that disturbance. This *Johannes* was a person unfit to manage the most trivial affairs, much less [to compose] a matter of such consequence. Having therefore filled the City with Tumults and Disturbances and by a publication of his Edicts declared, that any one that would, might accuse the Patriarch; He receives

<sup>a</sup> *Ἀμφὶ τὸν γὰρ τῷ δὲ* *Christophorson* has explained this place thus: *Ambo igitur, & Optimates & Populares, &c; Both parties therefore, as well the Eminenter Citizens as the Ordinary sort, agreed in the same Opinion with the Commonalty. But Musculus expunged these words, τῷ δὲ, as appears from his Version. For thus he renders it, Utrique igitur in eandem sententiam conspirant, Both parties therefore agreed in the same Opinion: that is, as well the eminent Citizens as the Plebeians; or rather, as well the Citizens as the Artificers. For so Evagrius has distinguished both Parties a little before. Valef.*



a Libel against him, presented by a certain person who was *President of a money-Table*; wherein 'twas set forth, that *Gregorius* had had to do with his own Sister, who was given in marriage to another man. He receives likewise [Accusations] from other men of the same

<sup>b</sup> Περί τῆς ἐπιφάνειας πόλεως. Musculus renders it, *the abundance and plenty of the Annona*. Langus and Christopherson translate it, *the peace and felicity*. The word ἐπιφάνεια signifies both, as Suidas attests. Valef.

kidney, <sup>b</sup> which related to the peace and repose of the City [*Antioch*], as if that had been frequently disturbed by *Gregorius*. As to [the Crime he stood charged with for disturbing]

the Repose of the City, *Gregorius*'s answer was, that his defence was ready. But, in relation to other matters objected against him, he appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. <sup>c</sup> Having me therefore his Assessor, Councillour and Companion, he went to the Imperial [City, *Constantinople*], in order to the making his defence against these [Accusations.] And, the Patriarchs in all places, partly in person and partly by their Legates, having been present at the Examination hercof, as likewise the Sacred Senate, and many of the most pious *Metropolitans*; when the matter had been thorowly sifted; at length, after many <sup>\*</sup> Actions, *Gregorius* carried the Cause: in so much that, his Accuser was scourged with *Nerves*, lead about the City, and punished with Exile. From thence therefore *Gregorius* returns to his own See, at such time as the Roman Army in the East was in a Mutiny; *Phippicus* then making his Residence about the Cities *Berea* and *Chalcis*.

<sup>e</sup> What is now a days usually done amongst us in Criminal Suits and Prosecutions, that Council should by the Judges be assigned to the Party accused; the same was heretofore in use in Ecclesiastick Courts of Judicature also, as this place of *Evagrius* informs us. For *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, when he went to the Imperial City, to make his defence concerning his Accusation of Incest before a Synod of Bishops and before the Senators, carried *Evagrius Scholasticus* along with him, who might be his Councillour and Assessor, and might give him advice where there was need. For that is the import of the word παρὰ πρεβύτου at this place. Further, in this Relation of *Evagrius*'s, many things are observable. First, his saying that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, when accused of Incest by a Laick before a Secular Judge, appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. (Concerning an appeal to the Emperour, the Letter of the Roman Council to *Gratianus Augustus* is to be consulted, which was first published by *Jacobus Syrmundus*.) Secondly, it is to be observed that *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius*'s Cause was tried before the Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and before the Senators. So in the *Chalcedon Synod*, after the Bishops and Secular Judges were met together, the Cause of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* was discussed and determined. In which Synod the most glorious Judges and Senators are always named before the Bishops who were present at that Synod: in like manner as in this place of *Evagrius*, the Senators are named before the Metropolitans; but they are mentioned after the Patriarchs. Valef.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That Antioch suffered again by Earth-quakes.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Gregorius*'s. <sup>a</sup> This was the year of being styled a Free City, Sixty one years after Christ 589. the former Earthquake, on the last day of the month *Hyperbeteus*, whereon I had married a young Virgin, and the whole City kept Holiday, and celebrated a publick Festivity, both as to Pomp, and also round my Marriage-Bed; the Nativity of Christ eight and forty years, as I have observed above. Now, that which *Evagrius* adds, (*viz.* that this Earthquake hapned at *Antioch* Sixty one years after the former Earthquake which had afflicted *Antioch*;) agrees exactly with our accounts. For, that former Earthquake, in *Justinus*'s Reign, had hapned on the year of Christ 528. as I have remarked at the Fourth Book of *Evagrius*, Chap. 6. note (b) Further, from hence may be gathered the year of

the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, which was convened in the Cause of *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*. This Synod *Baronius* places on the year of Christ 587. But, from *Evagrius*'s authority, I doubt not of its having been assembled two years after. For, whereas this Synod was celebrated four months after that Earthquake whereby *Antioch* was shaken, and whereas the Earthquake hapned on the Six hundred thirty seventh year of the *Antiochians*, as *Evagrius* attests; what I have affirmed is necessarily made out, *viz.* that the *Constantinopolitan Synod* was convened on the year of Christ 589. Valef.

† about the third hour of the night, hapned an † <sup>a</sup> *Earthquake* accompanied with a dreadful noise, <sup>τρίτῃ ὥρῃ</sup> which shook the whole City: it overturned <sup>ἀνέστρεψε</sup> very many Edifices, <sup>\*</sup> and tore up their very <sup>ῥιζὰς</sup> foundations. In so much that all [the Buildings which stood] about the most holy Church were totally ruined, only the *Hemisphere* there- <sup>ἡμισφαίριον</sup> of was preserved, which *Ephraemius* had built of Timber fell'd in the *Daphnesian Grove*, when it had suffered by an Earthquake in *Justinus*'s Empire. In the Earthquakes which hapned afterwards, the same *Hemisphere* had been so bowed towards the Northern-side, that <sup>b</sup> it <sup>b</sup> <sup>ἡμισφαίριον</sup> had Timber-Props wherewith 'twas supported. <sup>ἐξ ὧν βαλάντιον</sup> Which Props having been thrown down by the violent concussion of the Earth, the *Hemisphere* returned to the other side, and being directed by a certain rule as 'twere, was re- <sup>λαβέν</sup> stored to its proper place. Moreover, there fell many Buildings of that [Region] termed <sup>οὐρανίου</sup> the *Ostracine*, the *Psephinum* also, of which we have made mention || before, and all those places called the <sup>c</sup> *Brysia*, the <sup>ἡμισφαίριον</sup> Edifices likewise about the most venerable Church of the *Theotocos*, only its middle Porticus was miraculously preserved. Further, all the <sup>d</sup> Towers in the *Campus* were ruined, but the rest of the Building continued entire, excepting only the Battlements of the Walls. For some Stones of those Battlements were <sup>\*</sup> driven backward, but they fell not. Several other Churches suffered likewise, as did also the one of the publick Baths, to wit, <sup>e</sup> one of them which was divided according to the Several seasons of the year.

<sup>f</sup> *Langus* renders it, *câque de causâ, tigna quæ id sustinebant, habuerat, and on that account it had Props which bore it up.* The Greeks call these Props ἀντήσας. in one word, as *Hesychius* attests. Which term I lately found *Philo Mechanicus* to have made use of, when I turned his books de Machinis into Latine. In French we call them, Des étais. In Latine they are termed *Fulturas*, *Props*, or *Shoars*. Which term *Fultura* is made use of by *Livy*, in his description of the Siege of *Ambracia*. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Τὰ καλέμεθα βεῖλια. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis *βρυσία*, *Brysia*, which I rather approve of. Certain pleasant and flourishing places seem to have been so termed, <sup>ὅθεν τὸ βρυεῖν</sup> which signifies, *florere, to flourish*; as *Suidas* attests, and the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word *βρυσία*. Valef.

<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> 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<sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> 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<sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <



isidem boris dirutum est, And the one of the publick Baths is ruined in the very same hours. Christopherson has expounded this place thus: Et utrumque publicum Balneum, quod duobus distinctis temporibus inservit, eadem oppressit Calamitas; And the same Calamity ruined each of the publick Baths, which served for two distinct times. But my Sentiment is, that the meaning of these words is this. There were at Antioch two publick Baths, divided according to the Seasons of the year. The one a Summer Bath, the other a Winter-one. Of these Baths, says Evagrius, the one was ruined by that Earthquake. Valef.

τὸ δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος. Christopherson has explained this place thus: Et ut quidam conjecturam ex pane, qui in tota civitate consumitur, faciunt, hæc lues sexaginta hominum millia exstinxit; And as some make a conjecture from the bread, which is wont to be spent in the whole City, this common destruction destroyed Sixty thousand persons. But, I am not pleased with this Rendition. For 'tis my Sentiment, that the number of the dead could not be made out that way. Wherefore, I had rather explain this place thus. As at Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria, the Annona was distributed to the Citizens, out of the publick stock; so in my opinion, the practice was at Antioch. For Antioch was one of the four greatest Cities of the Roman Empire. From this bread therefore, which they were wont to distribute daily, 'twas easie to collect the number of the dead. Nevertheless, if any one had rather follow Christopherson's Exposition, I shall not much resist him. Especially, in regard there is extant no evidence of any Ancient Writer, concerning the publick Annona of the City Antioch. Valef.

ὁ δὲ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνελόμενος. Nicephorus has added some few words here, in this manner, ὁ δὲ Ἐπαφρόδιτος σὺν τῷ σκίμπτῳ ἀνελόμενος, took up [the Bishop] together with his Bed, or, Couch, on their Shoulders. I know not whether he added this by conjecture, or found it so written in his own Copy. Valef.

### CHAP. IX.

That the Barbarians taking Courage from the Defection of the Army from the Emperour, set upon them, and were worsted by Germanus.

Or, Continued in the same posture they were in. Concerning this Victory of Germanus's, Theophylactus speaks briefly, as his usage is, in book 3. chap. 3. Valef.

BUT the Army \* persisted in their Defection: in so much that the Barbarians made an irruption into the Roman Territories, being fully perswaded that no Person would hinder them from doing such actions as are usually perpetrated by Barbarians. But, a Germanus marches out against them at the head of the Roman Army, and gave them such a total Rout and overthrow, that not so much as a Messenger was left remaining, to carry the Persians news of their Calamitous Defeat.

### CHAP. X.

Concerning the Emperour's Clemency towards the Mutineers.

Moreover, the Emperour rewarded the Army with Money. But, he recalled Germanus with some other Persons from thence, and brought them to Tryal. And though all of them were condemned to undergo a capital punishment, yet the Emperour would not permit them to suffer any thing of trouble or inconvenience; yea he bestowed honours and rewards upon them. Whilst these affairs proceeded in this manner, the Abares made two Excursions as far as that termed the Long Wall, [possess themselves of] Singidunum, Anchialus, and all Achaia, and took several other Cities and Castles, and reduced [the Persons they found there] to slavery, destroying all places with Fire and Sword; [no resistance being made against them,] in regard the greatest part of the Roman Army made their residence in the East. The Emperour therefore sends a Andreas, a personage of eminentest note amongst the Imperial \* Satellites, who might persuade the Army to receive their \* Or, former Leaders, and the rest [of Guards, their Commanders.]

Theophylactus seems to call this person Aristobulus, in his third book and

third Chapter. He says also, that he was Curator of the House of Antiochus. Valef.

### CHAP. XI.

That Gregorius [Bishop] of \* Antioch was \* Or, sent to pacifie the Army. Theophilus

BUT when the Soldiers would not endure so much as to hear this order, the management of that whole affair is † committed to † Or, Gregorius; not only because he was a Person of great importance, but also in regard the Army gave him a deserved deference, and paid him the highest respect and honour. For some of the Soldiers had had Money bestowed on them by him: and [he had supplied] others of them with Clothes, Provisions, and other Necessaries, a at such time as, when registred in the Muster-Roll, they had marched thorow his [Grounds] not a little difficult

and obscure. Musculus renders it thus: Quando ad Militiam conscripti ex Catalogo, per ipsum sunt admissi, when having been enrolled to the Militia by Catalogue, they were admitted by him. Christopherson, translates it almost in the same manner; thus: Alii vestitu, cibo, & aliis rebus adjuti tum cum in album militum adscripti & per eum admissi fuerant; Others were assisted with Clothes, Provision, and other things, then when they were registred in the Muster-Roll, and had been admitted by him. Nicephorus also seems to have followed the same sense, who has expressed this place of Evagrius thus: Ἄλλως τε καὶ οὗτοι ἐν καταλόγῳ στρατολογηθέντες ἦσαν, δι' ἐκείνου παρεστάν. Which words Langus renders thus: tum autem quicunque delectu habito per sacramentum Militare in Catalogum adscripti erant, per ipsum id consecuti fuerant; then also whoever, when an Election was made, by the Military Oath had been registred in the Muster-Roll, had obtained that by his means. But this rendition does not please me. For the Roman Militia was not at that time so desirable a thing, that there should be need of any persons favour and assistance for this matter to procure any one to be enrolled amongst the number of the Soldiers. Wherefore, I rather think that these words, ὅτε στρατολογηθέντες ἐν καταλόγῳ δι' αὐτοῦ παρεστάν, are to be expounded thus, Tunc cum Militariis numeris adscripti, per ipsius agros transirent, at such time as, when registred amongst the Military Companies, they had passed, or marched through his Grounds. Evagrius at this place sets forth the Munificence of Gregorius Bishop of Antioch, who had not only given entertainment to the Soldiers passing thorow his grounds, but had also bestowed on them Clothes, Provisions for eatings and Money: Indeed, Justinian uses the term παρεστάν in this sense, in his 130th Novel.



Novel, concerning the passage of Soldiers; ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἡμετέριον στρατόν [τοῦ] ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ παρόντας ἀμέμπτως ἀποστέλλει, in so much that without making complaint [or, without fault] he nourished those of our Army in their passage in every Province. In the Tellerian Manuscript I found this place thus written; ὅτε στρατοὺς διέτρεψεν ἐν καθ' ἑκάστην δι' αὐτὴν παρίεσαν. Valef.

Having therefore sent Messengers all about, he calls together those who were accounted the principal Persons of the Army, to a place termed <sup>b</sup> Litarba, distant from Theopolis about Three hundred Furlongs. To whom, after he was come amongst them, notwithstanding he lay on his Bed, he spake these words.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν ἀλίσβῳ. Cois. 'Tis a Village in the Territory of Chalcis a City of Syria, whereof the Emperour Julian makes mention in his 27th Epistle. Near this Village were the Winter-Quarters of King Antiochus, the remains whereof were visible in his age, as Julian does there attest, in these words: μετὰ τῶν ἀλίσβων ἵλδον· ἐστὶ δ' ἡ πόλις καλχιδῶν, καὶ ἐνέπυον ὁδὸν λεῖψαντα ἔχουσιν χειμαδίων ἀπορρυγμένων. Which place Marinius renders thus; Ad Litarbos veni, quod oppidum est in Chalcide: Et casu incidi in viam quandam quae reliquias adhuc Antiochenisium Hibernorum habebat, I came to Litarbi, which is a Town in Chalcis: and by chance I light upon a certain way which as yet had the remains of Antiochian Winter-Quarters. But I translate it thus; Litarba adveni, qui vicus est in agro Chalcidico. Et viam offendi quae reliquias habebat Hibernorum Regis Antiochi; I came to Litarba, which is a Village in the Territory of Chalcis. And I found a way which had the Remains of the Winter-Quarters of King Antiochus. Theophanes mentions the same Village, in his Chronicon, pag. 151; where he says, that Alamundarus depopulated Syria prima, as far as the Borders of Antioch, and unto Litarga, and Scaphara. But in my judgment, it must be written thus in Theophanes, τῶν λεσσομένων ἀλίσβων καὶ σκαφάρων, καὶ λιτάρων, those possessions termed Litarba and Scaphara. Which emendation is confirmed by his following words. For he adds, καὶ ἔκαυσεν τὰ ἐξω τῆς καλχιδῶς, and he burnt the places without Chalcis. Valef.

## CHAP. XII.

### Gregorius's Speech to the Army.

I Was indeed of Opinion, (Ye Men truly Romans, as well by Name, as for Your Actions!) that You would have long since come to Me, both to \* Confer with me about the present Juncture, and to take that Advise also, which My Benevolence towards You doth abundantly promise Which [kindness of mine] has indubitably been confirmed by former Good Offices, at such time as, by sending You supplies of Necessaries, I As-

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν νηῖτον ὁ ὁρῶν καλόν. Christophorson dream'd I know not what here concerning a Naval Fight of the Romans. A Naval Fight had not been begun at that time by the Romans, but they had engaged with the Persians in a Land-Fight. Our Emperour therefore has made use of a Metaphor at this place; and compares the Roman Camp to a Ship: and the Mutiny they had raised, he compares to a Tempest. Valef.

swaged <sup>a</sup> Your Naval Tumult, and the Storm which arose from thence. But, in regard That has been neglected till now, (an induce ment thereto having peradventure not happened from above,) both that the Persians, vanquished by Persons without a Leader, might perfectly understand the Valour of Romans; and also, that Your sincere kindness [to-

wards the State,] having been accurately tried by opportunity, and attested by Actions themselves, might every way receive confirmation: (For You have evidently demonstrated, that although You have had Cause of Trouble and Offence against your Leaders given you, yet nothing is more of value to You than the State:) Come on therefore, Let us now consider what is to be done. The Emperour invites you, and has promised an \* Amnity of all that is past, having received your Benevolence toward the State, and your fortitude in Battle, in <sup>†</sup> place of the Boughs and Olive-Branches of Suppliants; and having given you these securest pledges imaginable of his Pardon, in regard he says thus: if God

bath given || Victory to your Benevolence [to- wards the State,] and (your Offences being preference, dispelled,) your Courage has shined forth, which is a most certain argument of Pardon granted; <sup>ter.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> How shall not I follow the Divine Judgment? The heart of a King is in the Hand of God, and he inclines it which way he pleases. Obey me therefore, ye Romans! with all imaginable speed. And let us not \* lose the present opportunity, nor frustrate it by letting it slip: for it hates to be taken after it has escaped, and, vex'd as 'twere because it was <sup>c</sup> neglected, never suffers it self to be taken twice. Be ye Heirs of your Ancestours obedience, as you have been Inheritours of their Valour; that you may every way show your selves Romans, and that no infamous brand may be fixt upon your name, or demonstrate you to be a spurious Issue. Your Ancestours, when under the Government of Consuls and Emperours, by Obedience and Valour pos-

sess themselves of the whole World. Manlius Torquatus <sup>†</sup> Crowned his own Son by beheading him; who though he had behaved himself valiantly, had notwithstanding disobeyed Command. For, by the prudent conduct of Commanders, and the Obedience of the Milice, great || things are wont to be performed. But if the one of these two be \* separated from the other, it Halts, Staggers, and Stumbles; in regard these most excellent pair of Virtues are disjointed. Make no longer delays therefore: but be persuaded by Me, (the Sacerdotal Function <sup>†</sup> Or, does now mediate between the Emperour and his Army:) and give a demonstration, that what you do is not || Rebellion, but a just indignation [entertained] for some short time against those your Commanders by whom you had been injured. For if you will not flie [to the Emperour] with all imaginable speed, I indeed shall have \* done what <sup>a</sup> Expedient is requisite, both in discharge of that Benevolence I owe the State, and of my friendship also towards you: but I would have you consider, what the <sup>†</sup> Exits of Tyrants are. For, in what manner will you terminate the present State of affairs? 'Tis altogether impossible that you should continue together in a Body. For whence shall the fruits of the Earth be brought unto you, or those conveniencies which the Sea affords the \* Continent <sup>a</sup> Or, for a supply; unless you wage War with Christians, and on the other hand be involved in Wars brought upon you by them, whereby you will commit and suffer the horridest Mischiefs, Villainies, and Reproaches imaginable? And what will be the end hereof? Being dispersed into all places, you will spend the residue of your lives. Revenge will forthwith overtake you, and not suffer any Pardon to be granted you in future. Give therefore your right hands, and let us consider what is advantageous, both to Our selves and to the Government; in regard we have the Festival Days of the Salutary Passion, and of the most Holy Resurrection of Christ our God, to give us assistance in that affair.

<sup>b</sup> Πῶς ἐχ' εἶναι τῇ θεῷ ἀρδεῖν. At this place, there was this whole line wanting, καὶ οὕτως βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν κρίσει, judgment? The heart of a King is in the Hand of God &c. which I have supplied from the Incomparable Florentine Manuscript. There seems to have been the same imperfection also in that Copy which Nicephorus made use of. For he would never have omitted that brave Sentence which Mauricius had made use of, The heart of a King is in the hand of God; had he found it in his own Copy. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Παρώδην δόλην. In the excellent Florentine Manuscript, this whole place is read thus; καὶ ὡς ἀνὰ κράτος ὅτι γὰρ παρώδην, δολήν. Incomparably well, provided we read δὲ δόλην, in two words, as the reading is in Nicephorus, book 18. chap. 15. and we have rendered it accordingly. Away therefore with Christophorson's and Sir Henry Savil's conjecture; who at this place have made it, εὐλὴν, easily taken. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Crowned his own Son by beheading him; who though he had behaved himself valiantly, had notwithstanding disobeyed Command. For, by the prudent conduct of Commanders, and the Obedience of the Milice, great || things are wont to be performed. But if the one of these two be \* separated from the other, it Halts, Staggers, and Stumbles; in regard these most excellent pair of Virtues are disjointed. Make no longer delays therefore: but be persuaded by Me, (the Sacerdotal Function <sup>†</sup> Or, does now mediate between the Emperour and his Army:) and give a demonstration, that what you do is not || Rebellion, but a just indignation [entertained] for some short time against those your Commanders by whom you had been injured. For if you will not flie [to the Emperour] with all imaginable speed, I indeed shall have \* done what <sup>a</sup> Expedient is requisite, both in discharge of that Benevolence I owe the State, and of my friendship also towards you: but I would have you consider, what the <sup>†</sup> Exits of Tyrants are. For, in what manner will you terminate the present State of affairs? 'Tis altogether impossible that you should continue together in a Body. For whence shall the fruits of the Earth be brought unto you, or those conveniencies which the Sea affords the \* Continent <sup>a</sup> Or, for a supply; unless you wage War with Christians, and on the other hand be involved in Wars brought upon you by them, whereby you will commit and suffer the horridest Mischiefs, Villainies, and Reproaches imaginable? And what will be the end hereof? Being dispersed into all places, you will spend the residue of your lives. Revenge will forthwith overtake you, and not suffer any Pardon to be granted you in future. Give therefore your right hands, and let us consider what is advantageous, both to Our selves and to the Government; in regard we have the Festival Days of the Salutary Passion, and of the most Holy Resurrection of Christ our God, to give us assistance in that affair.



CHAP. XIII.

That, after Gregorius's Speech, the Soldiers changed their minds, and received their General Philippicus again.

HAVING uttered these words, and shed many Tears, by a certain Divine impulse as 'twere he altered all their minds in a moment. And they forthwith requested, that they might go out of the \* Convention, and consult apart by themselves concerning what was to be done. Not long after which they returned, and surrendered themselves to [the arbitrement and will of] the Bishop. Who having nominated Philippicus to them, that they should request him for their Leader; their answer was, that as to that matter they and the whole Army were obliged by great Oaths. Whereto Gregorius made this return without any the least hesitancy or delay, that by divine permission he was a Priest, and had power to loose and bind upon Earth and in Heaven; and he put them in mind of the Divine Oracle. When therefore they had acquiesced in this matter also, he appeared God with a Prayers and Supplications. And having distributed to them the immaculate Body [of Christ;] (For it was a most solemn day, the Second Feria, which is near the Holy passion:) He entertained them all at a supper, in number about two thousand persons, ordering Beds, whereon they might eat, forthwith to be laid for them on the Grass; and on the morrow returned home. But, 'twas thought good that the Soldiers should meet together at what place they pleased. Gregorius therefore sends for Philippicus, who made his residence at Tarsus in Cilicia, and was preparing for his journey to Constantinople. Further, he dispatcht away a Relation to the Emperour concerning these affairs, wherewith he likewise sent the Petition of the Army, in which they requested Philippicus might be their Commander. Wherefore, when Philippicus was arrived at Antioch, the Army met him there; and having taken out those persons who had been vouchsafed Divine Regeneration, to make an Address in their behalf, they fall prostrate before him. And when they had received his right hand, in confirmation of an \* Amnesty of what was past, they made an Expedition under his Command. In this manner proceeded these affairs.

\* Or, Assembly.

† See Matt. 16. 19.

These Prayers and Supplications may be referred, either to the reconciliation of the penitents, and to the absolution from that Oath wherein the Soldiers had bound themselves; or else to the solemn Prayers, which Gregorius then celebrated before the Tribunes and Centurions of the Roman Army, to whom also he distributed the sacred Communion, as Evagrius attests. So indeed Nicephorus expounds this place: λιπαῖς, says he, ἐξέσπεν τὸ δέον· καὶ τὸν δεῖον παρέσχε μυστηριῶν, καὶ ἀνεβίβη σάμα· ἅπανσι μετέδιδε; He appeared the Deity with Supplications. And having performed the divine Prayers, He imparted the immaculate Body to them all. Valef.

Ἡ πάνσενη ἡμέρα. In the excellent Florentine and Tellerian Manuscripts, the word πάνσενη is added; that is, the Second Feria [or, Monday] of the Great Week, or Passion Week. I found the same Emendation also written in the margin of The Vulcobian Copy. Valef.

Ἐπεμύρηνον τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέως. I assent to Christopherson and Sir Henry Savil, who have put a point after these words. For 'tis wholly necessary. Moreover, before them, Nicephorus had distinguished this place thus. But the reading in Nicephorus is better, thus, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέως, to the Emperour's City, or, Constantinople. Valef.

\* Oblivion. † Or, Expedition with him.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the taking of Martyropolis.

[IN the interim,] one Sittas a Decanus in Martyropolis, vexed at an injury he had received from one of the Military Commanders there, betrays the City [to the Enemy,] observing the time when the Garrison lodged in that City was marched out of it: and having brought in a Persian Cohort, as if it had been a Roman one, he possessed himself of that City, which was a place of great consequence to the Romans. He kept most of the younger women within the City; but turned out all other persons, except some few servants. Immediately therefore Philippicus made his march thither, and having invested the City, besieged it, although he had none of those provisions necessary for a Siege. Nevertheless, he made use of what came next to hand in his Attacks, and having wrought some Mines, ruined one of the Towers: but was not able to make himself Master of the City; in regard the Persians sate up all Night, and \* repaired what had been beaten down. When therefore the Romans had made frequent Attacks against the Wall, they were as often beat off. For, the Darts thrown upon them from an higher place, very seldom mist the Mark they were designed against; in so much that, they were more damnified, than they could do hurt to the Enemy within; and therefore brake up the Siege. And having marched off at some small distance, Encamped; but took particular care of this, that no other supplies of Forces should be let in to those Persians Besieged. But by the order of Mauricius, Gregorius makes a journey to the Camp, and perswades them to return to the Siege. Nevertheless, they were unable to effect any thing more than what they had done before, in regard they were wholly destitute of warlike Engines commonly made use of in the Siege of Cities. On which account the Army was sent into their Winter-Quarters. But in the adjacent Castles, several Garrisons were left, that the Persians might not by stealth get into the City. And on the Summer following, when the Roman Army was got into a body, and the Persians had made an Expedition against the Romans, there hapned a great Fight about Martyropolis. In which Engagement Philippicus got the better, and many of the Persians fell, amongst whom was slain one † valiant Prince; but no small number of Persians got into Martyropolis, which was the chief thing they designed to effect. From thence forward the Romans resolved not to lay Siege to that City: for it was impossible for them to take it by Force. But they built another City at seven furlongs distance [from Martyropolis,] upon mountainous and more inaccessible places; that from thence they fled.

\* Or, Most commodious.

In the Florentine and Tellerian Manuscripts 'tis truer written, thus, δευτέρωθεν; as also Iulianus and Sir Henry Savil had mended it in their Copies. Nicephorus (book 18. chap. 17.) has expounded this place of Evagrius thus; δευτέρωθεν ἀρχὸν στρατιωτικῆς τάγματος καθεστῆκός, having been made Commander of Ten Soldiers amongst the Military Forces. These Officers were by the Latines termed Decani; not Decuriones, as Musculus and Christopherson do render it. Vegetius attests this book 2. chap. 8. speaking concerning the Centuriones or Ordinarii; Erant, says he, Decani denis militibus prepositi qui nunc Caput Contubernii vocantur. The Decani were Commanders of ten Soldiers, which Officers are now called the head of a File. Valef.

Ἐν τῇ ἐν μαρτυροπόλει ἀσπίδι. Without doubt it must be ἀσπίδι, in that City. For to the Rule of Grammar requires. Valef.

Ἄρχον περὶ δέκα. Four hundred armed Men, as Theophylactus relates, book 3. chap. 5. Valef.

† Or, Ad-ded.

\* Or, Vanquished. † Or, Hero.

Or, Bet-ter fortif- they fled.



\* Or, Con- they might infest it with Stratagems and \* Ex-  
rary At- curlions. And these things [the Romans]  
tacks. performed during the Summer; but in the  
Winter the Army was dismissed.

## CHAP. XV.

Concerning Comentiolus's Mastership of  
the Milice, and the taking [the Castle]  
Ocbas.

AFTER this, Comentiolus, by descent a Thra-  
cian, is sent successor [to Philippicus] in the  
Mastership of the Milice. He Engaged the  
Persians in a most courageous manner, and  
wanted but little of losing his life, (having  
been beaten down together with his Horse,)

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν ἱππὸν.  
Evagrius has made use of this  
word above, at chap. 4. of this  
book; where, as also here, the  
Translators render it *Vehicu-  
larem* and *Vehiculum equum*. But  
Nicephorus (book 18 chap. 18.)  
writing out this place of Eva-  
grius, explains the term *παρὰ  
τὸν ἱππὸν ἐπιβέβητος*, τὴν μάχην  
ἔχων, that is, having mounted  
him on one of the Horses lead after  
him, carried him out of the Fight.  
For generals when they went  
to an Engagement, were wont to  
lead with them several Horses,  
that if that whereon they rode  
were by chance killed, they might  
mount another. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐ μὲν ἀποδίδωμι ἑπαιδὸν.  
In my judgment, I have resto-  
red this place very happily, thus;  
οὐ μὲν ἀποδίδωμι ἑπαιδὸν,  
&c. the Persians were vanquished  
and fled, &c. 'Tis certain, the  
word ἀποδίδωμι being prefer-  
red, is in no wise agreeable here.  
For, they that are preserved or  
saved, lie no more. Nor could  
the Persians be termed ἀποδίδω-  
τες, preserved; or saved, till they  
were come to Nisibis. There-  
fore Evagrius adds, καὶ τὴν νίκην  
ἐπαιδὸν, made their escape  
to Nisibis. Instead of the word  
ἑπαιδὸν, Nicephorus has put  
ἀποδίδωμι, which is a more  
common word. Valef.

καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀχβάς, a Castle almost inexpugnable, si-  
tuate over against Martyropolis, on the op-  
posite Bank [of the River Nymphius,] and  
placed upon a steep and craggy Rock; from  
whence the whole City was easily to be seen.  
And having laid Siege thereto, and left nothing  
unattempted, and beaten down some part of  
the Wall with \* Catapults, he broke  
in that way, and takes the Castle  
Theophylactus describes the  
fight here.

of, book 1. chap. 12. altogether in the same manner, wherein Evagrius  
describes the fight of the Castle Ocbas. Therefore, as well from the  
likeness of the name, as from the fight, it appears, that Ocbas and  
Acbas were one and the same Castle; situate near the River Nymphius  
and the City Martyropolis. Our conjecture is fully confirmed by  
Theophylactus, in book 4. chap. 2. where that Castle Ocbas, which  
our Evagrius says was taken by Comentiolus, is by Theophylactus  
himself termed Acbas. Valef.

## CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Murder of Hormisdas.

WHILST these Actions were performed in  
this manner, the Persians Murdered  
Hormisdas, who was the unjustest of all Kings,  
not only because he had oppressed his Subjects  
with exactions of Money, but also for [his in-  
flicting on them] various sorts of deaths.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Flight of Chosroes Junior to \* us.

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν ἱππὸν.  
Then, in his room they Constitute his  
Son Chosroes their King, against  
whom Varamus undertakes an Expedition to-  
gether with those Forces he had about him.  
Chosroes marches out to meet him accompa-  
nied with an Army not very numerous, and  
flies, because he perceived his own Forces were  
engaged in a treacherous design against him-  
self. And at length he arrives at Circesium,  
having first called upon the God of the Chri-  
stians, (as he himself affirmed,) that his Horse  
might go to that place, whither he should be  
lead by \* him. Being come † thi-  
ther, together with his Wives, two  
Children newly born, and some Per-  
sian Nobles who voluntarily followed  
him; from thence he dispatches away  
an Embassy to the Emperour Mauricius. Mau-  
ricius, as in other affairs, so in this also con-  
sulted for the best; and being convinc'd, by  
taking his measures even from this instance,  
of the inconstancy and mutability of this life,  
and of the sudden Turns ebbings and flowings  
of Humane affairs; readily ad-  
mits of Chosroes's humble address,  
and instead of an Exile [entertains  
him as] his Guest, † and in place  
of a Fugitive makes him his Son; having

\* Or, The  
Romans.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐξεδί-  
κασεν  
αὐτὸν βα-  
σιλέα.

From  
the Floren-  
tine and  
Tellerian  
MSS. we  
have made  
good this  
place thus,  
ἐξεδίκα-  
σεν αὐτὸν  
βασιλέα.

Then, in  
his room  
they Con-  
stitute, &c.

\* That is,  
God.

† To Circe-  
sium.

Further,  
Chosroes  
was made  
King of  
the Per-  
sians in  
the year  
of Christ  
592.

Baronius  
writes in  
his Annals.  
Which was  
the tenth  
year of  
Maurici-  
us's Em-  
pire.

Or, Of  
the life of  
Men.

Or, Of  
the life of  
Men.

Or, Of  
the life of  
Men.

Or, Of  
the life of  
Men.

pire, not the seventh, as Baronius relates. For the years of Mau-  
ricius's Empire proceed almost in an equal pace with the years of the  
Indiction, as do likewise the years of Justinus Junior's Empire.  
Wherefore, whereas on the year of Christ 592 it was the tenth In-  
diction, as Baronius himself attests, it must then also necessarily have  
been the tenth year of the same Mauricius's Empire. Yet, the Au-  
thor of the Alexandrian Chronicle places the Inauguration of  
Chosroes, and his flight to the Romans, one year before this ac-  
count. For thus he writes; In the ninth Indiction, on the ninth  
year of Mauricius's Empire, on the seventh year after the Consulate  
of the same Mauricius Tiberius: τέτταρτῃ τῇ ἐνιαυτῷ, &c. On this  
year Chosroes Emperour of the Persians came to the Romans, ha-  
ving had a Rebellion raised against him by Baram [or, Varamus]  
his kinsman; and by the assistance of the Romans he was restored  
to his own Kingdom. But Johannes Biclariensis in his Chronicon,  
relates this to have been done a year sooner. For these are his  
words at the Eighth year of the Emperour Mauricius, wherewith  
he closed his Chronicle. A vigesimo ergo Constantini Imperatoris  
anno, &c. From the twentieth year therefore of the Emperour Con-  
stantine, at which time the Arian Heresie took its beginning, until  
the eighth year of Mauricius Emperour of the Romans, there are  
two hundred sixty six years. In these times therefore wherein the  
omnipotent God (the venom of poisonous Heresie being destroyed)  
has restored Peace to his Church, the Emperour of the Persians en-  
braced the Faith of Christ, and made [or, confirmed] a Peace with  
the Emperour Mauricius. Where, that is to be taken notice of, which  
Biclariensis says, viz. that the King of Persia, having thrown off the  
worship of Idols, came over to the Faith of Christ. Indeed Theo-  
phylactus attests the same, book 4. chap. 10. and book 5. chap. 2.  
Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Theophylactus (book 5. chap. 3.) says Chosroes was only termed  
Son by the Emperour Mauricius. But Theophanes in his Chronicon,  
pag. 224. affirms in express words, that Chosroes was a Son adopted  
by the Emperour Mauricius: τέτταρτῃ τῇ ἔτει τεκνοποιθεὶς μαυρικῷ  
βασιλεὺς χροσρόν τῷ βασιλεῖ μαυρικῷ, &c. On this year the Emperour  
Mauricius having adopted Chosroes the Emperour of the Persians, &c.  
Valef.

given



given him a Reception [whereat he was presented] with Imperial Gifts. By which [presents] not only the Emperour himself declared his own kindness to Chosroes, to whom he sent them in a manner befitting an Emperour; but the Empress also did the same towards Chosroes's Wives, and the Emperour's Children to those of Chosroes.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*How the Emperour sent Gregorius and Dometianus to meet Chosroes.*

Moreover, he sent all his Imperial Guards, and the whole Roman Army together with their Commander in Chief, who were to follow Chosroes even whither he would. And, to show him greater honour, [he sent to him] Dometianus Bishop of Melitina his own kinsman, a person Prudent and Sagacious, most compleatly accomplish'd both for Action and Discourse, and every way fit for the management of affairs of the greatest consequence. He sent likewise Gregorius, who in all things struck Chosroes with amazement, by his discourses, with his presents, and with the advices he gave him, seasonable and accommodate to his affairs.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That Chosroes recovered the Empire of the Persians, by that assistance given him by the Romans.*

Further, when Chosroes was come as far as Hierapolis, which is the Metropolis of the [Province] Euphratensis, he went back again, in regard Mauricius also look'd upon that as expedient, who contributed more to the [advantage of the] Suppliant, than to his own glory. Moreover, he pleased Chosroes with a vast sum of money, a thing never recorded [to have been done] before. And when he had raised an Army of Persians, the whole charge whereof he paid out of his own Treasury, he sends Chosroes with a double Army, one of Romans, another of Persians, out of the confines of the Roman Empire; Martyropolis having before that been Surrendered to \*him, together with Sittas. Which person was \*Stoned by the Martyropolitans, and afterwards crucified. Daras also was surrendered [to the Romans,] the Persians having been drawn out thence. After this, when Varamus had been vanquished in a single Engagement by the Romans only, and had ingloriously fled away alone, Chosroes was brought back to his own Palace.

\*To Mauricius.  
\*Theophylactus, book 4. chap. 15. says, that Sittas was burnt to death by the Command of Comentiolus the Magister Militie.

## CHAP. XX.

\*Or, was. *That the holy Mother Golanduch \*lived in those Times.*

In those times also lived the Martyr Golanduch, and was conversant amongst us. Which woman, after many conflicts, was crowned with Martyrdom, (the Persian Magi being her Tormentours,) and became a Worker of great Miracles. Stephanus the Former, Bishop of Hierapolis, hath written her Life.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Concerning those Sacred Presents, which Chosroes sent to the Holy Martyr Sergius.*

Moreover, Chosroes being repossess of his own Kingdom, sends to Gregorius a Cross, adorned with much Gold and precious Stones, in honour of the Victorious Martyr Sergius. Which [Cross] Theodora Wife to Justinian had Dedicated: but \*Chosroes had made plunder of it, together with other Sacred Treasures and Gifts, as has † already been related by me. Further, the same Chosroes sent another Cross of Gold, whereon he set this Inscription in Greek Letters. I Chosroes King of Kings, Son of Hormisdas, [sent] this Cross, at such time as by the Diabolick Force and Malice of the most unlucky Varamus and the Horsemen with him, We betook Our Self to the Empire of the Romans: and in regard the Wretched Zadespram came with an Army to Nisibis, in a treacherous manner to Sollicit the Nisibene Horse to Revolt from and oppose Us; We also sent [a Body of] Horse with a Commander to [the Town] Charchas. And because we had heard, that the Venerable and Illustrious Sergius was a Giver of those things requested from him; in the first year of Our Reign, on the seventh day of the month January, We made a request by the Genius of the said Saint, [promising] that if Our Horsemen should kill Zadespram, or could take him alive, We would send a Cross of Gold set with Gems to his \*Church, in honour of his \*Or, Venerable Name. And on the ninth of the month February, they brought Us the head of Zadespram. Having therefore obtained our desire; that we might put every thing out of doubt, we have sent to the house of the Venerable Saint Sergius, this Cross made by Us in honour of his Venerable Name, together with that Cross sent to his house by Justinian Emperour of the Romans, which in the Times of War between the two Empires, was brought hither by Chosroes King of Kings Son of Cavades, our † Father, and was found amongst our Treasures. Gregorius having with the consent of the Emperour Mauricius received these [Crosses,] with great pomp Dedicated them to, and deposited them in, the Sacred house of the Martyr. Not long after, the said Chosroes sent other persons also to the same Sacred Church, and on a Basen made of Gold, ordered this Inscription to be set in the Greek Tongue. I Chosroes King of Kings, the Son of Hormisdas, [have ordered] this inscription to be set upon this Basen, not that it might be seen by men, nor that by my words the Greatness of Your Venerable Name might be made known; but, on account of the truth of what is inscribed, and by reason of those many Favours and Benefits which I have received from You. For 'tis my happiness, that my Name is extant on Your Sacred Vessels. When I was at a place [called] Beramais, I requested of You (Holy Man!) that You would come to my assistance, and that Sira might conceive. And in regard Sira is a

Y y 3 Christian;

\* Merd segra. In Theophylactus Simocatta, book 5. chap. 13, the reading is, *ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου* \* *δουλοῦ* *ζαδσπράμου ἐν τῇ* *segra*, &c. in regard the Wretched Zadesprates came out of the Army, &c; which reading I like best. Valef.  
\* Καρυππάδα. In Theophylactus the reading is, *καρυππάδα*, to disturb. Valef.

† Or, Grandfather. See book 4. chap. 18. note (a.)



|| Or,  
Pagan.

Christian, and I a || Gentile, Our Law allows Us not to have a Christian Wife. On account therefore of my Benevolence towards You, I disregarded this Law, and have had a kindness for this Woman above my other Wives, and do Love her every day more and more. Wherefore, I have taken a resolution, at present to desire of Your Goodness, (Holy Man!) that She might conceive. I have requested therefore, and solemnly vowed, that if Sira shall conceive, I will send the Cross worn by her to Your Venerable house. And on this account, I and Sira have this design, that we will retain this Cross in Memory of Your Name, Holy Man! And we have resolved instead thereof (in regard its value exceeds not Four thousand four hundred Miliarelian Staters,) to

Στατή-  
ρων μιλι-  
αρισίων.  
There

were three sorts of Stater's, (1) Stater Atticus; its value in our Coin was Fifteen Shillings, (2) Stater Aureus Macedonicus; its value in our money is Eighteen Shillings four pence. (3) Stater Darius, which 'tis probable is the money here meant, it was valued at Fifteen Shillings, our money. See more in Mr. Brerewood de Ponderibus & Pretiis veterum Nummorum, chap. 8. pag. 22.

Ἐγὼ τῷ. In Nicephorus 'tis ἐν ἑαυτῷ: but in Theophylactus the reading is ἐν ἑμαυτῷ, within myself; which reading I do rather approve of. Valef.

τὸ ῥῶσον ἡσέων. In Theophylactus and Nicephorus, 'tis read in one word, ῥῶσονῆσων. So also I found it written in the Tellerian Manuscript. Valef.

\* Or,  
Power.

in relation to this matter, had I not given credit to thy words, (because thou art an holy person, and a Granter of requests,) that [Sira] should not in future be sensible of the Custom of Women. From hence I understood the \* Virtue of the Vision, and the truth of what was predicted by thee. I have therefore forthwith transmitted the Cross it self, and its value, to your Venerable house, with order, that of its price one Bason and one Cup be made, to be used at the holy Mysteries: moreover, that a Cross be made, which is to be fixed upon the † Sacred Table, and a Censer; all of Gold: and Further, † an Hunnic Veil adorned with Gold. And, [our order is,] that the remaining Miliarelians of the price shall belong to thine holy house; that by thy Genius (Holy Man!) thou wouldest give assistance in all things to me and Sira, but especially in relation to this Request; and, that what hath hapned to us from thine intercession, by the mercy of thy Goodness may arrive at perfection, agreeable to the will of Me and Sira. To the end For that I, and Sira, and all persons in the world, may place our hope in thy power, and in future believe in Thee. These are the expressions [contained] in the Sacred Presents [transmitted] by Chosroes, which disagree in nothing from Balaam's Prophecy; the compassionate God having wisely disposed [all things in such a manner,] that the tongues of Gentiles should [some times] utter salutary words.

† Or,  
Precious.  
Ἐν ἑμαυτῷ. The  
Transla-  
tions un-  
derstood  
not this  
place, as  
'tis appa-  
rent from  
their Ver-  
sion. For  
that I, and  
Sira, and  
all persons  
in the world,  
may place  
our hope in  
thy power,  
and in future  
believe in  
Thee. These  
are the ex-  
pressions  
[contained]  
in the Sacred  
Presents  
[transmit-  
ted] by Chos-  
roes, which  
disagree in  
nothing from  
Balaam's  
Prophecy;  
the com-  
passionate  
God having  
wisely dis-  
posed [all  
things in  
such a man-  
ner,] that  
the tongues  
of Gentiles  
should [some  
times] utter  
salutary  
words.

into Latine, save only that he has made it Hunnicum, agreeable to the reading in the Greek Text of Theophylactus. But Langus,

Nicephorus's Translatour, has retained the Greek word, thus: Ἐν Ἀμφιθύρῳ Hunnicum. And by adding a Scholion, has explained this term thus: Judicio meo carceres, sive cancelli sunt, &c. In my judgement, they are the Bars or Rails, either surrounding the more Sacred Table of the Altar, or keeping the people from it; in each part whereof there is a door, and a passage leading to it, of Hunnic Work. But, by the favour of that Learned man, he has not hit the signification of this word. The Greeks termed Veils or Curtains which hung before doors, ἀμφιδύες. So Chrysostome in his 84th Homily on St. Matthew, speaking concerning Zachæus, who entertained our Lord at a Banquet, ὅτε ἐμελλεν εἰς αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ὁ Χριστός, πῶς αὐτῷ ἐκδόματα ἐκείνῳ. ὃ δ' ἔδεξμεν πρὸς τὰς γείτωνας, ἀμφιδύες αὐτῶν κατέδρας, &c; [Consider,] when Christ was about to enter into his house, how he adorned it: for he ran not to his neighbours, [to borrow] their Curtains and Chairs, &c. So, in the Churches of the Christians, there were Curtains before the doors, as Epiphanius attests in an Epistle which Saint Jerome has done into Latine. And, that we may come nearer to the business, at the very Altar there were Curtains, wherewith the doors of the Altar or Chaire were covered. And when the Priest was about to celebrate the Eucharist, those Curtains were wont to be drawn, that the people might behold the Mysteries a far off. This is attested by St. Chrysostome, in his third Homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in these words: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκφερομένης τῆς θυρίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περικλυμένης, ὅταν αὐτοῖς, συνδεδυμένοι πάντες κοινῶς, ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνεκλόμῳ καὶ ἀμφιδύες, &c; so also here, when the sacrifice is offered, and Christ is sacrificed, when you shall hear [these words] Let us all pray together, when you see the Curtains drawn, then think that heaven is opened from above, &c. Where you see, that the word ἀμφιδύες is taken for the Curtains which were placed at the doors of the Altar. There is also mention of these Veils or Curtains, in an old paper of the Donation of the Cornutian Church, which was first published by Johannes Suarefius. Et pro ara ora vela Trameserica Alba auroclava 2, vela blattea auroclava paragaudata 2, &c: and afterwards, vela linea paragaudata perficā clavaturā collomelina prasina 2, vela Linea paragaudata perficā clavaturā leucorhodina duo. And again afterwards. Item ante Regias Basilicæ vela linea plumata majora fissa numero tria. Item vela linea pura tria, ante consistorium velum lineum purum unum. In pronao velum lineum purum unum; & intra Basilicam pro porticibus vela linea rosulata sex. Et ante secretarium vel curricula vela linea rosulata pensilia habentia arcus 2. Which place I have transcribed entire, for this reason, that the studious Reader may understand, how manifold the use of Curtains was heretofore in the Church; and that we might know, what was the Hunnic veil or Curtain in this place of Evagrius. For, as this paper of Donation informs us, that the Persian Curtains were heretofore highly valued, so the Hunnic Curtains were also chiefly commended. Further, the Persian Curtains are mentioned by Aristophanes's Scholiast ad Ranas: ὁ ἀγαστὶς τοῖς ἀνναῖς τῆς περσικῆς βήλοισι, ἢ βυλοδύεσι. For these Curtains were termed ἐκδόδες, because they were hung before doors, as I have said. Gulielmus Bibliothecarius in the life of Stephanus Sextus has this passage. Contulit in eadem Basilica Apostolorum cortinam lineam unam, velothyra serica tria in circuitu altaris. Whence it appears, that ἐκδόδες and ἀμφιδύες signifie the same thing. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Concerning Naamanes the Saracen.

AT the same time, Naamanes also, the Chief of a Tribe of those Saracens that were Enemies, a Pagan so wicked and abominable, that with his own hand he sacrificed men to his Demons, came to Holy Baptism; and having melted down a [Statue of] Venus, which was nothing else but a real Mass of Gold, he distributed it amongst the poor, and brought over all those persons about him to [the worship of] God. But Gregorius, after Chosroes's Crosses had been presented, by the Emperour's order went a Circuit to the Solitudes of those termed The Limits, wherein Severus's Tenets were highly prevalent; [in which places] he set forth the Ecclesiastick Dogmata, and brought over to the Church of God many Castles, Villages, Monasteries, and whole Tribes.

these words wanting, κατεργάται, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πρεσβυτεῖα δόγματα, were highly prevalent; [in which places] he set forth the Ecclesiastick Dogmata, or, Opinions: which we have inserted from Robert Stephen's Edition. Valefius has expressed them in his Latine Version, and so have all the other Translatours.



CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Death of Saint Symeon Junior the Stylite.

BUT in the interim, Saint Symeones fell sick of a distemper whereof he died; and, upon my giving Gregorius notice thereof, he made all the hast he could to him, to pay him his last Salutes. But Gregorius obtained not what he desired. Further, this Symeones for Virtue far excelled all persons of his own time; having from his tender years lead an

austere Course of Life up-

on a Pillar: <sup>a</sup> in so much

that his teeth were changed

in that Station upon the

Pillar. He went up upon

a Column, on this account.

Whilst he was yet very

young, he wandred up and

down over the Tops of the

Mountain, <sup>\*</sup> playing and

leaping. And by chance

happned upon a wild Beast

[termed] a Libard, about

whose neck he cast his gir-

dle, and with the rein

of a bridle as 'twere, lead

brought him to his own Monastery. Which

when Symeones's Instru-  
cter, (a person who kept

his Station upon a Pillar,) beheld, he asked the

Boy what that was. Symeones made answer,

that it was an *Elurus*, which they usually term

a Cat. From hence [his Instru-  
cter] conjectured

how eminent a person Symeones would

prove [in the Study of] Virtue, and there-

fore carried him up into a Pillar. In which

Pillar, and in another that stood upon the

very top of the Mountain, he spent Sixty eight

years, being vouchsafed all manner of Grace;

both as to the casting out of Devils, as to

the curing every disease and all manner of

languishing distempers, and in relation to the

foreseeing things future as if they had been

present. He foretold Gregorius, that he should

not see him die; but [said,] that he was ig-

norant of what would happen after his own

death. And when I my self was || troubled

with various thoughts at the loss of my chil-

dren, and doubted within my own mind, why

the same [troubles] befel not the Pagans

who had many children; although I had not

opened my mind to any person whatever, yet

he wrote to me, to abstain from such thoughts

as those, <sup>b</sup> in regard they

were displeasing to God. Moreover, when the wife

of <sup>\*</sup> one of my Amanuenses

had her milk stopt after her

delivery, [by reason where-

of] the Infant was in im-

minent danger; [the same Symeones] put his

hand upon her husbands right hand, and ordered

him to lay it upon the breasts of his wife:

which when he had done, immediately the

milk sprang out as 'twere from a fountain, in

such a manner that it † wetted the garment of

the woman. Further, a child having been left

upon the Road in the dead of the night, through

the forgetfulness of those who travelled with

him, a Lyon laid it on his back, and brought

it to [Symeon's] Monastery, and by Syme-  
ones's order, those who ministred to him went  
out, and brought in the child, which had been  
|| preserved by the Lyon. The same person || Or,  
performed many other things <sup>\*</sup> highly memo- Guarded.  
rable, which require an eloquent tongue, much <sup>\*</sup> Or, A  
time, and a peculiar Treatise; [all which <sup>bove men-</sup>  
actions of his] are celebrated by the tongues  
of men. For, persons of almost all Nations  
of the Earth, not only Romans, but Barba-  
rians, came frequently to him, and obtained  
their requests of him. Certain branches of a  
shrub which grew on that mountain, <sup>\*</sup> were <sup>\*</sup> Or, Were  
made use of by him in stead of all sorts of to him.  
meat and drink.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Death of Gregorius Bishop of Antioch, and the Restauration of Anastasius.

N OT long after <sup>a</sup> dyed Gregorius also, after <sup>a</sup> Baroni-  
he had been seized with a Goutish distem- does in-  
per, wherewith he was much troubled, and deed place  
had drank a potion [made of the herb] ter- of Grego-  
med <sup>b</sup> *Hermodaetylus*, which was administred to rius Bishop  
him by a Physitian. He ended his life, at of Antioch  
such time as Gregorius was Bishop of the and the  
Elder Rome, who had succeeded Pelagius; tion of A-  
nastasius

*Sinaita* on the year of Christ 594. But Baroni-  
place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following;  
especially in regard Gregorius Magnus, in the Register of the Letters  
of the thirteenth Indiction, congratulates Anastasius, because he had  
been restored to the See of Antioch. But the Author of the Alexan-  
drian Chronicle, (who lived almost in the same times with Gre-  
gorius,) places Gregorius's death in the tenth year of the Empire  
of Mauricius, on the tenth Indiction; his words are these: *ἰνδ. ι'.  
τέτω τῷ ἔτει ἀναστῆναι, &c*; In the tenth Indiction; on this year  
Anastasius Patriarch of Antioch returned to Antioch, after the death of  
Gregorius who had been Patriarch, who had also before succeeded the  
same Anastasius. Where you may note that Anastasius is called  
Patriarch even before his Restoration; because, having been de-  
posed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of  
Patriarch. <sup>c</sup> Tis certain Pope Gregorius, in the three Letters he wrote  
to him at the beginning of his Episcopate, does always acknowledge  
Anastasius to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have ac-  
counted Gregorius (who had illegally taken possession of Anastasius's  
Chair whilst he was yet alive,) amongst the number of Patriarchs.  
Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Hermodaetylus* was a plant unknown to the Ancients. <sup>c</sup> Tis cer-  
tain, neither Dioscorides, nor Galen have made any mention of it.  
But, the Arabians after Serapion, confounded it with *Colchicum* and  
*Ephemeron*. Whom our Apothecaries have followed, and in their  
Shops substitute *Colchicum* instead of *Hermodaetylus*. But Andreas  
Matthiolus (in his comments on the fourth book of Dioscorides,) hath  
long since taken notice of this mistake; and after him others, who  
have written concerning plants. When Matthiolus published the  
Former Edition of his Comments, he himself did not then fully know  
what *Hermodaetylus* was. But afterwards, when he had procured that  
plant from the Illustrious personage Augerius Busbequius, who had  
brought it him at his return from an Embassy at Constantinople; he  
gave us the Type or Cutt of that plant at pag. 1109 of his Latter  
Edition. The Roots of this plant represent the likeness of fingers,  
with the addition of nails also. Whence the plant had its name,  
For *Hermodaetylus* signifies the finger of Mercury. Further, the root  
hereof was heretofore given to those that were troubled with the  
Gout in the joynts or fingers, at such time as the humours issued out  
for, of it self, and by a decoction of it, it has a purgative quali y, as  
Paulus Aegineta relates in his seventh book. But now a days *Her-*  
*modaetylus* is given to those troubled with the Gout in their feet;  
not at that time when the humours issue forth, but rather when the  
disease is grown strong and come to its height. For, when Modern  
Physicians had found by the use of this medicine, that it was noxi-  
ous in the approach or augmentation of the disease, they corrected  
the practice of the Ancient Physicians in this particular; as the most  
famous and most Learned Tossinus de Fontaine Doctor of Physick and  
Regius Professor in the University of Paris informed me, a person to  
whom I profess my self highly obliged, for his singular kindness to-  
wards me, and for his care and diligence in curing my distemper.  
Valef.

And

<sup>a</sup> *Ὁς καὶ τὸν δόξοντος αὐτοῦ δι-  
ήμαζεν.* Nicephorus has explained  
this place incomparably well, by  
inserting one word, thus; *λόγος  
τῷ μὲν ἔχει τὸν καὶ τὸν πρῶ-  
τον δόξοντος διαδέχεται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐκείνῳ.* That is, as Langus ren-  
ders it *perhibetur sane primos den-  
tes in columna statione mutasse,*  
*'tis indeed reported, that he chan-  
ged his first teeth in his Station*  
*on the Pillar.* In the excellent  
Florentine and Tellerian Manu-  
scripts, 'tis written *καὶ, not αὐ-*  
*τῷ, where the word αὐτῷ is used*  
*instead of ἐκείνῳ, there.* Valef.  
<sup>\*</sup> *Καὶ ἑαυτὸν, behaving himself*  
*like a child.*

<sup>†</sup> Or, For-  
gat his  
Nature.

|| Or,  
Distracted  
mte.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὁς ἐκ ἀρεσκον τῷ δεῖν.*  
The Rules of Grammar require,  
that we should write *ἀρεσκον-  
των.* For *ἐκείνων τέτων* pre-  
cedes. Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, One of those who wrote  
under me.

† Or,  
Filled.



and whilst *Johannes* [presided over the Church of] \* *Constantinople*, and *Eulogius* over that of *Alexandria*, (persons whom I have mentioned before;) and during *Anastasius*'s presidency over the *Antiochian* Church, who had been restored to his own Chair<sup>a</sup> after three and twenty years. *Johannes*; [was then Bishop] of *Jerusalem*; who died soon after, and as yet no body has undertaken the Government of that Church. And here shall my History be closed, namely, on the twelfth year of *Mauricius Liborius*'s Government of the Roman Empire; the following [affairs of the Church] being left to be collected and written by such as are desirous [of employing themselves that way.] If any thing be either omitted, or not accurately set forth by us; let no person ascribe it to us as a fault; but let him consider with himself, that we have Collected into one Body \* a dispersed and scattered History, and have made it our business [to consult] the advantage of men, in favour of whom we have taken so many and such vast Labours. Another Volume has likewise been composed by us, which contains *Relations, Letters, Decrees, Orations, Disputations*, and some other things. The foresaid *Relations* contained in that Volume were all written in the Name of was meant by these words, but that *Anastasius* had been restored to his own See after *Gregorius*'s death. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> *Anastasius* had been deposed on the year of Christ 570, as I have observed above, in my notes on book 5. chap. 5. From this year to the tenth of *Mauricius*'s Empire, (whereon he was restored to his See, as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us,) that is to the year of Christ 592, there are three and twenty years. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> From these words some one might perhaps conjecture that which *Baronius* has also supposed, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* dyed on the twelfth year of the Emperour *Mauricius*. For why should *Evagrius* say, that he had closed his History on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, unless he had related some thing before, which had been done on the twelfth year of the same *Mauricius*? Notwithstanding, after a more diligent inspection into the thing, *Evagrius* seems not in my judgment, to have designed to mean that by these words. For *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* had ended his life, at such time as *Gregorius* Governed the Roman, and *Eulogius* the *Alexandrian* Church; and whilst *Johannes* presided over the Church at *Jerusalem*. Which *Johannes* having ended his life not long after, *Evagrius* saith no body was as yet put into his place. *Evagrius* therefore closed not his History with the death of *Gregorius*, in regard he relates, that after *Gregorius*'s death, *Johannes* Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed; and that after his death no person was yet put into his See. at that time when he wrote these things. Wherefore *Evagrius* by these words means only this, that he wrote these things on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire. *Valef.*

*Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*. By reason whereof we have obtained two dignities; [the one] from *Tiberius Constantinus*, who invested us<sup>f</sup> with the [Dignity] of *Quæstorius*, [the other] from *Mauricius Tiberius* who sent us the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture*, on account of that [Oration] we had composed, at such time as (having wiped away the reproach of the Empire,) he brought into the light [his Son] *Theodosius*, who gave a beginning of all manner of felicity, both to [*Mauricius*] himself, and to the State.

of the *Quæsture* was conferred upon our *Evagrius* by *Tiberius*. But *Evagrius* does not say, that he had the dignity of *Quæstorius*. Now, there is a great difference between *Quæstor* and *Quæstorius*. For he is *Quæstor*, who bears the Office of *Quæstor*. But, *Quæstorius* is he who has already born that Office. In regard therefore *Evagrius* says, that he had the honour *Ex-Quæstore* given him, he means that the *Codicills Ex-Quæstore* were conferred on him by the Emperour: althogether in the same manner, wherein (as he adds immediately,) the *Codicills Ex-Præfectis Prætorio* were bestowed on him by the Emperour *Mauricius*. Further, such persons as by their deserts had procured these *Codicills*, enjoyed all those privileges, which belonged to the *Honorati* who had born those dignities, to wit, of the *Quæsture* and of the *Præfecture*. But, in my opinion the reading at this place ought to be, *τὸ τῶν κραιστωρίων* (the term *κραιστωρία* being understood,) the [dignity] of *Quæstorius*. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ἐφ' ἧ συνθέσει.* Translatours understood not this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus; unde ista composuimus, cum ille imperii ignominiam ablaturus, Theodosium in lucem produxit, whence we composed those things, when he, about to take away the ignominy of the Empire, brought *Theodosius* into the light. *Christophorus* translates it in this manner: Quo regnante eas Relationes composuimus; idque eo ipso tempore quo Theodosium in Lucem edidit, during whose Reign we composed those Relations; and that at that very time wherein he brought to light *Theodosius*. *Christophorus* was of opinion, that the reading here ought to be, *ἐφ' ἧ*. But this emendation is not to be endured. For *Evagrius* had not composed that Work of *Relations* during the Reign of *Mauricius*, but whilst *Tiberius Constantinus* was Emperour, as he himself affirms a little above. Therefore, I had rather retain the common reading here, by understanding the word *ἀναρῶν Relation*, or *διαλέξας Discourse*. For when the Emperour *Mauricius*'s Son *Theodosius* was born, *Evagrius* wrote an Oration to the Emperour *Mauricius*, wherein he congratulated with him on account of the Birth of his Son, and foretold the highest felicity both to *Mauricius* and the Roman State, because *Mauricius* had abolished the old Reproach of the Roman Empire, and had at length begotten a Male-child. For, none of the Roman Emperours, who had Reigned in the Eastern parts; even from the times of *Theodosius Junior*, had begotten Male-children. *Evagrius* therefore says, that on account of this Oration, he had been rewarded by *Mauricius* with the *Codicills* of a most ample *Præfecture*. *Valef.*

<sup>h</sup> The most noble *Theodosius* was born in purple on the third year of *Mauricius*'s Empire on the twenty sixth of the month September, and therefore on the fourth *Indiction*, which had begun from the Calends of the September of this year. The same *Theodosius* was afterwards Crowned *Augustus* by his Father *Mauricius*, in the eighth *Indiction*, on the twenty sixth of the month March, when he was four years and an half old, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, pag. 225. *Valef.*

Six Books of Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus  
Epiphaniensis and [one] of the Ex-Præfects.

THE END.

THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
CONSTANTINE,  
IN FOUR BOOKS,

Written in GREEK, by *Eusebius Pamphilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*; done into ENGLISH from that Edition set forth by *Valesius*, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

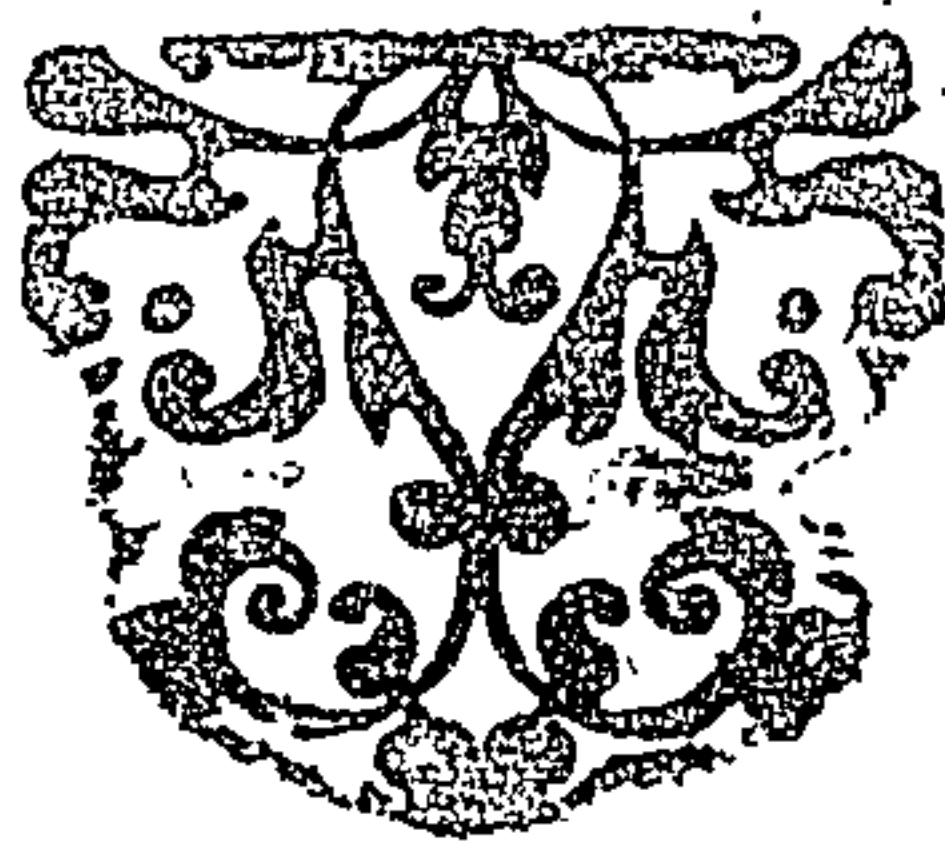
VALESIUS'S Annotations on the said LIFE, which are made ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Here is also annext the Emperour CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION of the SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S SPEECH Concerning the PRAISES of CONSTANTINE, Spoken at his TRICENNALIA.

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The Second Edition.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for *A. and J. Churchill*, in the Year 1709.



## VALESIUS'S Advertisement to the READER.

**I**N My Annotations on Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History, I have remarked, that the Titles or Contents of the Chapters, which are prefixt before each Book, were composed by Eusebius himself. And this, in my judgment, I have proved by most evident Arguments. But, in these Books concerning the Life of Constantine, the matter is otherwise. For the Contents of these Books were not made by Eusebius himself, but by some other more modern Author. Now, I make this conjecture from hence, both because the Contents of these Chapters, are for the most part uncooth, insipid, and barbarous; and also in regard they always speak of Eusebius in the third Person; whereas, in the Contents of the Chapters of his Ecclesiastick History, Eusebius always names himself in the first person. Besides, the distinctions of the Chapters are too thick, and occur too often; and one Letter and Constitution of the Emperor, is divided, and torn asunder as 'twere, into many Chapters. Which thing is wont often to beget a loathing and nauseousness in the Reader. I forbear mentioning the barbarous words and terms, which occur frequently in these Contents. For, in them you diverse times meet with *παλαιοι, κοιναι, νοτιαι, and αργεαι*. All which considerations make me of this opinion, that I should believe any one else, rather than Eusebius, to have been the Author of these Contents. Nevertheless, whoever the person was, he was ancient, and lived not at any great distance from the Age of Our Eusebius. And this is chiefly Collected from the Contents of the Fourth Book; wherein you may read some passages, which could not have been known, but by a Writer Contemporary with those times, of which sort is that concerning Marianus the Tribune, and Notary, in the Contents of Chapter 44. Book 4. the name of which Notary we might at this day have been ignorant of, had not that Author of the Contents, and after him Sozomen, given us information thereof. I have sometimes conjectured, that

\* That is, Acacius, (he, who succeeded Our Eusebius in the Chair of the Church of Cæsarea, in regard he publish'd ~~Without~~ these Books of his Master after his Death,) Composed these Contents. But, this is but a meer conjecture, which any one that will, may follow. Lastly, the Reader is to be Advertised, that in all our Manuscript Copies, the Titles of these Chapters are written without the \* Numeral Notes. And in The Old Sheets belonging to the King's Library, they occur prefixt before each Book. But in the Fuketian Manuscript, 20th, they are not only set before each Book; but are also added to every Chapter, in the Body of each 30th, &c. Book.



# THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS a CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ μακαρίου κωνσταντίνου. So *Grecians* are wont to inscribe their Books written concerning any one's Life: *Philostatus* gave his Books concerning the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus* this Title, φιλοστέτυς εἰς τὸν ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως βίον λόγος ἢ *Philostatus's* eight Books concerning the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*. So also *Marcus Antoninus* entitled the Books concerning his own Life, ὅτι εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία εἰς, twelve Books of [Remarks] upon himself. 'Tis further to be noted, that although these Books have this Title, concerning the Life of the Emperor *Constantine*, yet all things are not contained therein, which were performed by that Emperor, but those matters only are described, which relate to true piety, and the Glory of the Christian Religion. Whereof *Eusebius* gives an Express advertisement in the beginning of this book, chap. 11. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> At this place *Robert Stephens* has added these words λόγος πέντε, five Books; what Copies he followed, I know not. For these words occur not, either in the *King's Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets*. Neither are these words to be found in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. 'Tis certain, this Work concerning the Life of the Emperor *Constantine* consists only of four Books; which is also attested by *Photius*. But, because *Eusebius* had added three small Pieces, to wit, the Emperor *Constantine's* Oration to the Convention of the Saints, the description of the Church at Jerusalem together with the Sacred Presents their Dedicated by *Constantine*, and a Panegyrick spoken at *Constantine's* Tricennalia; hence it came to pass, that this Appendix was by some taken for a Fifth Book. Indeed the Index of the Chapters which is prefixt before *Constantine's* Oration to the Saints, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this Title, κεφάλαια τὰ περὶ πέντε βιβλίων, the Chapters of the Fifth Book. But in the *King's Copy*, the Indices of the Chapters are omitted, and this Title is written at the side, though in a more modern hand, ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πέμπτου βιβλίου. *Valef.*

## The Preface.

### Concerning the Death of Constantine.

**A**L L Mankind have not long since celebrated the recurring periods of our great Emperor's compleated \* *Vicennalia* and *Tricennalia*, with Festivities and publick Banquets. We our selves also, <sup>a</sup> by a Panegyrick spoken in his *Vicennalia*, have lately venerated the same Glorious Conqueror en-  
<sup>a</sup> Δεκαετηρίων τε καὶ τριετηρίων, Second and Third Decade of years. 'Twas usual with Emperors to celebrate solemn Feasts and Pa-  
stimes for joy they were arrived at the 10<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, year of their Reign; the Feasts for their tenth year were termed *Decennalia*; those for their 20<sup>th</sup>, *Vicennalia*; and them for their 30<sup>th</sup>, *Tricennalia*.  
<sup>b</sup> Εἰκοσήμερικὸς ὕμνος, with *Vicennalian* Hymns. This Ora-

tion spoken by *Eusebius* in *Constantine's* *Vicennalia* is not now extant. We can only affirm this of it, that it was spoken in the *Nicene Synod*, in the presence of the Emperor *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* attests in the following words: but he tells us this very thing much more plainly in book 3. chap. 11. *Valef.*

roned with a Synod of God's Sacred Ministers. Moreover, <sup>b</sup> we have platted him Crowns of *Tri-* <sup>b</sup> Τριετηρίων-  
*cennalian* Orations, wherewith we lately encircled <sup>c</sup> περιεπιεμάς  
his Sacred Head within his own Imperial Palace. <sup>c</sup> αὐτοῦ ἀ-  
σαν πλέ-  
ξαντες στεφάνους, we have platted him *Tricennalian* Crowns of Orations. He means the *Tricennalian* Oration concerning the praises of *Constan-*  
tine, which *Eusebius* had annexed at the close of his Books concerning the Life of *Constantine*, as he himself attests book 4. chap. 46. Ne-  
vertheless, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* this Oration is prefixt before *Eusebius's* Books of the Life of the Emperor *Constantine*. Which is very right indeed, if we respect the time wherein this Oration was spoken; but 'tis Contrary to the opinion of the Writer himself, who ordered that Oration to be placed at the close of these Books. *Valef.*



\* Or, Our But now \* I am doubtful and at a stand, de-  
Oratior sirs, &c. See the usual manner, but ignorant which way to  
chap. 2. note (c.) turn my self, and amazed at this only miracle  
† Aspect, of a new and surprizing † spectacle. For, which  
or, Sight. way soever I look with a fixt and steady Eye,  
whether to the East or West, upon the whole  
Earth or to Heaven it self, I behold the Blessed  
[Emperor] present || every where and in all  
places, \* conversing with Imperial Majesty her  
self. And I see his Sons, like some new Lumi-  
naries, filling the whole Earth with their Father's  
Rays, and [I behold] himself as yet living in  
Power and Authority, and managing the whole  
affairs of the world better and more potently than  
before; in regard he is diffused and enlarged by  
the succession of his Sons. Who be-  
fore had \* been invested with the *Cæsa-*  
*rian Dignity*: but having now clothed  
themselves with their whole Father,  
on account of their eximious † Ver-  
tue and Religion are proclaimed *Sup-*  
*ream Sovereigns, Augusti, Adorable,*  
*Emperors,* being illustrated with [all] their Fa-  
thers Ornaments.

Diadem, and [endowed] † with an endless  
life and a blessed immortality: \* I am dumb, and  
wholly deprived of the use of my Tongue and  
Reason. And being unable to utter one word,  
but passing sentence my self upon mine own  
weakness, and decreeing silence against my self,  
I give place to one more potent, who may de-  
clare his \* praises in a manner cor-  
respondent to his deserts; to him  
namely, who being † Immortal and  
*God the Word,* is only able to con-  
firm and ratifie his own expressions.

\* Or, The *Fuketian* dignity of *Manu-*  
his equal script and  
praises. Sr. Henry  
† Or, The *Savil's Co-*  
*Immortal* by I have  
God and The Word. mended  
this place  
thus, d-  
χαλὴς ἔσκεν οἷα καὶ ἄλογος, I am dumb, &c. ἄλογος ἄλογος is an  
elegant expression, as persons skillful in the Greek Tongue do very  
well know. Further, whereas all these expressions in this and the fore-  
going chapter, are spoken by Eusebius, in the third Person, concern-  
ing his Speech or Oration, we chose rather to change the person,  
and put it in the first, because the propriety of the Latine Tongue  
seemed wholly to require that. *Valef.* For the same reason here  
given by *Valefius* in relation to the Latine Tongue, we have  
likewise altered the person in our English Version.

### CHAP. III.

Concerning God who honoured the Pious Em-  
perors and destroyed the Tyrants.

FOR whereas he has predicted, that they  
who glorifie and honour him, shall by him  
be \* compensated with reciprocal Gifts and Re-  
wards; but, that those who have † profest  
themselves his Enemies and Adversaries, shall  
procure to themselves a destruction of their  
Souls; long since [even from this Life] he  
hath ascertained || the Truth of these his own  
words and promises. For he hath evidently set  
before our Eyes the detestable \* Exits of Im-  
pious and God-opposing Tyrants; but hath  
demonstrated not only the Life of his Servant,  
but his death also to be desirable and worthy of  
the highest commendations: \* in so  
much that, even † this deserves a  
commemoration, and is egregiously  
worthy not of Mortal but immortal  
Sepulchral Monuments. The || wit of  
men hath indeed found out a comfort  
and preservative against a Mortal and  
frail End, and by Consecrations of  
Statutes, as 'twere by immortal ho-  
nours, have thought good to Reverence the  
Memories of their Ancestors. And some have  
framed Representations of Men with the sha-  
dowed Colours of \* Encaustick Painting; o-  
thers, with the Sculptures of inanimate matter; and in

in *Moravus's* Copy also; it is this, καὶ ἑστὸν γε, &c. By a transpo-  
sition of one particle I mend the place thus, ὡς ἐξοικονομημένων καὶ  
ἑστὸν, καὶ ἑστὸν γε ἐστὶν ὡς ἐστὶν in so much that, &c. as we have rendred it.  
And I dare lay any wager, that Eusebius wrote so. Further, καὶ  
imports here Titles or Sepulchral Monuments, as I have at large re-  
marked on Eusebius's Eccles. History. *Valef.*

\* Or, Re-  
splendent.  
† Or, Resi-  
dencies of  
Mortals.  
But now, when with an acuteness of Mind I  
reach up to the very Arches of Heaven it self,  
and there Contemplate his thrice happy Soul  
conversing with God, wholly divested of its  
Mortal and Terrestrial Garment, and beauti-  
fied with a most \* Splendid Stole of Light: and  
when I perceive it not any more involved in the  
short periods of Time, within these † fading Ha-  
bitations; but honoured with an ever flourishing

### CHAP. II.

The Preface yet.

AND when I behold him (who a little  
before was seen \* in a Mortal Body,  
and † conversed with our selves,) in a most  
admirable manner enjoying the same Imperial  
Palaces, Honours, and Commendations, even  
after the end of this Life, when Nature re-  
jects as Foreign whatever is superfluous; I  
thus, καὶ ἄμ am stricken with an incredible Amazement.  
καὶ ἄμ; and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian*  
*Manuscript*, the four former words are wanting, and there is a blank  
space left, capable of one or two words only. *Valef.*  
\* Or, ἄμ; In the *Fuketian* *Man-*  
*uscript* this place is written thus ἄμ; ὁ ἡμῶν .... ἐνδοξότατος, &c.  
But I had rather retain the ordinary reading, only I would alter the  
punctuation. For, I am of opinion, that a *Comm.* is not to be placed  
after the word ἐνδοξότατος in a most admirable manner, (as *Mus-*  
*culus* and *Christophorus* have done) but after the word σὺν ἡμῶν,  
thus, conversed with us our selves, as we have pointed it. For Eusebius  
says this was the greatest Miracle and ἐνδοξότατον most admirable;  
that although *Constantine* was dead, yet he had the same Honours  
and Obedience paid him as when alive. *Valef.*

\* Or, Re-  
splendent.  
† Or, Resi-  
dencies of  
Mortals.  
But now, when with an acuteness of Mind I  
reach up to the very Arches of Heaven it self,  
and there Contemplate his thrice happy Soul  
conversing with God, wholly divested of its  
Mortal and Terrestrial Garment, and beauti-  
fied with a most \* Splendid Stole of Light: and  
when I perceive it not any more involved in the  
short periods of Time, within these † fading Ha-  
bitations; but honoured with an ever flourishing



**Encaustick Painting.** The meaning therefore is this, that that first sort of *Encaustick Painting* was performed with Wax only, no other Instrument besides Wax being made use of to Paint. *Procopius* (in his first book *de Edificiis Justiniani*.) speaking concerning the Roof of a Church, describes this sort of Painting thus; ἐνκαυστικὴν δὲ τὰς γυμνασίων ἢ ὁμοίων πύλων, ἢ τῶν κληρῶν ἐντακέντη τε καὶ διαχυθέντη, the whole Roof was adorned with Paintings; not with Wax made liquid [or burnt,] and diffused. 'Tis apparent, that by these words *Procopius* means ἐνκαυστικὴν γυμνασίων, *Encaustick Painting*. 'Tis certain, ἐνκαυστικὴ γυμνασίων occurs in *John Chrysostome* also, as 'tis recorded in the *Second Nicene Council*, pag. 342. And in *Pope Gregory's Letter to Germanus Bishop of Constantinople*, at page 535. of the same *Nicene Council*; where *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* renders it, *imaginem cerâ perfusam*, a Picture besmeared with Wax. The same term occurs hereafter in our *Eusebius*, at book 3. chap. 3. and in the *History of Nicephorus Patriarch of Constantinople*, about the end. Concerning this Painting *Apuleius* speaks, in *defensione sua*, in these words: *Enim verò quod luto fictum, vel ere infusum, vel lapide incisum, vel cerâ inustum, vel pigmento illitum.* And *Nazarius* in the *Panegyric* he spoke to *Constantine*, speaking concerning his Images thrown down by *Maxentius*, writes thus; *Aboleri hic vultus non potest: universorum pectoribus infixus est, nec commendatione ceræ aut pigmentorum fucis renitet: sed desiderio efflorescit animorum.* *Paulinus* likewise, in his eighth *Epistle to Sulpicius Severus*; at which place see *Fronto Ducius's notes*. There is also an eminent passage of *Boetius's* concerning this matter, in his *Preface to his Books of Arithmetick* which he Dedicated to *Symmachus the Patricius*. At *Picturæ, manibus tabule commissæ fabrorum; ceræ rusticâ observatione decerptæ; colorum fuci mercatorum solertia perquisiti; Linthea operosis elaborata texturinis, multiplicem materiam præstant.* For so that place is to be corrected from an old Manuscript of *Thunanus's Library*. Lastly, *Anastasius* in his *Sermon de Sabbato*, which is recorded in the *Seventh Synod*, πῆς εἰκόνος ἐδὲν ἐτερον ὕλης, ἢ ξύλον καὶ χρώματα κληρῶ μεμυμμένα καὶ κεκεμίχτα, the Image being nothing else but wood, and colours mixt and tempered with Wax. Valef.

Μνήμους ὑπὲρ λαὸν αἰώνιον. I think it should be written, ἐπέλαβον, have taken occasion: and so the reading is in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*. Sir *Henry Savil* had likewise remarked at the Margin of his Copy, that in his judgment the reading was to be thus. But in *Moræus's Copy* at the Margin 'tis mended thus, ἐπέλαβον; with which reading I am best pleased, Valef.

other some have cut deep Letters on wooden or stone Tablets, wherewith they have taken occasion of consigning to Eternal Memory the Virtues of those whom they honour. But all these things were mortal, and consumed by length of time; in regard they express the proportions of mortal bodies, not the \* *Idea's* of an immortal mind. However, these things seemed to content those persons, who, after the conclusion of this mortal life, had conceived in their minds an hope of no other thing that was good. But God, God [I say] the Common Saviour of all things, who hath treasured up with himself greater Goods than Man can have a conception of, for the Lovers of Piety; gives as a foregoing pledge even in this life, the First fruits of future Rewards, and in a manner represents and confirms immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient Oracles of the Prophets, which are committed to writing, do plainly foretel these things. The Lives of persons dear to God, who heretofore have shined with all manner of Virtues, whose [Lives] are as yet celebrated by posterity, do give attestation hereto. The same is clearly evinced to be true by the Testimony of this our present Age, wherein *Constantine*, the only person of all those who ever yet Governed the *Roman Empire*, having been made the friend of God the supream King, is proposed to all Men as a powerful and illustrious instance of a Religious life.

#### CHAP. IV.

That God honoured Constantine.

Lastly, God himself, whom *Constantine* worshipped, confirmed this with effectual suf-

frages, by affording him his favourable and benigne presence and assistance, at the beginning, procedure, and end of his Reign: which person God proposed to mankind as an Exemplar for their information in relation to the divine worship. Indeed; of all the Emperours, whom we ever yet heard of, he was the only one, whom God, by those Blessings of all sorts which he conferred on him, demonstrated to be the greatest Luminary and Loudest Proclaimer of steady Piety and true Religion.

their information.

Ἄντ' ὁμοίων. I read αὐτὸν. And a little after, instead of δὴ δακρυάσαν, it must be written, εἰς δὴ δακρυάσαν, for

#### CHAP. V.

That he Reigned upwards of Thirty years, and lived above Sixty.

HE honoured the Time of his Reign with three compleated periods of Ten Years, and something more; but he circumscribed the whole Life he lead amongst Men, with a space of time double as much. Further, because † He would propose him as the portraiture of his own Monarchical power, He made him the Conquerour of the whole Tyrannick Brood, and the Destroyer of the \* Impious Giants: who, [instigated] by a desperation and madness of mind, took up Arms of Impiety against God himself the supream King. But having made their appearance even during a shorter time than is required to speak, they were extinguished. But God, who is one and the sole God, when he had fortified his Servant, one opposed to many, with divine Armour, and by his means had cleared the World of the multitude of impious Persons, constituted him the Teacher of his own Worship to all Nations: who in the hearing of all Men attested with a loud voice, that he acknowledged the True God, but abominated the Errour of false Deities.

\* God.

Ἄντ' ὁμοίων. A new and unusual expression; αὐτὸν instead of that which others would term πλεόν. *Eusebius* says, that *Constantine* reigned thirty years, and something more. Which is true. For, besides thirty years, he reigned almost ten

\* Or, God-opposing.

months. Further, at the beginning of this period, the reading must be, χρόνον καὶ βασιλείας, the time of his Reign; not as the common reading is, χρόνων. Valef.

Ἦν ὁμοίων ἀπέδειξε. Write νικητὴν ἀπέδειξε, He made him the Conquerour; as I found it mended in the Margin of the *Moræan Copy*, which reading *Christophorson* has followed. The same reading occurs in the old Sheets, in the *Savilian*, and in the *Fuketian Manuscripts*. Valef.

Ὅσον εἰπέν. *Christophorson* renders it *prope dixerim*, I had almost said; as if it had been written ὡς εἰπέν. I doubt not but *Eusebius* meant another thing. For, being desirous to show how short a time the Tyrants flourished, he says they were visible a shorter time than is required to speak. 'Tis the same which *Græcians* term λόφθ' ὀφθαλμοῦ, in the twinkling of an eye; a sort of Hyperbole familiar with *Græcians*. Valef.

Ἄντ' ὁμοίων. The one of these words is redundant, and therefore we have left it out in our Version. The former of them seems to me to be a Scholion! in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, the latter is wanting. A little after, instead of δ' αὐτὸν ὁμοίων, &c. the reading must be δ' αὐτὸν, &c. by his means, &c. as 'tis in the *Kings Sheets*, and in the *Savilian* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ὁμοίων. Valef.

Ἐν ταῖς πάντων ἀρεταῖς, in the virtues of all. It must be made ἀκοαῖς, in the hearing, &c. which *Christophorson* perceived not. In the old Sheets 'tis over written ἀκοαῖς in the same hand. Also, Instead of μαρτυρέμενον, I write μαρτυρόμενον; as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. Valef.



## CHAP. VI.

*That he was the Servant of God and a Vanquisher of Nations.*

<sup>a</sup> Νικῶντα ἑσπαιοῖς. I read, <sup>μ</sup> κῶν τε ἑσπαιοῖς βελόετον, and [He advanced himself] so great an Emperour on account of his Victories and Trophies, as no one is ever recorded to have been in former ages: so happy and dear to God; so pious and every way fortunate, that with all facility imaginable he reduced more Nations to a Subjection under himself, than the former [Emperours had vanquished;] and continued possessor of his Empire, free from disturbance and disquietude, to the very &c. In the moment of his Expiration.

<sup>Kings</sup> Sheets this place is supplied at the Margin in this manner, εἰσελ νικῶντα, ἑσπαιοῖς τε τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν διὰ παντός φερωνόμῳ, always vanquishing, and continually made joyful with Trophies against his enemies. The *Fuket. Manuscript* has no variation, only adds a conjunction in this manner, καὶ εἰσελ νικῶντα, and, always vanquishing. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

*[Constantine] compared with Cyrus King of the Persians, and with Alexander the Macedonian.*

<sup>a</sup> Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα τέλει δ' ἐχρὶν μακρῶς. Lear-

ned Men have attempted to restore this place several ways, as 'tis apparent from their Emendations, which are set at the Margin of the *Geneva Edition*, and written in the *Morean Copy*. For some have conjectured it should be written thus; ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα, τέλος δὲ χρὴ σκοπεῖν μακρῶς, φασὶν αὐτὸν, &c. others have mended it thus; ἀλλὰ τὰ τελευτάα τῷ εἶς εἶχε μὴ ταῦτα κοσμεῖντα. τέλος γὰρ ἔχ' ὡς ἐχρὶν, ἔδ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἐμμέν' ἐδ' αἰσιον φασὶν αὐτὸν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ, &c. Which reading *Christophorson* has followed, as appears from his Rendition. But in the *Morean Copy* this place is mended something otherwise, in this manner: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα εἶχε κοσμεῖντα, τέλος ἔχ' ὡς . . . . . ἐδ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἐμμέν' ἐδ' αἰσιον αὐτὸν φάσκει . . . . . κεναι. αἰσχρὸν δὲ, &c. From which imperfections any one would conjecture that this is a reading of some Manuscript Copy. The latter imperfection is easily supplied, in this manner, αὐτὸν φασὶν ἐχρῆναι. But in regard all these readings abound with faults, nor can any thing that is good be extracted out of them, I had rather expunge these words. Indeed, if these words be razed out, the Sense is most plain, thus, ἀλλὰ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐκ αἰσιον, &c. which I have followed in my Version. The same was done before us, by *Johannes Portesius*, who first rendered these books of Eusebius concerning the Life of Constantine into Latine. In the *Kings Sheets*, after those words τέλος δ' ἐχρὶν μακρῶς, at the Margin these words are added, εἰς σκοπεῖν. The *Fuketian Manuscript* represents this place in the same manner with the Copy of *Mnæis* and *Turnebus*. Valef.

The Greeks tell us, that Alexander [King] of the Macedonians vanquished \* innumerable Nations: but before he had perfectly arrived at Man's estate, he ended his life by an untimely death, and was taken off by † Debauchery and † Or, <sup>Rio</sup> Drunkenness. He finished the whole course of his Life within the space of two and thirty years; <sup>b</sup> not much more than a third part of which years determined the time of his Reign.

He march'd on through blood and slaughter, being a Person that may be compared to thunder, and incompassionately enslaved Nations and whole Cities without any respect had to Age. But when he was scarce arrived at the flower of his Age, and whilst he bemoaned his Death approach'd him \* on a sudden, and took him off Childless, without any Stock or Kindred, before he had raised a family, and in an Enemies Country far remote; that he might not any longer be the Ruine of Mankind. His Kingdom was immediately rent insunder, each of his Servants [striking to] pull and tear off some part for themselves. And yet this person is extolled for such mischiefs as these.

<sup>the Great</sup> Reigned twelve years and above, which makes up something more than the third part of two and thirty years, if we go to an accurate computation. But Oratours, whose business it is to amplify things, don't usually speak so exactly. Therefore Eusebius says well, & much more. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀνθός τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας. Every body sees it should be αὐτῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, the flower of his Age, as 'tis also remarked in *Moræus's Copy*. In the old sheets the reading is αὐτῷ; but in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis αὐτῷ. Further, a little after this it must be ὅς δ' ἐπεμύνηντα ἐκείνῳ not ἐκείνῳ. And at the close of the chapter I read, ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῖς ἀνμνείται κακῶς, is extolled for such mischiefs as these; although the Manuscript Copies vary not. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, μῶρεν πᾶσα παροσπῶν, which is truer than αἰσπῶν, as 'tis in the common Editions. Valef.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That he subdued almost the whole World.*

BUT Our Emperour began to Reign from that year of his Age, whereon the Macedonian ended his life: and he lived twice as long as Alexander did; but trebled the length of his Reign. Further, having \* cultivated his Army with the mild and modest Precepts of Piety, he march'd into Britannia, and to those who dwell in the very Ocean which is diffused far and wide <sup>a</sup> at the setting of the Sun. He likewise subdued all Scythia, [which lies] under the North it self, and is divided into innumerable Nations of Barbarians, differing both in name and manners. Moreover, having extended his Empire to the utmost confines of the South, to the Blemmyæ namely and Æthiopians; he look'd upon a dominion over them who dwell at the rising Sun, not to be foreign and inconvenient. In fine, <sup>b</sup> having with the brightest rays of Piety enlightned all mortals inhabiting within the circumference of the whole Element of the

question. So he expresses himself hereafter, at chap. 41. In the *King's Copy* the reading also is βρετανῶν, righter than in the common Editions, where 'tis ερετανῶν. Nor is it otherwise in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. But on the contrary, a little after this, where the common Editions make it Blemmyæ, the same *Fuketian Manuscript* has it Blemmyæ; not ill, as I have remarked at *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 13. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τῶν ἀεικύνων. It must be written thus; ὅς δ' ὡκλῶ ἀεικύνων τῶ παύσει τῆς γῆς σοιχεῖν, τῷ εἶρ, φῶς ἐντελείας ἀντίον ἐκλάμπων. Portesius referred these words, τῷ ὡκλῶ ἀεικύνων, &c. to the Indians: for he has rendered it thus; Indos extremos usque terræ undique circumflectos. But I don't suppose this to be Eusebius's meaning. For the Old Geographers never affirmed that the Indians inhabited round the Circuit of the World. The Spaniards indeed, in the memory of our Grandfathers, have named a part of the Earth newly known to them and found out, West-India: but they did this according to their own arbitrement. Therefore, in this place of our Eusebius, I think it must be written τῷ ὡκλῶ ἀεικύνων, &c. or rather, no alteration to be made. For the meaning is, that Constantine Preached Christ every where to all Men, from South to North, and from West to East. Valef.



Or, Whole World. Earth, even to the utmost bounds of the \* Con-  
tinent, that is, as far as the Outermost Indians,  
and the Nations inhabiting round on every side;  
he brought all the Reguli, Ethnarches, and Sa-  
traps of the Barbarous Nations under a sub-  
jection to himself; all which gave him volun-  
tary and joyful Salutes, sent him Embassies and  
\* Presents, and put an high value upon his  
knowledge and friendship. So that, each per-  
son within his own Province paid him ho-  
nour, partly by Pictures, and partly with  
Statues publickly dedicated to him: and Con-  
stantine, the only person of the Emperours, was  
known and famous over the whole World.  
Even as far as these Nations therefore he Pro-  
claimed his own God by his Imperial Accla-  
mations, with all the freedom and liberty Ima-  
ginable.

αὐτὸς τε παρ' αὐτῶν δέξεται. In the old Sheets this place is  
thus supplied at the Margin, τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ξενίοις τε καὶ δώ-  
ροις, &c. and sent him Embassies and Presents and Gifts And a  
little after this, in the same Sheets, the reading is, παρ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι  
καταστάντων γινώσκοντες, Constantine was known amongst them all.  
Valef.

CHAP. IX.

That [he was] the Son of a Pious Emperour,  
and left his Empire to his Sons who were  
Emperours.

\* The Kings Co-  
py be pi is  
a Chapter  
at these  
words,  
which we  
have rea-  
dily fol-  
lowed.  
The Fuke-  
tian Manuscript also, which usu-  
ally prefixes the Titles or Con-  
tents before each Chapter, be-  
gins the Chapter from these  
words. And I found the same  
division in the old Sheets of the  
King's Library. Valef.

N Or a performed he this by words only, and  
was \* disappointed in the thing it self:  
but, proceeding on in all manner of  
Virtue, he † abounded with the va-  
rious fruits of Piety; || obliging his  
Friends with Magnificent Benefacti-  
ons; Governing by the Laws of  
Clemency; and making his Empire  
easie and desirable to all his  
Subjects. Till at length, af-  
ter long periods of years,  
that God whom he worship-  
ped, Crowned him (when  
wearied out by various Con-  
flicts and Exercises,) with

the Divine Rewards of an Immortality, and from  
a mortal Kingdom translated him to an endless  
life, which he hath treasured up with himself  
for holy Souls; after \* he had raised him up  
† three Children, who might succeed him in his  
Empire. In this manner therefore, the || Im-  
perial Dignity descended to him from his Fa-  
ther; and by the Law of Nature is reserved for  
his Children, and for their descendants; and,  
like some paternal Inheritance, shall hencefor-  
ward be for ever propagated and prolonged.  
And indeed God himself, who hath exalted  
this most blessed Emperour (as yet \* conver-  
sant amongst us,) to divine Honours, and hath  
adorned his Death with singular advantages  
[proceeding] from himself, can only be a fit  
Writer of his Life; in regard he has † Re-  
corded his Glorious Actions and Conflicts on  
Celestial Tables and Monuments.

\* Viz. In  
his Sons;  
see chap. 1.  
† Or, An  
off e of  
the chil-  
dren.  
|| Or,  
Throne of  
the Em-  
pire.  
\* Viz. In  
his Sons;  
see chap. 1.  
† Or, An  
off e of  
the chil-  
dren.  
|| Or,  
Throne of  
the Em-  
pire.  
\* Viz. In  
his Sons;  
see chap. 1.  
† Or, An  
off e of  
the chil-  
dren.  
|| Or,  
Throne of  
the Em-  
pire.

CHAP. X.

That this History is necessary, and advantageous  
to the Souls and Minds [of Men.]

B Ut, though I am convinc'd of the difficulty  
of saying any thing \* befitting the Bles-  
sedness of so great a Person, and, that to be  
silent is safe and without danger: nevertheless  
[I count it] necessary to Consecrate to eternal  
Memory the Portraiture of a most pious [Em-  
perour,] drawn [in the Colours of] words, † Or, A  
mortal Paint; to the end I Picture.  
may a clear my self of the imputation of sloth  
and negligence. For, † I should be ashamed of  
my self, should I not confer the utmost of my  
abilities, though they are slender and mean, on  
him who with a transcendency of piety honoured  
God. Further, 'tis my Sentiment, that this  
work will prove both advantageous to the life of  
Man, and necessary to my self also; wherein  
are contained the Actions of a Great-minded  
Emperour, which are highly acceptable to God  
the Supream King. For, how can it be other-  
wise than disgraceful, that the Memory of a  
Nero, and of some other Impious and Atheisti-  
cal Tyrants far worse than he, should not have  
wanted indefatigable Writers, who have adorned  
their Subjects, which were ill Actions, with a  
politeness and elegance of Stile, and made them  
up into voluminous Histories: but, that we should  
be silent, for whom God himself hath vouch-  
safed to procure such an Emperour as no c Age  
hath seen, and to whom he has allowed a liberty  
of coming into his presence, to his knowledge,  
and converse?

† Or, A mortal Paint; to the end I Picture.  
may a clear my self of the imputation of sloth  
and negligence. For, † I should be ashamed of  
my self, should I not confer the utmost of my  
abilities, though they are slender and mean, on  
him who with a transcendency of piety honoured  
God. Further, 'tis my Sentiment, that this  
work will prove both advantageous to the life of  
Man, and necessary to my self also; wherein  
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up into voluminous Histories: but, that we should  
be silent, for whom God himself hath vouch-  
safed to procure such an Emperour as no c Age  
hath seen, and to whom he has allowed a liberty  
of coming into his presence, to his knowledge,  
and converse?

CHAP. XI.

That he will at present relate only the Pious Acti-  
ons of Constantine.

W Herefore, \* 'tis certainly incumbent  
on us, rather than on any other per-  
son, to give a full Narrative of all the good  
things we have heard, to  
those whose minds, by an  
example of good works, are  
raised to a Love and de-  
sire of God. Now, † those  
Authors (who have put in-  
to writing the lives of Men  
in no wise grave and sober,  
and [have Recorded] Af-  
fairs wholly useless for the  
improvement of manners, ei-  
ther out of favour or hatred  
to some persons, or else  
to make a show of their  
own Learning;) † with a magnifick furni-  
ture of words have; otherwise than was fit-  
ting; words.



ting, enlarged the Relations of most reproachful Villainies, and thereby have rendred themselves the Teachers of vile Actions, and such as deserved to be buried in perpetual oblivion and darkness, to those who by Gods favour and impulse have had no hand in mischief. But, our Style, though it is weak and altogether unfit \* for the greatness and significancy of what we are to set forth, seems nevertheless to be polish'd and illustrated even by the bare

\* Or, For the greatness of the Emphasis of what, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐπαγγελία The other reading, which I found in the old Sheets pleases me better, namely ἀπαγγελία, Relation. And so the reading is in the Eusebian and Savilian Manuscripts. Valef.

\* Or, Reading.

<sup>a</sup> βασιλικὰ δυνάμει. In the old Sheets 'twas interlined στρατηγικά, Stratagems, which I like not. For Eusebius does here oppose Constantine's βασιλικὰ δυνάμει, Imperial Actions, πρὸς θεοφιλέσι δυνάμει, to his works that were pious and acceptable to God. And he says, that he does designedly omit his Imperial Actions: which he divides into two sorts, namely, his warlike ones, and those of peace. But, he proposes to himself to set forth only those Actions of his, which bear a relation to Religion. Further, in the Kings Sheets, after those words, and whatever Triumphs he lead, these are added in the Margin, πᾶσι κατ' ἐξήκην αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργασίαν, πρὸς τὴν συμφέρον, &c. Moreover, the constitutions made by him, in the times of peace, for the regulation of the publick, and conducive, &c. which words seem to me to be of good note. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> He means that pifage which occurs at Ecclesiasticus 11. 28. Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children. Valef.

my hand admonishes me to declare and write those matters only which bear a reference to a Pious and Blessed course of life. Further, whereas even these particulars are almost infinite, out of those matters which have come to my knowledge I will choose such passages only as are most futeable and seasonable, and worthiest of being consigned to the Memory of Posterity, and will give a Narrative of them with all possible brevity. In regard the time it self doth henceforward allow us this Liberty, that we may extol this Thrice-blessed Emperour with all manner of Commendatory Expressions. For, a power of doing this was not permitted before now, because it has been advised, that <sup>c</sup> we should not pronounce any Person blessed before his Death, by reason of the uncertain Turns and Changes of Life. Wherefore, I call God to be my Assistant, and his Celestial Word to cooperate with, and inspire me: and, [taking my beginning] from this Emperour's tender Years, I will enter upon my Relation in this manner.

Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Relation of good Actions.

Nor, is the commemoration of Works acceptable to God, unuseful, but it affords a very advantageous

\* Lesson to those who shall have a mind rightly fitted and prepared. [Not to mention] therefore very many of this Thrice blessed person's <sup>d</sup> Imperial Actions, his Battles and Military Engagements, his deeds of Valour, Victories, and Trophies [raised] against his Enemies, and what ever Triumphs he Lead; moreover, the Constitutions made by him, conducive to the utility of every person; the Laws also he composed for the profit and advantage

† Or, Of the Government of his Subjects.

† of his Subjects and the Government; in fine, many other of his Labours and Imperial Conflicts, which are kept in memory by all persons; [all these particulars, I say] I think fit to omit; in regard the Scope and Design of the Work under

## CHAP. XII.

That Constantine, like Moses, was educated in the House of Tyrants.

<sup>a</sup> Ancient History relates, that a Cruel <sup>a</sup> Brood of Tyrants did heretofore oppress the People of the *Hebrews*: but, that God, shewing himself propitious to the oppressed, made provision, that the Prophet *Moses*, who at that time was but an Infant, should be educated in the very Houses and Bosoms of the Tyrants, and should be instructed in all the wisdom amongst them. But afterwards, when in process of time he arrived at Man's Estate, and Divine Justice, the usual Defender of the injured, had taken a resolution to prosecute the Oppressors: then this Prophet of God departed out of the Tyrants Houses, and exhibited himself a Minister of the Divine Will. He † abominated, as well in reality as words, † the Tyrants by whom he had been educated: but those, who in very deed were his own Brethren and Relatives, he declared to be his Friends and Familiars. After this, God constituted him the Leader of that whole Nation, and freed the *Hebrews* indeed from that Servitude [they were oppressed with] by their Enemies; but by his means was revenged on that Tyrannick Brood, by inflicting on them punishments sent from Heaven. This Ancient Story [I say,] which hath been delivered to many Persons under the notion of a Fable, has filled the ears of all Mortals. But now, the same God, who is also our God, hath granted us a power of viewing with our own eyes such Miracles as far surpass all Fables; which manner of Sight is accounted by those who of late have beheld it, to be truer than all sorts of Report or Hear-say. For the Tyrants in our Age, resolving upon waging a War against the supream God, have sorely oppressed his Church. But *Constantine*, a Person that not long after became the Tyrant-slayer, whilst he was a Child, youthful, and beautified with the Juvenile Down upon his Chin, was in the midst of them, like that Servant of God [*Moses*,] and made his Residence within the very Houses of the Tyrants. Nevertheless, though very young, he communicated not with the impious in the same Morals and way of living. For, <sup>b</sup> at that very Age, a good disposition [improved] by the Divine Spirit, incited him to a Life that was pious and highly acceptable to God. Moreover, a studious Emulation of his Father added strength thereto, and invited the Son to an imitation of Virtues and good Actions. For, he had for his Father *Constantius*, (whose Memory 'tis fit we should at this opportunity give a Resurrection to,) the Noblest of the Emperours in our Age. <sup>c</sup> Concerning whom 'tis necessary to relate some passages briefly, which bear a reference to the commendation of his Son.

that *ἑξ ἐκείνου* has the same import with *jam tum, even then, ab eo Tempore, from that very time*. And so *Musculus* renders it. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀπὸ οὗ. Doubtless it must be written, *ἑξ ἐκείνου*, which has the same import with *ἑξ ἐκείνου*, concerning whom. And so the reading is in the Kings Sheets and in the Savilian Manuscript. In the Eusebian Manuscript 'tis *ἑξ ἐκείνου*, which is no ill reading. Valef.



CHAP. XIII.

Concerning his Father Constantius, who refused to persecute the Christians, in such manner as Dioclesianus, Maximianus and Maxentius did.

\* Or, whilst four per- sons per- took of the Imperial Power o- ver the Romans. † Constantius.

\* Whilst the Roman Empire was Governed by Four Augusti, † He was the only person who embraced a course of Life different from his Colleagues, and entred into a friendship with the supream God. For they, by a Siege as 'twere, ruined the Churches of God, and demolished them to the ground, and utterly destroyed the Oratories to their very foundations. But he kept his hands undefiled and clean from their nefarious impiety, nor would he in any wise render himself like to them. They defiled the Provinces Subject to them with the intestine Murders of men and women who were worshippers of God. He preserved his own mind from being polluted with a such detestable wickedness. They, by a confusion of the mischiefs of a detestable Idolatry, in the first place enslaved themselves, and then all their Subjects, in the frauds and errors of most impious Demons. He being the Author and Preserver of a most profound Peace \* within the Limits of his own Empire, permitted his Subjects to prosecute their Worship and Service to God without any the least trouble or molestation. [Lastly,] they imposed the heaviest sorts of exactions upon all men, and thereby made Life comfortless to them, and far more unpleasant than [any sort of] Death. But Constantius was the only person, who rendered his Government inoffensive, calm, and easie to his Subjects, and gave them an assistance from himself in nothing inferiour to a paternal care and sollicitude. Further, because innumerable other Vertues of this person are celebrated amongst all men, I will only commemorate one or two of his brave Actions, from which a conjecture may be made of those that are left unmentioned, and so pass to the proposed scope and design of my Writing.

\* O δὲ τὸ πλεονεξίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐποχῇ. I think the reading should be, ὁ δὲ τὸ πλεονεξίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐποχῇ. The Donatists used almost the very same Words, in the Supplicatory Libel which they presented to the Emperor Constantine: a Copy whereof is recorded by Oribasius in his first book Rogamus te Constantine Imperator.

degenere in hoc; cuius pater inter Ceteros Imperatores persecutionem non exercuit: Et ab hoc scelere immunis est Gallia. Valef. b. Ἐκείνους φωνάζει. The term αἰσθητικὸς is wanting, or some other such like word. Nor is the conjecture of that Learned man to be omitted, which I found written at the margin of the Moræan Copy; to wit that in his judgment the reading ought to be, διὰ τὰς τῆς ἐκείνης ἀδελφότητος ἐκείνους φωνάζει. But Turnebus at the margin of his Copy hath mended it ἐκείνους φωνάζει, as hath likewise Sir Henry Savil. In the Kings Sheets, over the word φωνάζει 'tis mended σφάζει: which emendation I prefer before the rest. I write thus therefore, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ σφάζουσι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου ἀδελφότητος ἐκείνους, σφάζει αὐτοὺς, &c; and have rendered it accordingly. In the Euketian Manuscript the reading is ἐκείνους φωνάζει. Valef.

CHAP. XIV.

How Constantius Father [to Constantine] being reproach'd with poverty by Dioclesian, filled his Treasuries, and afterwards restored the money to [the owners thereof] who had brought it in.

When a great Report was spread abroad concerning this Emperour, that he was mild and calm, that he was a most excellent per-

sonage, that he was a superlative lover of God, and that, by reason of his transcendent clemency and indulgence towards his Subjects, he had hoarded up no money in his Treasuries: that \* Emperour who then filled the highest Station in the Empire, sent to him, and blamed his negligence in managing the publick affairs: and he reproach'd him with poverty, alledging this as an argument in confirmation of what he said, that he was posselt of nothing laid up in his Treasuries. But Constantius entreated those persons who came to him from the Emperour, to stay some little time with him: then he call'd together those men that were posselt of the greatest quantity of riches, who lived within all those Provinces under his Empire, and signified to them, that he wanted money, and that this was a fit opportunity wherein every one of them ought voluntarily to give a demonstration of their kindness and benevolence towards their Emperour. When they heard that, as if they had long since made this their desire, that an occasion might be offered them of shewing him their readiness of affection, [ 'tis said, ] that with all imaginable haste and diligence they filled his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and other Riches; contending earnestly amongst themselves, that in giving they might out-vie one another: and this they performed with countenances full of joy and pleasantness. When this was done, Constantius gave order, that those persons sent from the Senior Augustus should be Eye-witnesses of his Treasures. Then he commanded them [at their return] to give attestation to what they had seen; [and added,] that at present he had drawn together this Treasure and taken it into his own custody; but, that it had long before been kept for him by the owners of the money, deposited as 'twere with such Guards as are usually appointed to have the custody of Treasure. The Messengers were surprized with the strangeness of this thing: but Report says, that the most Benign Emperour, after their departure, sent for the owners of the money; and having highly commended them for their obedience and good affection towards him, ordered them to take back all their money, and return home. This is one Act of the forementioned Emperour's, therefore

\* H: means Dioclesian.

a. Ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐκείνῃ μακρῇ δευροῦ. Christophorson. understood not this place; for he has rendered δευροῦ, statuentes, resolving. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δευροῦ has the same import with vota suscipere, to pray, or, desire earnestly. Which term Eusebius uses in another place, as shall be noted hereafter. Porcius has rendered this place righter, in this manner: His auditis, ac si de illa ipsa re vota jamdiu suscepissent ut id eveniret, quod se probare possent, &c. Further, after the word αἰσθητικὸν, readiness of affection, the verb φωνάζει, it's said, must be inserted. Valef. b. Παρ' αὐτῶν βασιλέως. I read ἐκείνῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ βασιλέως, as I found it mended in the Copies of Moræus, Turnebus, Sir Henry Savil, and Euketius. Further, I have rendered βασιλέως the Senior Augustus. For so Dioclesian is called in the Old Panegyrics and in Inscriptions. Valef. c. Τὴν μαρτυρίαν αἰσθητικῇ. In the Kings Sheets these words are added in the margin; αἰσθητικῇ διακονήσαντες τῷ πατρὶν αὐτοῦ καταμεμνημένῳ. ἐμπέμπους τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ μὴ ἀπὸ γῶν μὴ δ' ὑπ' αἰδίου πλεονεξίας ἢ ἀδυσχελεύσεως. Which words some Learned men hath added by conjecture, as 'tis sufficiently apparent. I think there is only one word wanting here, παρέχειν, to give. I word it thus therefore, εἴθ' ὅν ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρέλαβον, παρέχειν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αἰσθητικῇ, Then he commanded, &c. Which sort of expression is usual with Eusebius. Valef. d. Οἷα δ' ἐπαπισαῖς παραθηκοφύλαξι. At the margin of Moræus's Copy 'tis mended thus, οἷον δὲ πεισῖς. But this emendation is needless. For, amongst the Ancients, money was deposited in Temples, on account of securing it, and there kept by Guards or Watches of Souldiers, as Juvenal's Old Scholiast remarks and Lipsius in his book de Magnitudine Romanâ. To these Souldiers therefore Eusebius alludes. By the term ἐπαπισαῖς, the Palatini may also be meant here, who guarded the sacred Treasury. In the Kings Sheets, 'tis over written in the same hand, ἐπὶ πεισῖς, by Fairbairn, which displeases not. In the Euketian Manuscript 'tis οἷα δὲ πεισῖς. Valef.

which



which gives a demonstration of his Humanity and good Nature. This other Action of his [which follows,] contains an evident Testimony of his piety towards God.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον

<sup>a</sup> Doubtless the reading must be <sup>a</sup> *piety*, as I found it mended in the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Valef.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning the Persecution [raised] by the other [Emperours.]*

**B**Y the Command of the Emperours, the Governours of Provinces in all places persecuted the worshippers of God. And such as were the first of all the pious Martyrs, came out of the very Imperial Palaces themselves, underwent Conflicts in defence of their Religion, and with all imaginable alacrity endured Fire, Sword, the Depths of the Sea, and all sorts of death whatever. In so much that, within a very short space of time, the Imperial Palaces in all places were emptied of God's Worshippers. From whence chiefly it came to pass, that the Authors of this wickedness remained deprived of the divine inspection and assistance. For whilst they persecuted the Worshippers of God, by the same means they banished those supplications usually put up for themselves.

<sup>a</sup> Τα παντα χωρὶς αἰτίας. The Ad-verb παντα not without reason troubled both the Transla-  
tion, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But they ought to have considered, that *Palatium*, a Palace, is taken in a twofold sense. For, sometimes it imports the Court of a Prince. In which sense there were at that time only Four Palaces, to wit answerable to the number of the Emperours. But sometimes every House wherein an Emperor does usually dwell, is termed a Palace. And in this sense there were very many Palaces in the Roman Empire. For there was scarce a City which had not a Palace. Such Palaces, or Imperial Houses, as these, were under the dispose of certain Officers, who were termed *Cura Palatiorum*; concerning whom there is mention in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Eusebius therefore means these Palaces. I am of opinion that the Publick or Royal Villa are likewise meant, which the *Cæsariani* look'd after. Valef.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Constantius Father [to Constantine,] pretending himself a worshipper of Idols, turned out those who were willing to offer Sacrifice; but retained within his own Palace such as chose to profess themselves Christians.*

<sup>a</sup> Or, Only <sup>\*</sup> ONLY Constantius entred upon a <sup>a</sup> Prudent and Pious Course. And the thing he performed was wonderful to be heard, but much more admirable as to its performance. For, having given all the <sup>b</sup> Palatines that belonged to his Court, even as far as the Judges that were invested with the supreamest powers, in the

*King's Sheets*, the term *Εὐσεβὴς*, Pious, is elegantly added in the margin, thus, *ἐπὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ ὑπερβίησιν λογισμῶν*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τοῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ βασιλικαῖς. I read *ὑπὸ αὐτῷ*, as 'tis in the *Fuketian*, and in *Moræus's Copy*. That is to all the Palatines who bore Office under him, and also to the Judges themselves who were placed in power. Power is a term properly attributed to the Greater Judges, of which sort were the *Præfetti Prætorio*. So Eusebius expresses himself hereafter; and *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 16; where he speaks concerning *Philippus Præfektus Prætorio*. Moreover, in the *Gesta purgationis Cæciliani*, *Alexandri* Official to the *Proconsul Aetian* says thus, *Potestas tua*, &c. Your power, &c. See what I have remarked above at book 5. chap. 1. of *Euseb. Eccles. History* note (c.) Valef.

a free Liberty of Choice; he proposed this Condition to them, that if they would Sacrifice to Demons, they might stay at Court with him, and enjoy their usual Places and Honours; but if they would not do that, they should be excluded from access to him, thrust out, and removed from his knowledge and familiarity. After [His Courtiers] therefore had been hereupon divided into two parties, and some had betaken themselves to this, others to that side, and the Sentiment and purpose of every one of them was laid open: then this admirable Prince discovered his own design, which hitherto he had concealed, and condemned their timidity and self-love: and to these he gave a kind Reception, on account of their Conscience devoted to God: but then he pronounced those, in regard they were betrayers of God, to be unworthy of their Prince's favour. For how [said he] will it be possible they should preserve a fidelity towards their Emperour, who have been detected of perfidiousness towards God? Wherefore he made an Establishment by a Law, that such persons should be removed far from the Imperial Houses. But he declared openly, that those men who by the Testimony of Truth it self were manifested to be acceptable to God, would render themselves like-minded towards their Emperour, and therefore he made them the Protectors of his Body, and the Guards of his Empire: and affirmed, that such persons as these ought to be made use of and accounted as the chiefest and nearest of friends, and most intimate Relatives; and that they were far more highly to be esteemed than hoards of the most valuable Riches and Treasures.

closed on all sides. Whence I am rather induced to believe, that this mark is *φ* and *ε*, and that it signifies *φρόντισον*, that is, attend, consider. For this mark is added at places which have something of difficulty. For instance, the newness of this expression, *πὸς ὃν ἐν φιλίᾳ*, may put the Reader to a stand here, unless he knows that these words, *δυνατὸν ἐν*, are to be understood. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐν πρώτοις καὶ. In the *King's Copy* the reading is *ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀναγκαῖοις*, &c. amongst the chiefest and nearest, &c. Those words *χεῖναι δὲν*, ought to be made use of, are a redundancy of expression frequent with Eusebius: for so he has expressed himself in his books of History, as I well remember. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Concerning the same [Constantius's] Love and affection towards Christ.*

<sup>a</sup> **W**HAT manner of person the Father of <sup>a</sup> We have made a division of a new chapter here, from the Authority of the *King's Manuscript*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *old Sheets*. Valef.  
*Constantine* is recorded to have been, we have in short manifested. Now, what a Conclusion of Life befel him, who had demonstrated himself such a person towards God, and how great a difference was shown between him and his Colleagues in the Empire, by that God whom he honoured, any one will easily discern, who with attention shall apply his mind to consider the thing it self. For, after he had for a long time given illustrious and approved instances of his Royal Vertue, by [avowing] one only supream God, and by condemning their Impiety who pay a worship to more Gods than one, and had on all sides fortified

his



his own house with the prayers of holy men; he compleated the remainder of his Life without any thing of Trouble or disquietude: being made Master of that <sup>a</sup> Felicity, which, as 'tis said, consists in this, *neither to be molested by others, nor to give others trouble.* After this manner therefore [he rendred] the whole time of his Reign even, undisturbed, and pacate; and consecrated his whole Family, his wife namely, and children, and all his servants, to one God the supream King. In so much that, that Company which conversed together within the walls of his Palace, differed in nothing from a Church of God. Amongst whom were Ministers of God also, who performed uninterrupted Acts of worship to the Deity, in behalf of the Emperour's safety; <sup>c</sup> when as commonly amongst the rest, not so much as the bare name of those sort of men that were Religious, was permitted to be mentioned.

But, that reading which I have produced out of the *Kings Sheets*, is better. For the term *κατεργαζόμενος* is elegantly opposed to that which follows immediately, to wit, *κατεργαζόμενος*, condemning. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written *εὐσεβῶς*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup>Τὴν ζώνην διατρέψαι Sir Henry Savil has noted at the margin of his Copy, that perhaps the Verb λέγειν 'tis said is to be added. But, that emendation is far better, which I found written in the *Kings Sheets*, at the margin; it is this, *εὐσεβῶς λοιπὸν καὶ ἀτάραχον τῆς ζώνης διατρέψαι βίον*, which reading we have exprest in our Version. The reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is, *εὐσεβῶς λοιπὸν καὶ ἀτάραχον τῶν ζώνων διατρέψαι*. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> He alludes to that saying of *Epicurus* concerning God, τὸ μακρόν, ὅτε πρὸς ματὰ ἔχει αὐτὸ, ὅτε ἄλλω παρέχει; as *Nemesius* relates it, chap. 44; *Cicero*, in his first book *de Naturâ Deorum*; and *Laertius*, pag. 795. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup>Ὅτε ὁδὸς τοῖς πολλοῖς. In the *Kings Sheets*, the last word is undermarked with points, and λοιπὸν is written over, which I like better. Further, in the same *Sheets*, before these words, these are added in the margin, καὶ ταῦτα ὁδὸς μόνω τῷδε συνελεῖτο, and these [Acts of worship] were performed with him only. They that will, may follow this conjecture of the Learned Antiquary. To me these words seem not necessary. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XVIII.

That after the Resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, Constantius was the first Augustus, and was adorned with a Numerous Issue.

Further, in recompence of these things, a reward from God attended him not long after; in so much that he obtained the first and chiefest place of the <sup>\*</sup> Empire. For those <sup>†</sup> Augusti who were *His Seniors*, by what means I know not, divested themselves of their Imperial Dignity: which sudden Change befel them <sup>a</sup> on the first year after the <sup>\*</sup> demolition of the Churches; from whence forward, only *Constantius* was declared the first and <sup>†</sup> Chiefest Augustus. Who at first was adorned with the Diadem of the *Cæsars* [together

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Imperial power. <sup>†</sup> Viz. Dioclesian, and Maximian. <sup>a</sup> Or, Siege. This place is highly remarkable. For, from it this conclusion may be made, that the Persecution began on *Dioclesian's* eighth, and *Maximian's* seventh Consulate; and not on the foregoing year, as *Baronius* will have it. Concerning which matter I have spent many words in my notes on *Euseb. Eccles. History*; see book 8. chap. 2. note (c.) For, whereas *Eusebius* affirms, that the Emperours *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* divested themselves of their purple on the year after the Persecution was begun; and whereas 'tis manifest, that they did that on the year of Christ 304; what I have said does necessarily follow, to wit, that *Dioclesian's* Persecution was begun on the year of Christ 303. *Valef.*

with <sup>\*</sup> *Galerius*,] and had obtained precedency: <sup>\*</sup> See *Eusebius's* *Ecclesiastical History* book 9. chap. 9. note (i;) <sup>b</sup> *Augustus* of those <sup>b</sup> Four afterwards proclaimed. Moreover, he was the only person that excelled all the other Emperours in a numerous issue, being surrounded with a great Quire of Children, as well Males as Females. Lastly, after he had attained to a mature old Age, and, being ready to pay <sup>\*</sup> the Common debt of Nature, was at the point of making his departure out of his life: then did God again demonstrate himself to him the performer of wonderful Works, and by his providence took care, that *Constantine* the eldest of his Sons should be present with him at his Death, in order to his taking possession of the Empire.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, The debt to common Nature. <sup>†</sup> Proof, or tryal. <sup>b</sup> Sir Henry Savil has noted at the margin of his Copy, that these four were, *Galerius Maximianus*, *Severus*, and *Maximinus*, but the fourth *Maxentius*. As to the three former, I assent to Sir Henry Savil. But, I do affirm, that the fourth was not *Maxentius*, but *Constantius* himself. For *Maxentius* seized not the Empire, till after *Constantius's* death. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XIX.

Concerning his Son Constantine, who when a young man, came into Palestine together with Dioclesian.

For he convers'd with the Emperours [who were his Father's] Colleagues; and made his Residence amongst them, agreeable to that ancient Prophet of the Lord *Moses*, as we have already said. <sup>a</sup> And having newly past over his years of childhood, and arrived at those of his youth, he was vouchsafed the highest honour and esteem amongst the foresaid Emperours. At which Age of his we Our Selves saw him, when he past through the Province of *Palestine*, in Company with the Senior *Augustus*. At whose right hand he stood, and appeared a most excellent and glorious person to those who were desirous of seeing him, and such a one as even then gave indications of an Imperial height of mind. For as to the beautiful shape of his body, and his tallness of Stature, there was no other person that might be compared to him. Moreover, he so far excelled his equals in strength and courage, that he was a terror to them. But he was far more illustrious and eminent for the Vertues of his mind, than for his bodily endowments and accomplishments. And in the first place he beautified his mind with modesty; after that, with Polite Literature; and as well an innate prudence, as a wisdom infused from above, <sup>b</sup> adorned him in a most transcendent manner.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἡδὴ ἄχει καὶ παιδὶς*. I think the reading should be, *Ἡδὴ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν παιδὶς*, &c; which we have exprest in our Version. Indeed, in *Moræus's* Copy the particle δὲ is written at the margin. *Turnebus*, at the margin of his Copy, had mended it, καὶ ἀπὸ παιδὶς. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, *Ἡδὴ δ' ἄχει καὶ παιδὶς*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Διαφωτισμένος ἐν πνεύματι*. I read ἐκπρέπων, adorned, as *Eusebius* does usually speak. And so 'tis mended in the old *Sheets*, at the margin. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written thus, *θεοσδοκῶσιν οὐκ ἐκπρέπων*. *Valef.*

## CHAP.



## CHAP. XX.

*The departure of Constantine to his Father, because of Dioclesian's treacherous designs [against him.]*

**F**urther, when the then Emperours perceived, that the Young man was Couragious, \* Or, *Fil-* strong, and Great, and \* endowed with an height and vigour of mind, they were wounded with \* fear and envy. They watch'd therefore in expectation of a fit opportunity, wherean *Af-* agreeable to their desire, they might involve him in ignominy and disgrace. Which the young man being sensible of, (for the treacherous designs which had been once and twice framed against him, by the consent and appointment of God were discovered;) He opened a way to his own safety by flying; and herein likewise he \* Or, *Pre-* imitated the great Prophet Moses. Further, God gave him his assistance in all things, and by his Divine providence disposed affairs in such a manner, that he should be present with his Father, *Dioclesian* in order to his succeeding him [in the Empire.]

*rius* died not only to disgrace *Constantine*, but to destroy him utterly. See the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which are published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, and what we have remarked there. I was indeed of opinion formerly, that those Greek words which are written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, were not taken out of any Manuscript Copy, but were made from *Christophorson's* Latine Version. But after I had procured the *Fuketian Manuscript* I evidently perceived, that those readings were taken out of Manuscript Copies. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this place written in this manner; *οδόν τε καὶ φέρον ἐξάλλοντο· ἐξελθὲν καὶ παρρησιασθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκλήθη· ἐφύλαττοντο, καὶ ὅταν ἐκείνου ἀναμύνηται· ὁ δὲ, &c.* which reading we have exprest in our Version. So I found it written also in the Copies of *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil*. But this reading, though confirmed by the authority of Manuscript Copies, nevertheless seems not genuine to me; both for that reason I have produced above, and on account also of the inelegancy of the words. *Valef.*

*ἢ τὴν τῷ πατρὶς διαθήκην.* I had rather write *διαθήκη*, *Will*, or, *Testament*. For *Constantius* made his Will at that very time when his Son *Constantine* came to him, as *Nicephorus* relates book 7. chap. 18. A little before the reading should be *παρῆναι*, *present*, not *συνεῖναι*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXI.

*The Death of Constantius, who left his Son Constantine Emperour.*

**W**hen therefore he had avoided these \* Or, *Engines of* Treacherous contrivances, he made all imaginable hast to his Father, into whose presence he came, after a long space of time. At that instant of his arrival, his Father was at the very point of dying. When therefore *Constantius* beheld his Son present with him, whom he did not in the least expect, he leapt from his Bed, and cast his arms about him; and affirming that the only Grief which troubled him now ready to conclude his life, to wit, the absence of his Son, was wholly removed out of his mind, he put up a prayer of thanks to God; and said, that now he accounted Death to be better for him than Immortality. Further, when he had disposed of his affairs in a manner agreeable to his own mind,

and \* had taken leave of his Sons and Daughters, who like a Quire surrounded him on every side: He ended his life in his Palace, lying on his Royal Bed, after he had surrendered the \* Administration of his Empire, \* Or, *His* agreeable to the Law of Nature, allotment phorson into the hands of his eldest of the Em- rendered Son. *pire.* this place thus, in medio fili-

*orum & filiarum se statuens, placing himself in the midst of his Sons and Daughters.* *Portesius* has translated it in this manner, *Simul Libris ex commentario distribuit Hereditatem, And also distributed his Inheritance to his children out of a Commentary, or Book of Notes.* Neither of these translators have hit the sense of this word. *Eusebius* uses the same term at book 3. chap. 21; at which place we will at large declare what *συντάξας* means, as also the import of *συντακτικὸς λόγος*. *Sir Henry Savil* has expounded this word excellently well at the margin of his Copy, thus, *Valedicens, taking leave, or, bidding farewell.* And so *Athanasius* expresses himself in the Life of *St. Antonius*, about the end, *συντάξας τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔξω μοναχοῖς, having taken leave of those Monks in the mountain without.* *Valef.*

*ἢ τὴν τῷ ἡλικίαν περὶ σὺν.* I write *τῷ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, &c. So *Eusebius* has exprest himself above, at chapter 18. speaking concerning *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ προέβην.* *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXII.

*How \* after the Death of Constantius, the \* Or, Army † saluted Constantine Augustus.* *When*

*Constantius had been carried out to Burial.* † Or, *Styled.*

**N**Or did the State continue deprived of an Emperour. But *Constantine* was adorned with his Fathers Purple; and proceeding forth of his Father's \* House, gave all men a de- \* Or, monstration, that, by a resurrection as 'twere, *Houses.* the Father continued as yet to Reign in him his Son. Then he lead out his Father's Funeral, accompanied with the Friends of his Father, \* After some of whom went before, others followed; this clause; and with all the splendour imaginable celebrated in the the Obsequies of that Pious Prince. All per- *King's* sons honoured the Thrice-blessed Emperour with *Sheets* these words Acclamations and Praises, and agreed in an unanimous consent, that the succession of the Son in the Empire was a Resurrection of the dead *gin; τὴν* Father. And forthwith, even at the first word, *τέρα πρῶ-* they \* Saluted the young Prince Em- *περὶ τῇ* perour and *Augustus*, with fortunate \* Or, *μὴν τε* Acclamations. Which expressions ut- *πλήθει μν-* tered in praise of the Son, were an ornament *είων, εὐα-* indeed to the dead Emperour; but they loudly *πρωτῶν τε* proclaimed the Son Blessed, who was declared *δουλοποιῶν,* the Succesour to so great a Father. Moreover, *brought forth his* all the Provinces subject to his Empire, were filled *Father;* and with gladness and a joy that was inexpressible, *and with* because they had not, during the smallest mo- *an infinite* ment of time, been deprived of the assistance *multitude* of an Imperial † Providence and in- *of people,* spection. Thus in the Emperour *and a* *Constantius*, God gave a demonstration † Or, *Guard of* to all persons of our Age, that such as this is *Souldiers.* the conclusion of a Pious and Religious life *Decency.* Which words (though *Sir Henry* and conversation. *Savil* and *Christo-*

*phorson* found them in their Copies, nevertheless) seem to me very little necessary. Yet they occur in the *Fuketian Manuscript.* *Valef.*



## CHAP. XXIII.

*A brief Rehearsal of the Death of the Tyrants.*

<sup>\* Or, Con-  
clusions of  
life.</sup> BUT what the <sup>\* Exits</sup> of those other persons were, who by an open War as 'twere made attacks against the Churches of God, I judge in no wise fit to insert into this present Narrative, nor to defile the Memories of the Good by † annexing a mention of the mischievous. Indeed, the || matters themselves are sufficient to repress and keep within the bounds of duty those persons, who by their own eyes and ears have received an account of that [whole Scene of Calamities] which befel each of them.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*That Constantine obtained the Empire by the will of God.*

<sup>\* Or, By  
himself.</sup> IN this manner, the supream God himself, who is the Governour of the whole World <sup>\* by</sup> his own arbitrement designed and constituted *Constantine*, begotten of such a Father, Prince and Emperor: in so much that, whereas the rest [of the Emperors] obtained this honour by the approbation and votes of others, he was the only person, of whose <sup>a</sup> promotion no Mortal might boast.

<sup>a Περαι-  
γωγίαν, ac-  
cession. It  
ought as I think, to be made μεγαλυνίαν, that is, promotion; or μεγα-  
κρινίαν, advancement. And thus Turnebus hath mended it at the  
margin of his Copy, as I afterwards found. Valef.</sup>

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Victories of Constantine over the Barbarians and Britanni.*

<sup>\* Or, For  
his Fa-  
ther's al-  
lotment.</sup> WHEN therefore he was firmly settled in the Empire, in the first place he began to make provision <sup>\* for</sup> those parts of the Empire which had been transferred to him from his Father, and with much humanity and tenderness <sup>a</sup> visited all those Provinces that had heretofore been under his Father's Administration. And, having reduced all those barbarous Nations, (whose habitations were about the River *Rhine* and the *Western Ocean*, who had taken the boldness to raise Commotions,) to an obedience to his own Government; from being intractable, he brought them over to a mild and more civilized Temper. But he was satisfied in repressing others, whom like Savage Beasts he frightened from the confines of his Empire; to wit, those whose minds he perceived were incurable, and despaired of bringing them to a peaceable and quiet course of Life. When <sup>b</sup> these things had been performed according to his own mind, he set before his Eyes the other parts of the World; took a

progress round all those Provinces that had been under the Empire of his Father. Which *Christophorson* understood not. Valef.

<sup>b Ταῦτα καὶ λόγον ἔχει. At this place καὶ λόγον seems to have the same import with καὶ νῦν, according to his own mind. Which *Por-  
tesius* perceived also. But *Christophorson* has rendred this place, and  
the whole chapter, very unhappily. Valef.</sup>

then he made a <sup>c</sup> Voyage over to the *British* <sup>c</sup> Nations, situate within the Ocean itself. Whom when he had subdued, he look'd towards other parts of the World, that he might apply remedies to those [Nations] who wanted his Assistance.

have written any thing. Therefore, the memory of this matter we owe to *Eusebius* only; who at this place does not obscurely intimate the time also; to wit, a little before *Constantine* undertook his Expedition against *Maxentius*. Wherefore, this Voyage of *Constantine's* into *Britain* hapned on *Maximianus's* eighth Consulate, in the year of Christ 311, as *Sigonius* has rightly remarked in his *Second Book de Occidentali Imperio*. But *Sr. Henry Savil* thought *Eusebius* was mistaken here: For this is his remark at this place; *Eusebius ignorasse videtur, &c. Eusebius seems to have been ignorant, that the Father of Constantine dyed at York in Britain. Valef.*

## CHAP. XXVI.

*How he took a Resolution of freeing Rome [from the Tyranny] of Maxentius.*

AFTER this he took into his Consideration the whole <sup>\* World</sup>, as 'twere some vast <sup>\* Or, E-  
Body; and perceiving that the Head of the</sup> Body; and perceiving that the Head of the whole Earth, the † Chief City of the Empire, was oppressed with a Tyrannick servitude; in the first place he gave place to <sup>a</sup> them to free it, who had obtained the other portions of the *Roman* Empire; in regard they were his Seniors in time. Now when none of them could give it assistance; but those who had resolved upon making tryal, <sup>b</sup> had perished by an ignominious death; he profest his Life would be uncomfortable, if he should neglect the Imperial City when so sorely afflicted, and therefore made preparations to suppress the Tyranny.

time, that is, Senior Emperors. For although *Maximianus* was scarce declared *Augustus* as yet, nevertheless, because he had been made *Cesar* some years before *Constantine*, therefore he may be accounted amongst the Emperors that were Seniors to *Constantine*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Αἰσχρὸν ὑπέμειναν τέλος. A twofold sense may be brought of these words. For you may either render them with *Portesius* and *Christophorson*, *sedum rei eventum nati sunt, had procured a shameful event of the affair*; or else, as I have translated them, *turpi exitu perierunt, had perished by an ignominious death*. The former has relation to *Galerius Maximianus*. The latter interpretation is to be understood of *Severus Caesar*: who being sent by *Galerius* with an Army against *Maxentius*, when he would have made preparations to lay Siege to *Rome*, he was deserted by his own Forces, (whom *Maxentius* had brought off to his own side by the hope of rewards,) and fled to *Ravenna*: in which City he was besieged by *Maxentius*; and being soon imposed upon by the fraud and perjuries of *Maximianus Hercules*, and carried to *Rome* in the habit of a Captive he was quickly after killed; as 'tis related in the *Gesta Constantini*. See the following chapter, where *Eusebius* relates this matter more at large. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*That [Constantine] weighing in his mind the deaths of those who had worshipped Idols, chose rather the [profession of] Christianity.*

BUT having well considered with himself, that he wanted some better assistance than his Military Forces, because of the evil Arts and Magick Impostures studiously followed by the Tyrant; he sought for a God to be his Assistant; and accounted his furniture of Arms



† Or, In and Military Companies † as secondary helps on-  
the second ly; but [perswaded himself,] that the assistance  
place.

of a Diety was invincible and inexpugnable.  
He began therefore to consider with himself,  
what God he should take to be his assistant.  
Which whilst he solicitously inquired into,

\* Or, This \* these thoughts arose in his mind: that of  
thought.

† In the King's Sheets the word λοι-  
Cais Liba-  
tions, is ad-  
ded here.  
Valef.

† Or, Give them war-  
ning of.

to † free them from that destruction inflicted  
on them by Heaven. That his Father was the  
only person, who had taken a course contrary  
[to those former Emperors;] and had con-  
demned their error; who throughout his  
whole life had heretofore worshipped one su-  
pream God, whom he had found to be the Sa-  
viour and Keeper of his Empire, and the Be-  
stower of all good. When he had weighed  
these things with himself, and well considered,  
that those who had put their confidence in a  
multitude of Gods, had likewise fallen into a  
multitude of destructions; in so much that not,  
the least footstep either of their Stock, \* Issue,

\* Or,  
Nature.

† Or,  
Root.

† Kindred, Name, or Memory was left remaining  
amongst Men: but [on the contrary,] that  
the God of his Father had given many and  
those effectual demonstrations of his own power  
to his Father. And when he had further con-  
sidered, that those who before had led out their  
forces against the Tyrant, because they had made  
their Expedition with a multitude of Gods, had  
undergon a disgraceful end. For the one of  
them had retreated ignominiously with all his  
Forces, without effecting any thing. And the  
other was killed in the midst of his Army, and so  
became <sup>b</sup> a cheap and easy sacrifice of death. Ha-

<sup>b</sup> πέρερον  
ἐχέτο  
δαμάτ.  
Tis very  
hard to  
tell what  
Eusebius  
means by  
this expres-  
sion. Chri-  
stophorson  
renders it  
thus; Tanquam supervacanea mortis accessio factus est, was made as  
were the superfluous accession of death. And Portesius, before him,  
had rendered it rati accessionem, the accession, or, vantage of Fate. But  
I understand not, why Severus should be stiled the vantage of death,  
when he only of all his Army perished. I had therefore rather render  
πέρερον, vitem victimam, a cheap and easie Sacrifice. For vile persons  
are rightly termed δαμάτ πέρερον. Also what ever happens with-  
out Labour and amidst sport as were, is rightly termed πέρερον. So  
the death of Severus Cæsar may rightly be stiled πέρερον, in regard he  
was taken, and slain so easily, as if he had had no Soldiers about  
him. And perhaps it should be written πέρερον ἐχέτο πολέμ.  
Indeed, Gelasius Cyzicenus's words (book 1. chap. 3,) are these;  
ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ὅπλων τὸ αὐτῷ βάρβαρον φύλα, παρό-  
ντι τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ ἔργον συγχρησάμην; where the Translator  
has rendered it the Accession of the War, which I like not. I had  
rather translate it in Gelasius thus, his velut belli præludis ad bellum  
ipsum usus, having used these p eludes of war as were in order to the  
war it self. So also Eusebius expresses himself hereafter at book 2.  
chap. 52. Further, at this place there is a figure which Græcians term  
ὑπερπέρερον. For the overthrow of Severus Cæsar preceded that  
ignominious flight of Galerius. Valef.

ving, I say, mustered up all these thoughts within  
his own mind, and considered them well, he judged  
it the highest pitch of † madness to  
trifle about [the worship of] those  
Gods which are nothing, and, after so clear a  
conviction, still to run on in blind error: but  
his Sentiment was, that he ought only to wor-  
ship the God of his Father.

thus; Tanquam supervacanea mortis accessio factus est, was made as  
were the superfluous accession of death. And Portesius, before him,  
had rendered it rati accessionem, the accession, or, vantage of Fate. But  
I understand not, why Severus should be stiled the vantage of death,  
when he only of all his Army perished. I had therefore rather render  
πέρερον, vitem victimam, a cheap and easie Sacrifice. For vile persons  
are rightly termed δαμάτ πέρερον. Also what ever happens with-  
out Labour and amidst sport as were, is rightly termed πέρερον. So  
the death of Severus Cæsar may rightly be stiled πέρερον, in regard he  
was taken, and slain so easily, as if he had had no Soldiers about  
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Indeed, Gelasius Cyzicenus's words (book 1. chap. 3,) are these;  
ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ὅπλων τὸ αὐτῷ βάρβαρον φύλα, παρό-  
ντι τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ ἔργον συγχρησάμην; where the Translator  
has rendered it the Accession of the War, which I like not. I had  
rather translate it in Gelasius thus, his velut belli præludis ad bellum  
ipsum usus, having used these p eludes of war as were in order to the  
war it self. So also Eusebius expresses himself hereafter at book 2.  
chap. 52. Further, at this place there is a figure which Græcians term  
ὑπερπέρερον. For the overthrow of Severus Cæsar preceded that  
ignominious flight of Galerius. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

That whilst he was praying to God, He shewed  
him a Vision; to wit, a Cross of Light in  
the \* Heavens, (it being then mid-day,) and \* Or,  
an Inscription thereon, which admonished Heaven.  
him, that by That he should Conquer.

HE called upon this God therefore in his  
prayers, entreating and beseeching him,  
that who ever he was, he would manifest him-  
self to him, and reach out his right hand [to  
his assistance] in his present affairs. Whilst  
the Emperor was putting up these Prayers and  
earnest Supplications, a most wonderful sign  
sent from God appeared. Which [sign,] had  
any other person given a Relation of it, would  
not easily have been <sup>a</sup> received as true. But  
since the † Victorious Emperor  
himself told it to us who write this  
History, a long while after, namely  
at such time as we were vouchsafed  
his knowledge and converse; and con-  
firmed his Relation with an || oath; || Or,  
who will hereafter doubt of giving Oaths.  
credit to his Narrative? Espe-  
cially, when the succeeding \* Times  
gave an evident attestation to this  
Relation. <sup>b</sup> About the Meridian hours of the  
Sun when the day was declining, he said he saw  
with his own Eyes the Trophy of the Cross in the  
† Heavens, placed over the Sun,  
made up of Light, and an Inscription † Or,  
annexed to it containing these words, Heaven.

BY THIS CONQUER. And, that at  
the sight thereof, an amazement seized both  
him and all his Military Forces, which followed  
him as he was making a Journey some whither,  
and were spectators of the Miracle.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινῆς ἡλίου ὥρας ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινέσης.  
Nicephorus (book 7. chap. 29.) has expounded this place thus: ὡς γὰρ  
μεσημβρινὴν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἀποκλινέει τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐρεπῇ, τῇ ἡλίου ὥρῃ  
δυσμῶς κλινόντι, For being about noon on the march with his Army  
about him, the Sun verging towards the West, &c. So also Portesius  
has rendered Eusebius's words: Sub meridiem (says he) inclinante  
jam die, about noon, the day now declining. But perhaps the whole  
clause is to be continued in one breath, and the words of Eusebius  
to be construed in this manner, τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινέσης ἀμφὶ μεση-  
μβρινῆς ὥρας, when the day was now verging towards noon. Which in-  
terpretation is favoured by Zonaras, who giving an account of this  
Vision in the Gesta of Constantine, says it appeared μεσσημέρας ἡμέρας,  
at mid-day. Indeed, in the King's and Eusebian Manuscripts, there  
is no Comma after the word ὥρας, but only after the word ἀποκλινέσης  
a Comma is set. And yet in Socrates (book 1. chap. 2) who wrote  
out these words of Eusebius, after the word ὥρας, is set a Comma.  
Therefore Christophorson at both places renders it thus circiter meri-  
diem, die jam in pomeridianum tempus aliquantulum inclinante, about  
noon, the day now declining somewhat towards the afternoon. Which  
to me seems foolish, For ἀποκλινέουσα ἡμέρα cannot be said, but  
when the day declines towards the Evening, that is, after the ninth  
hour of the day, as Nicephorus rightly took it. But how can that  
agree with the preceding words ἀμφὶ τῆς μεσημβρινῆς, &c? For  
'tis the same as if you should say, about noon towards the evening.  
Some one will perhaps say, that by these last words ἀποκλινέσης  
ἡμέρας Eusebius would mean, that that Vision was shown to Con-  
stantine a little after noon. For the Sun going from the Meridian  
Point, afterwards by degrees verges into the West. But if Eusebius  
thought so, what need was there of so many words? For he might  
have expressed himself with more brevity, thus μεσσημέρας ὥρῃ τῆς  
ἡμέρας, it being now mid-day. Besides, Eusebius has said it in the  
plural number, ἀμφὶ τῆς μεσημβρινῆς ὥρας, that it might appear,  
that he meant not the sixth hour, but that whole space of hours  
which is ascribed to noon, to wit from the fifth hour to the ninth.  
Wherefore, I am induced to be of this opinion, that that Vision was  
presented to Constantine about the ninth hour of the day, whilst he  
was making a journey in company with his Army. And this is  
plainly confirmed by the following words. For Eusebius adds that  
Constantine being amazed after the Vision, whilst he was musing of  
many things within his own mind, night came on. Whence it ap-  
pears, that that Vision appeared to Constantine and his Soldiers  
not



not long before night. In the *Eleventh Book of the Historia Miscellan.* where this passage of *Eusebius* is produced, this rendition of it occurs, *circa meridiem, declinante jam sole, about noon, the Sun now declining.* Valef.

CHAP. XXIX.

*That God's Christ appeared to him in his sleep, and ordered him to make use of a Standard made in the form of a Cross, in his Wars.*

Moreover, he began to doubt with himself, as he said, what the meaning of this Apparition should be. But whilst he was revolving it in his mind, and very intent in his thoughts upon it, on a sudden night came on. At which time [as he said,] the Christ of God appeared to him when asleep, with that sign which had been shown him in the Heavens; and ordered him to get a Standard made in imitation of that he had seen in the Heaven which he should use as a salutary defence in his Engagements with his Enemies.

CHAP XXX.

*The making of that Standard framed in the fashion of a Cross.*

As soon as it was day he arose, and declared the whole secret to his friends. Then he called together the Workers in Gold and pretious Stones, in the midst of whom he himself sat, and by discourse gave them a description of that \* Standard, and ordered them to express its likeness in Gold and precious Stones. Which [Standard] we our selves also hapned sometime to have a sight of.

\* Or, Sign.  
The verb *συνέβη* hapned is to be added, which I found written at the margin of *Moræus's* Copy. In the *King's Sheets* this place is supplied at the margin in this manner; *αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, Θεὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον, ἡξίωσε, the Emperor himself, God having bestowed that also, vouchsafed [us a sight of it.]* And so *Sr Henry Savil* and *Christophorson* read. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* this place is written thus, *ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ συνέβη παραλαβεῖν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c.* as above. But, the one of these expressions is superfluous. For either the verb *συνέβη* must be expunged; or else those words *αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c.* must be left out. Unless you will read as *Sr Henry Savil* did, *αὐτὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς, &c.* For the Emperor himself, God having bestowed that also, vouchsafed us a sight of it. Valef.

CHAP. XXXI.

*A description of the Standard made in fashion of a Cross, which the Romans do now term The Labarum.*

It was made in this form. A very long Spear overlaid with Gold, had a piece like a Sail-yard laid overthwart it, framed in fashion of a Cross. Above, on the very top of the finis, and *Christophorson* have rendred it *Cornu, a Horn*; whereas they ought to have translated it *antennam, i. e. a cross piece like that whereto a Sail is fixed, or, the Sail-yard.* Valef.

Spear, was fixt a Crown, made up of precious Stones and Gold. In this Crown was the Symbol of the Salutary Appellation, to wit, two Letters representing the name of Christ, [which they] denoted by the first Characters, the letter *Rho* being cut thorow in its middle part. Which two letters the Emperor was wont to wear in his Helmet, though [he embraced that usage] in the times which succeeded these matters. Further, from the Cross-piece fixed athwart the Spear, was hung a kind of a \* Flag, to wit, a \* Or, purple cloth, covered with a variety of pretious Stones joyned one with another, which dazled mens eyes with the Rays of their Light; and being interwoven with much Gold, presented those that viewed it with an inexpressible kind of Beauty. This Flag, hung at the Cross-piece, had a length exactly equal to its breadth. But, the upright Staff of the Spear, from its lowest part was extended to a very great length, and in its upper part, under the Trophy of the Cross, at the very top of the Flag embroidered with a variety of colours, it bore a Golden Picture of the Pious Emperor, as far as his breast, and [a representation] likewise of his children. This salutary Standard the Emperor always made use of as a defence against the opposed Forces of all Enemies whatever; and he gave order, that other Standards made like to this should be carried at the head of all his Armies.

after, the same Copy and *Turnebus* read *παρεῖχε*, not *παρέχον*. Valef.  
By these words *Eusebius* shews, that that Flag or Sail was square. For an equal measure of length and breadth, does necessarily make a square figure. Indeed, in the old Coyns of *Constantine* and the following Princes, this Flag is to be seen in that figure I have mentioned. *Christophorson* therefore has rendred this place ill, in this manner. *Istud igitur velamen ad cornu affixum, longitudinis latudinisque crucis mensuram penitus exaequavit.* Valef.

The meaning is, that that Spear from its basis to the Antenna, or Cross-piece fixed athwart it, was far longer, than from the Antenna, to its very top. And this also may be discerned in the Coyns. This place may likewise have another meaning, viz. that that Spear was of a very great length from its bottom to the top. Valef.  
It must be written *τοῦ διαγερμένου*, that is *Painted or Embroidered with a variety of Colours*. For, that purple Flag which hung at the Antenna, was adorned with Gold and various sorts of Stones. But, I can't imagine what *Christophorson* meant who has rendred these words of *Eusebius* in this manner, *ad textura discurrentis fimbrias*: unless he read *διατέλλον* instead of *διαγερμένον*. Valef.

CHAP. XXXII.

*That Constantine becoming a Catechumen, read the Sacred Scriptures.*

BUT these things [were done] a little afterwards. But being then amazed at that wonderful Vision, after he had taken a resolution of worshipping no other God but him whom he had seen, he sent for those persons that were skilled in the Mysteries of His Doctrine; and enquired of them what that God was, and what the Vision of that Sign meant.

or *ἄδνα ἕτερον*, no other. *Sr Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it *ἄδ' ἕτερον θεόν*: the *Fuketian Manuscript* has it *ἄδ' ἕτερον θεόν*. Valef.

At this place *Eusebius* seems to have made use of *μύσας* instead of *μυστηρια*. For there is no doubt but he means the Bishops: because a little after he adds these words, *καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ ἱερεὺς παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρους, &c.* and having made those Prelates of God his Assessors, &c. Valef.

\* Or, What was the meaning of that Sign of the Vision which appeared.



They affirmed that he was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: but that that sign which had been shown him, was the Symbol of immortality, and the Trophy of that Victory, which he, when heretofore conversant on the earth, had obtained over Death. They likewise taught him the causes of his Advent, and expounded to him the accurate account of his Incarnation. He gave them attention, being desirous of information in those matters. But he was taken up with an admiration of that appearance of God which had been exhibited to his sight. And when he had compared that Celestial Vision with the interpretation given of it by the discourses of the Bishops, he was strengthened in mind; and became fully persuaded, that the knowledge of these matters was delivered to him by the ministration of God himself. From thence forward he resolved to apply himself to the reading of the Divine Books; and having made those Prelates of God his Assessors, was of opinion, that that God whom he had seen, was to be worshipped with all imaginable observancy. After this, being fortified with good hopes placed in Him, he undertook to extinguish \* the fire of Tyrannick Fury.

\* Or, *The Menace of Tyrannick fire.* order to the salvation of Men, that is comprehended in the term *οικονομία*. Therefore *Christopherson's* rendition of this Place is not good, who has turned it thus, *Christi inter homines œconomiam; the œconomie of Christ among Men.* Nor does *κατ' ἀνθρώπους* signify amongst Men, but rather agreeable to men, that is, in an humane manner and fashion. So *Gregorius Nissenus* in his Epistle to Eustathia and Ambrosia; *ἀλλ' ἐὶς ὁσίωντος ἔχον, καὶ περὶ τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπων οἰκονομίας, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ κατ' ἑαυτὸν.* Valef.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

*Concerning the Adulteries committed by Maxentius at Rome.*

FOR he who by Tyranny had possessed himself of the Imperial City, was arrived at that height of impiety and wickedness, that no audacious fact, no filthy and impure practises were omitted by him. For he parted the Wives, from their Husbands, to whom they had been legally married; and having debauch'd them, in a most dishonourable manner sent them back to their Husbands. Nor did he in this wise insult over and abuse obscure Persons, and those of mean quality, but even such as filled the eminentest places in the Roman Senate. But although he vitiated almost infinite numbers of free Women in a most shameful manner, yet could he in no wise satiate the immoderate and intemperate [Lust of] his own mind. But, after he began [to sollicite] Christian Women, He could by no arts of his own bring it about, [that he might enjoy their Embraces.]

*Sheets* this place is supplied at the margin in this manner; *τὰς κατ' ὅμουν γυναῖκας, αὐτοῖς ἐνυβρίζων διαχευόμενος, &c.* In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written thus, *διαζέχοντες γὰρ τοὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰς ἀνδρῶν, &c.* Moreover, having parted Wives from their Husbands, he sent them back to their Husbands. Valef.

\* *Καὶ ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ τε ἡν.* The first word must be expunged. But the following words are maimed and corrupted, which 'tis hard to make good without the Assistance of the Manuscript Copies. Yet it may be read in this manner, *ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ τε ἡν ἐμπεῖν τοῖς οὐκ ἐκείνῳ ἀσπληγέσιν ἐκινεῖν, he was unable to find out a satiety or satisfaction for his own Lusts.* A little after this, the reading in the *Fuketian* and *Sr Henry Savil's Copy* is, *δύστην γὰρ τῶν, &c.* For they chose sooner, &c. Valef.

For they chose sooner to expose their lives to death, than suffer their Bodies to be violated by him.

must, as I think be written *θανάτῳ, to death.* For so our *Eusebius* expresses himself in book 8. chap. 14. where he treats concerning the wickedness of *Maximus*; *αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ φθορῇ ἐλαχίσται, δύνανται ὑποχρῆσθαι θανάτῳ, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδεδωκέναι, others, baled away to be ravished, were more ready to part with their lives, than yield up their Bodies to be defiled.* Valef.

### CHAP. XXXIV.

*How the Præfect's Wife, that she might preserve her Chastity, laid violent Hands on her self.*

ONE of these Women, Wife of a Personage of the Senatorian Order in that City, who bore the *Præfecture*, when she understood that those [Guards,] which the Tyrant made use of as his Ministers in such wickednesses, were standing before her House, (this Woman was a Christian;) and knew, that her Husband, out of fear, had given them order to take her, and carry her away [to the Tyrant;] having requested that a short space of time might be allowed her, wherein she might adorn her Body in her usual dress, she went into her Chamber. And being left alone, she sheathed a Sword in her own Breast. And expiring immediately hereupon, she left her dead Body indeed to those that came to conduct her [to the Tyrant.] But, by this act of hers, which resounds far more than any voice, she has manifested to all men that now are and shall be in future Ages, that Chastity [a Vertue] so famous amongst Christians, is the only thing that is invincible, and which cannot be destroyed. Thus this Woman behaved her self.

### CHAP. XXXV.

*The Slaughter of the People of Rome by Maxentius.*

ALL Persons therefore, both the Comonalty and the Magistracy, as well the Honourable as the Obscure, stood in great fear of him, [when they beheld] him audaciously perpetrating such impieties as these; and were sorely afflicted with his intolerable Tyranny. And although they were quiet, and patiently bore the austere servitude [they were oppressed with;] yet none could so avoid the Bloody Cruelty of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he exposed the People of Rome to the slaughter of his own Guards. And so, innumerable multitudes of the Roman people (not *Scythians*, nor *Barbarians*, but his own Citizens,) were killed with Spears and all manner of Weapons, in the midst of the City. Moreover, 'tis impossible to enumerate how many slaughters were committed of those that were Senators, to the end a seizure might be made of each Persons Estate; infinite numbers of them being put to death at several times, for various Crimes framed [against them.]



## C H A P. XXXVI.

Maxentius's Magick Arts against Constantine; and the scarcity of Provisions at Rome.

**A**T length, as the Complement of his Impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [Exercise] the delusions of *Magick Art*: sometimes ripping up Women great with Child; other-whiles searching into the Bowels of new-born Infants: He also † killed Lyons, and performed some other Horrid Rites, to call forth the *Dæmons*, and repel the approaching War. For he hoped, that by these performances he should obtain Victory. Whilst he Tyrannized therefore in this manner at *Rome*, 'tis impossible to relate what mischievous facts he perpetrated, and [how miserably] he enslaved his Subjects: in so much that, they were reduced to such extream penury and want of necessary sustenance, \* as ('tis recorded by those of our times,) never happened at *Rome*, nor any where else.

† Or, Sacrificed.

\* Or, As those of our age do record never to

have happened at Rome, or any where else.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

The overthrow of Maxentius's Armies in Italy.

**B**UT *Constantine*, moved with compassion at all these [calamities of the *Romans*,] furnished himself with all manner of Military provisions against the Tyranny. And when he had procured the supream God to be his Patron, and invoked His [Son] *Christ* to be his Saviour and Assistant; and had set up the Victorious Trophy, to wit, the salutary Standard, before his Soldiers and Guards, he began his march with his whole Army, that by his intervention he might restore to the *Romans* the Liberties they had received from their Ancestors. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick \* Impostures, than in the Love and Affection of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City Gates; but with a multitude of Soldiers, and with innumerable Bodies of Men laid in Ambushes, had fortified every place, Region, and City, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny. But the Emperour [*Constantine*] depended upon Divine assistance, and having attacked the Tyrant's first, second, and third Body, and with ease routed them all at the very first charge, he opened himself a passage into the greatest part of the Country of *Italy*.

\* Or, Devices.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Maxentius's Death on the Bridge of the River Tiber.

**A**ND he had now made his approaches very near to *Rome* it self. But least he should be constrained to assault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant (as it were with Cords) a great way out of the Gates: and effectually confirmed the

truth of those Miracles (\* Recorded in the everlasting Monuments of the Sacred Scriptures, which though they are accounted fabulous by many Persons, and are not credited, are nevertheless believed by the Faithful;) he had wrote in times past against the wicked, all in general, Believers as well as Infidels, who with their own eyes saw this Miracle we are about to relate. For, as heretofore in the days of *Moses* and the old religious Nation of the *Jews*, God cast the Chariots of *Pharaoh* and his Army into the Sea, and drowned his Chosen Captains in the Red-Sea: after the same manner *Maxentius* with the Soldiers and Guards that were about him, were cast into the deep like a stone; at such time as, having been put to flight by that Divine power which gave assistance to *Constantine's* Arms, he would have past the River that was in the way before him. Over which he having laid a Bridge of Boats well fastened together, had thereby framed an Engine of destruction against himself, being in hopes that the [Emperour] beloved by God might have been caught in this snare: but the God whom he worshipped was present with, and gave him his assistance. But the wretched *Maxentius*,

deprived of his aid, framed these secret machines against himself. On which account these words may be pertinently spoken of him; wherefore, \* *He hath graven and digged up a pit, and is fallen himself into the destruction that he hath made. His travel shall come upon his own head, and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.* Thus therefore, by God's assent, the Machines

<sup>b</sup> O <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> 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<sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <



## CHAP. XXXIX.

## Constantine's Entry into Rome.

**A**fter *Constantine*, who at that time imitated that Great servant of God *Moses*, had in reality sung these and other such like Hymns as these, in praise of God the Governour of all things, and the Authour of Victory; he made his entry into the Imperial City in Triumph. And immediately all Persons, as well those of the *Senatorian* as them of the *Equestrian Order* in that City, being freed from the confinement of a Prison as 'twere, together with the whole *Roman* Populace, received him with a joy in their \* Countenances that proceeded from their very Souls, with acclamations and a gladness insatiable. And the Men, together with the Women, Children, and infinite numbers of Servants, stiled him a Redeemer, a Saviour, and a Benefactor, with Voices that could not be silenced. But he, posselt of a Piety towards God naturally implanted in him, was neither swelled with pride at these Shouts, nor elevated at these commendations. But being sensible of that assistance which God had given him, he forthwith rendred a Thanksgiving to the Authour of his Victory.

\* Or, Eyes.

## CHAP. XL.

## Concerning the Statue of Constantine which held a Cross; and concerning its Inscription.

**A**ND with a Loud Voice and by Inscriptions He made known to all Men the Salutory Standard by erecting this Great Trophy against his Enemies in the midst of the Imperial City, <sup>b</sup> and plainly Engraving this Salutory Standard, which is the preservative of the Roman Government and of the Empire of the whole World, with indelible Characters. He issued out therefore an immediate order, that an high Spear made in the form of a Cross, should be placed under the hand of his own likeness exprest in a Statue set up in the most publick and frequented place of the City *Rome*, and that this very inscription in the Latine Tongue should be cut upon it: [thus Englished;]

Further, at these words I began a new chapter, following the Authority of the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*; to which agree the *old Sheets*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Διαρρήδην ὅ. The reading is truer in the *Panegyrick*, Διαρρήδην τε, and by plainly Engraving, &c. A little after this, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts* add a word in this manner, φυλακτικὸν ἀποδείξεον, which he hath demonstrated to be the preservative, &c. Valef.

BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN WHICH IS THE COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT. AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANCIENT SPLENDOUR AND DIGNITY.

|| Or, True Cognizance of Valour.

## CHAP. XLI.

## The rejoycings over the Provinces, and Constantine's Acts of Grace.

**T**HE Pious Emperour having in this manner adorned himself with the Confession of the Victorious Cross, with all imaginable freedom of Speech made known the Son of God to the Romans. And all Persons inhabiting the City, as well the Senate as the People, in regard they had been eased of a bitter and Tyrannick Government, seemed in their own judgments to enjoy purer Rays of light, and to \* enter upon \* Or, Par- a certain new life as 'twere. All those Nations <sup>take of a</sup> also which are bounded with the Western Ocean, <sup>Regenera-</sup> freed from those mischiefs wherewith they had <sup>tion of a</sup> been before oppressed, celebrated Festivals with <sup>fresh and</sup> the greatest cheerfulness, and continued to applaud [Constantine, and give him the Titles of] *Victour*, *Pious*, and *The Common Benefactor*. And with one voice and one mouth, all Persons acknowledged he was a Common Good \* bestowed on Men by God's favour \* Or, and benignity. Moreover, the Emperour's <sup>Shown to</sup> Letters were fix'd up in all places, which al- <sup>|| Or, Edited</sup> lowed an enjoyment of their own Estates to <sup>was</sup> those who had had their Goods taken from them, and recalled to their own Houses such as had undergone an unjust Exile. And those Persons were freed from Bonds, all manner of danger, and fear, who by a Tyrannick Cruelty had lain under these sufferings.

## CHAP. XLII.

## The Honours conferred on the Bishops, and the Building of the Churches.

**M**oreover, the Emperour personally invited God's Ministers to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest <sup>a</sup> Veneration and Honour; to whom he gave a kind and courteous Reception, as well by deeds as words, in regard they were Persons consecrated to his God. There were admitted therefore to his own Table, Men who as to their outward <sup>b</sup> Garb indeed and Dress seemed despicable, but they were not accounted such by him: For he was not for viewing the outside of a Man, which is visible to the eyes, <sup>c</sup> but was pleased to look upon God himself, <sup>Copy had</sup> mended it, *θεραπεύειν καὶ πνεῦμα*, &c. and so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. In the *King's Sheets* the adverb *ὡς* is blotted out, and in its place *αὐτὸν* them is written above. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τὴν γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀεὶ βολῆ. At this place *ἡμῶν* signifies not the countenance and form, as *Christophorus* thought; but the Garb and Dress. Wherefore I have exprest both in my Rendition; which I afterwards found had been done by *Portesius* also. The Garb and Dress of Prelates was at that time very mean, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests in his 27th Book, where he speaks concerning *Damasus* and *Ursinus*. *Gregory Nazianzen* also, in the Funeral Oration he wrote concerning the praises of *Basilus*, says that he, whilst he was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, was clad in a mean Cloak, which he terms *ῥάκη*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐποπιδεῖν ἔδοκεν. In the *King's Sheets* this place is supplied in the Margin, in this manner, τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἑκάστῳ πρὸς ἑκάστην ἐποπιδεῖν ἔδοκεν, but was pleased to behold God honoured in each person. But the reading is shorter in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts* thus, τὸν θεὸν ἐποπιδεῖν ἔδοκεν αὐτὸν, but was pleased, or, thought good to look upon God himself. Valef.

And



And these Persons he carried a long with him, which way so ever he made a journey; being fully perswaded, that that God whom they worshipped, would<sup>a</sup> for this very reason be propitious to him. Moreover, he gave very \* large and plentiful † Benefactions to the Churches of God out of his own Treasury; partly enlarging the Oratories, and raising them to an height; and partly adorning the august || Sacra-  
ria of the Churches with many consecrated Gifts.  
† Or, Chapels; or, Vestries of the Church.

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Constantine's Beneficence towards the Poor.

<sup>a</sup> In the King's and Fukeian MSS. and in the old Sheets, the Chapter begins at these words. Valef. <sup>b</sup> Καὶ τοῖς ἑσθέρ. He means the Heathens, who were ἑσθέραι without the Church. And this is confirmed from the following Chapter, where his words are these; Καὶ οὕτως ἡν παύσῃ τοῖς ἑσθέραις, ὅτι τῇ ἐκ- κλησίᾳ, such was his behavi- our to wards all persons in general. But his, &c. The like expres- sion we meet with in Book 2. at the close of the 21. and begin- ning of the 22 Chapters. Valef. <sup>c</sup> Ταῖς γαμμέναις. Christopherson renders it ill, married: for, not those that are married, but them who are marrying bring a Portion to their Husbands. The same Christopherson has committed the like mistake; in rendering the word τελευτώντας dead, as we have noted at Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Book 10. Chap. 8. Note (c.) Valef. <sup>d</sup> Ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου, ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου; which words Valefius renders thus, ac cum cœlesti solis fubarē quodammodo exorients, and rising in a manner with a celestial beam of the Sun. <sup>e</sup> In the King's Manuscript, at the side of these words, this mark is set, ὡς, which mark seems to me to denote, ὡς αὐτὸς λόγος seu τὸν, an elegant expression, or, places Valef. <sup>f</sup> Καλοκαρδίας. Eusebius uses this term to signifie benignity or bene- ficence. So he has also used this word in the tenth book of his Hist. Valef.

CHAP. XLIV.

How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

Such was his behaviour towards all Persons in general. But his care of the Church of God was signal and eminent: [For] when some Persons in several Provinces differed one with another; like some Common Bishop constituted by God, he convened Synods of God's Ministers: Nor disdained he to be present and sit with them in the midst of their Congress; but made himself an Associate in reference to the matters inquired into, and ministred to all Persons those things which have relation to the peace of God. Further, he sate in the midst of them, as one amongst many; and would send off his Protectors, his Armed Men, and all the Guards of his Body; but he was covered with the fear of God, and surrounded with the dearest affection of his Faithful friends. And when he perceived any Persons inclinable to acquiesce in an opinion that was sounder and better, and disposed to a quiet and agreeing temper of Mind; he approved highly of such Men, and shewed himself extraordinarily pleased at the unanimous consent of all. But he had an aversion for those that were opinionative and not to be perswaded.

towards the Emperour, as the Translators thought: but he styles the Christians so. For Constantine, in regard he was a most Religious Emperour, when ever he was present at the Councils of Bishops, was wont to send off all his Guards, and took with him only those of his Courtiers, who had been instructed in the mysteries of the Christian Faith. Valef.

CHAP. XLV.

In what manner he bore with the \* Mad-men.

Moreover, he patiently bore with some Persons who were exasperated<sup>a</sup> against him; commanding such Men in expressions that were sedate and mild, to behave themselves with prudence and modesty, and not to raise Seditions. Some of these People, revering his admonitions, desisted [from being obstinate and perverse.] But he let alone others of them, who were incurable in reference to their being brought to a soundness of mind, and committed them to God; having at no time designed any thing of severity against any one of them. Hence it happened, (as 'tis probable,) that<sup>b</sup> those who had raised a Sedition in the Region of the Africans, proceeded to such an height of wickedness, that they attempted some audacious facts; the Devil (as 'tis likely,) envying that plenty of the present blessings, and inciting those Men to absurd practices, that he might incense the mind of the Emperour against them.

<sup>a</sup> That is, The Donatists. <sup>b</sup> Κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τερ- χνωμένον, exaspera- ted against them. Doubtless it must be written κατ' αὐτὸν against him, as the reading is in the Kings and Fukeian Manuscripts: which e- mendation I found written al- so in Mo- rans's Co- py. In the old Sheets likewise 'tis mended in the same hand. Valef. <sup>c</sup> He means the Donatists, of whose boldness and insolence many passages occur in Optatus and Augustinus. Concerning the beginning and progress of which Schism throughout Africa, we have made many remarks not taken notice of by others, and have designedly placed them at the close of these notes. Valef. See Valefius's notes on Eusebius, pag. 289, &c. <sup>d</sup> In the Kings Sheets, this place is thus supplied in the Margin, ὡς ἡνὶ πνεύματι ὡς ἡνὶ δαίμονι; some wicked devil (as 'tis likely;) which is more elegant. Valef.



But he reapt no advantage by his envy; in regard the Emperour accounted what was done to be <sup>a</sup> ridiculous, and affirmed that he acknowledged it the incitation of the Devil. For [he said] that those were not the actions of sober Persons, but of such as were either altogether Mad-Men, or stimulated by the wickedest of Devils: which sort of People ought to be pitied, rather than punish'd. [For it would not be done by such an height of justice to be incited] <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their condition.

laughter, but animadversion rather. For, both the sanctity of Religion, and the authority likewise of the Emperour himself, were most insolently trampled on by those Persons. But perhaps Eusebius at this place meant only those matters which had a reference to the contempt of the Imperial Majesty. For Constantine could dissemble those things, and might think them worthy of laughter, rather than trouble of mind. But he was resolved most severely to revenge what those Donatists did against God and the observancy of the Catholick Law, and on that design determined to pass over into Africk, as he himself writes in his Letter to Celsus Vicar of Africa. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Προς τὴν τῶν ἀφρογόντων. Before these words is to be set an Asterisk. For some words are wanting, which in my judgment may be supplied in this manner: ἔ γδ ποσῶτον δικαιοσύνης ὑπεβολὴν εἶναι τὸ ἐρεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τῆς τῶν, &c. which we have express in our Version. Christopherson and Sir Henry Savil made good this place otherwise in the Kings Sheets this place is thus made up in the Margin; αὐτὸν δ' οὐ μὲν εἶχε τρεῖς μὲν πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἀφρογόντων μαρίας, But, that he would in no wise inflict punishment on the fury of Mad-Men. But the words immediately following do reject this conjecture. In the Eusebian Manuscript this place is written thus; ὅσον γδ τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπεβολὴν φιλανθρωπίας ποσῶτον τὸ κολάζειν, ἀνδρῶν ἀφρογόντων ἀνοίας εἶναι, καὶ ἔ φρογόντων ὁρῶν. The same also is the reading in Turnebus's, and Sir Henry Savil's Copy. But this reading seems to me to have issued from the conjecture of the Transcriber. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVI.

### His Victories over the Barbarians.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀτρέστον. ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τοιαύτην, made an invulnerable provision for his Churches. Although this term ἀτρέστον may besit-

Thus the Emperour in all his Actions worshipped God the Inspector of all things, and <sup>a</sup> with an indefatigable sollicitude made provision for his Churches. But God rewarded him, and subdued almost all Barbarous Nations under his feet; in so much that he erected Trophies in all places against his Enemies. He proclaimed him Conquerour amongst all Men; and rendred him formidable to his Enemies and adversaries; although naturally he was no such Man; <sup>b</sup> but rather the mildest, meekest, and most compassionate personage of all Mortals what ever.

ly made out concerning Constantine, whose mind could never be exultated and provok'd by the madness of the Donatists and other Heretics of the same stamp; yet, at this place I had rather write ἀτρέστον. For, in my judgment, it cannot well be said, ἀτρέστον ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, he made an invulnerable Provision. But on the contrary, the term ἀτρέστον will be used most elegantly: that is, he made indefatigable Provision, &c. So in book 2. chap. 14. αὐτὸν οὐ κοιῶν φρονίμως, he exercised a sleepless or watchful care over the publick. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡμετέριον τε. It must be written ἡμετέριον δὲ, but rather the me dest; as 'tis in the King's and Eusebian Manuscripts. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVII.

### The Death of Maximin and others, whose Plots Constantine discovered, God making them known to him.

<sup>a</sup> He means Maximianus Herc-

IN the interim that he was doing these things, the <sup>a</sup> second of those two Persons who had resigned the Empire, framed a design to cut off

Constantine; and being discovered, ended his life by a most ignominious death. And <sup>b</sup> this was the first Person, whose Pictures, Statues, and what ever other Monuments are usually erected in honour of the Emperours, were defaced and thrown down in all parts of the World, in regard he was an impious and wicked wretch. After this Man, other Persons also related to him, who were contriving secret Plots [against Constantine,] were detected; God himself in a most miraculous manner being the discoverer of all their designs to his Servant, by Visions. For he frequently vouchsafed him his own presence, the Divine Likeness appearing to him in a most wonderful manner, and suggesting to him all manner of foreknowledge in relation to future affairs. Indeed, the Miracles [shown him] by Divine Grace, are inexpressible; nor is it possible for a Narrative to comprehend, what great blessings God himself vouchsafed to afford his Servant. With which he was surrounded, and spent the residue of his life in Repose and Safety; highly pleased at the benevolence and good affection of his Subjects; rejoycing because he saw all those under his Government leading peaceable and chearful lives; but above all, extraordinarily delighted with the splendour and flourishing condition of God's Churches.

true, Eusebius hath committed a most foul mistake here, in relating Hercules's death after the Victory over Maxentius: when as 'tis certain, that Maximianus Hercules ended his life two years before the defeat and destruction of Maxentius, on the year of Christ 310. But who can believe, that Eusebius, who was contemporary with these times, could have been guilty of so great a mistake? Besides, the Title of this chapter gives us the name, not of Maximianus, but of Maximinus. Therefore, I am easily induced to believe, that this place is corrupted, and that it ought to be mended thus, ἢ εἰς βασιλείαν πρὸς χειρὸς τῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀποδεχόμενος ὁ δεύτερος, the second of those persons that were chosen into the Empire by those who had resigned the Government: that so, Maximinus may be meant here, who together with Severus was made Caesar by Dioclesian and Maximian, at such time as they resigned their Purple, as Idatius writes in his Fasti. And thus the order of the times will proceed right in Eusebius. For Maximinus ended his life after the overthrow of Maxentius, and by a most ignominious sort of death too, as Eusebius relates, Eccles. Hist. book 9. chap. 10. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Πρὸς τὴν τέτατον. I read πρὸς τὴν τέτατον, this was the first person; from book 8. chap. 13. of his Eccles. History; where this whole place occurs almost in the same words. Further, what Eusebius says happened first of all to Maximianus Hercules, that his Pictures and Statues should in all places be thrown down, ought not to seem strange to any one. For we must understand this in the same manner, as where he tells us that Constantius Chlorus was the first Emperour that was deified. He means he was the first of those Emperours which he had seen. But if any one had rather understand these words concerning Maximinus, he has Eusebius to defend his Opinion, who in the last chapter of his ninth book attests in express words, that all Maximin's Statues and Pictures were broken after his death. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

### The Celebration of Constantine's Decennalia.

WHilst he was in this condition, the Tenth year of his Empire was completed. On which account he celebrated publick and solemn Festivals, and put up Thanksgivings, like some pure sacrifices without fire and smoak, to God the supream King. With which [Holy Exercises] he was highly delighted; but [he was not so well pleased] with the account brought him by those Messengers, from whom he received advice, concerning the Ruine of the Provinces in the East.



## CHAP. XLIX.

*In what manner Licinius afflicted the East.*

\* At these words a chapter is begun in the Fuke-tian Manuscript, and in the old Sheets. Valef.

**F**OR, a certain Savage Beast, he was told, had beset both the Church of God there, and the rest of the Provincials also; the most impure Devil, enraged with emulation as 'twere, striving to do the quite contrary to those things performed by the pious Emperour. In so much that, the Roman Empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to be like the night and the day. For, a darkness involved the Inhabitants of the East: but a most bright day enlightned those who dwelt in the \* Western parts. Whose enjoyment of those innumerable Blessings procured them by God, was an intolerable spectacle to the Envy of the Devil that hater of good: nor did the Tyrant, who oppressed the other part of the world, think that fit to be born with. Who seeing the affairs of his Empire succeeding prosperously, and being vouchsafed an affinity by marriage to so great an Emperour as *Constantine* was, relinquished the imitation of that pious Prince, and strove to embrace the instructions and wicked Morals of the Impious. And he made it his business, rather to follow their advices, whose calamitous end he had been an eye-witness of, than <sup>b</sup> to continue in a friendship and amity with him that was his Better.

\* Or, Orber part.

<sup>b</sup> This place must be made up from chapter 8 book 10. of his Eccles. History; whence also the following chapter is to be mended. Valef.

## CHAP. L.

*In what manner Licinius attempted to frame Treacheries against Constantine.*

\* Or, Traitorous.

**H**E raises therefore an \* irreconcilable War against his Benefactor; without calling to mind the Laws of friendship; not considering his Oaths, his affinity, or the Leagues [that were between them.] For, the most Benigne [*Constantine*,] that he might give him the surest evidence of his sincere Benevolence and affection, made him partaker of his own paternal Lineage, and of that Imperial blood he drew from his Ancestours, by matching his Sister to him; and permitted him to enjoy the Colleague-ship of the whole Roman Empire. But *Licinius's* thoughts were contrary hereto, being taken up in contriving Machinations and ill-designs against his Better; inventing various sorts of \* Treacheries successively, that with mischiefs he might reward his Benefactor. And at the beginning he pretended friendship, and performed all things with deceit and fraud; hoping that his audacious designs might be kept concealed. But God discovered those Treacheries of his, hatch'd in darkness, to his Servant [*Constantine*.] Whereupon *Licinius*, because detected in his first attempts, betook himself to second frauds; sometimes pretending friendship; at others, procuring himself belief [by the Religion] of Oaths and Leagues: then on a sudden he would violate what he had agreed to; and again, would crave pardon by an Embassie; after which he would render himself infamous by Lyes. But at

\* Or, Menaces.

length he proclaimed open War; and, instigated by a desperate madness of mind, took a resolution in future to bear Arms against God himself, of whom he well knew the Emperour [*Constantine*] was a Worshipper.

## CHAP. LI.

*Licinius's Treacheries against the Bishops, and his prohibitions of Synods.*

**A**ND in the first place, with great closeness and subtlety he made strict inquiry into those Ministers of God that lived under his Dominions, who had never committed any Crime against his Government; by hunting out Various Calumnies against them. And when he could not furnish himself with any the least offence of theirs, nor had [any pretext] wherewith he might blame these men; he issued forth a Law, whereby he commanded, that the Bishops should in no wise \* confer one with another in any place whatever, nor should it be Lawful for any one of them to go into the Church of his neighbour; nor to convene Synods, nor Councils; or to consult about matters that were useful and advantageous. Now, this gave him an occasion of vexing and disquieting us. For, if those of our Religion transgress that Law of his, they were obliged to undergo punishment; but, if they paid an obedience to this his Order, of necessity they must enervate the Laws of the Church. For, 'tis impossible that the more momentous † Controversies should by any other means be composed and rectified, than by Synods. And thus this [Tyrant] highly odious to God, because he studied in all things to contradict the pious Emperour, issued out such Orders as these [in reference to us *Christians*.] For *Constantine* called together God's Priests, in a honour to those consecrated persons, and for the promoting of mutual Peace and Concord. But *Licinius*, attempting to abrogate what ever was well constituted, endeavoured to || disturb the harmonious agreement [of the Churches.]

\* Or, Hold communion.

† Matters of consideration, or, debates.

|| Dissipate, or, tear in sunder.

τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἱερωμένον. And this reading I found in *Morant's* Copy also. But I had rather write, πρὸς τῇ ὁσῇ ἱερωμένον τιμῇ, in honour to those consecrated persons. For *Eusebius* gives reasons, why the Emperour *Constantine* would ever and anon convene Synods of Bishops. The first reason, says he, was, that he might give honour to God's Priests when assembled together. Secondly, that he might establish Peace and Concord amongst them. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* does usually term The Priests τὸ ἱερωμένον, as it frequently occurs in these books. But if, with *Turnebus*, we would rather read πρὸς τὸ ἱερωμένον, then it must be made τῇ τιμῇ, that the discourse may agree with what follows; and τὸ ἱερωμένον must be taken for Religion it self; which is more uncouth. For I had rather express it thus, τῇ πρὸς τῇ ἱερῇ νόμον τιμῇ, in honour to the sacred Law. Valef.

## CHAP. LII.

*The Banishments and Proscriptions of the Christians.*

**A**ND because *Constantine*, who was God's friend, vouchsafed the servants of God admission into his Imperial Palaces; the Enemy



<sup>a</sup> Eusebius in his *Chronicon*, at the fourteenth year of Constantine, says thus; *Licinius drives the Christians from his own Palace.* Oro-<sup>b</sup>sius says the same in book 7. but in a disturbed order of affairs and times, in regard he relates that before the *Cibalensis* War, which War hapned on the eighth year of Constantine's Empire. For there were two Civil Wars between Constantine and Licinius. The first War, wherein Licinius was vanquished at *Cibalix* in *Pannonia*, hapned on the year of Christ 314. The reasons of which War are Recorded by no other Writer, that I know of, but the *Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which I have long since published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*; see pag. 473. But the latter War was that, wherein Licinius was routed near *Hadrianople*, and at length compelled to a surrender of himself on the year of Christ 324. Eusebius has made no mention of the former War; for this reason perhaps, because Licinius as yet had not raised Persecution against the *Christians*. For Licinius undertook to persecute the *Christians* long after that first War, to wit on the fourteenth year of Constantine's Empire, as 'tis Recorded in *Scaliger's* and *Mireus's* Edition of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, that is on the year of Christ 320. The same year occurs in *Cedrenus's* *Chronicon*. But *Baronius* relates, that Licinius raised Persecution against the *Christians* on the year of Christ 316. But in *Baronius's* *Annals*, the History of both the Wars against Licinius is very much confused, and must be amended, partly from *Idatius's* *Fasts*, and partly from the *Gesta Constantini* heretofore published by me. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 7.) attests in express words, that Licinius undertook to persecute the *Christians* after the *Cibalensis* War. Valef.

\* Or, He Himself making use of himself as the Brand and Reproach of Nature. From these words a new Chapter ought to have been begun. For these words belong to Licinius's second Law. Farther, the expression *eis ἐκκλησίαν*, which occurs in the Contents of Chap. 53, seems to be faulty, and put instead of *eis ἐκκλησίαν*, in the Church. And yet 'tis strange, that both in the *King's* Manuscript, and in the old Sheets, the reading is constantly, *eis ἐκκλησίαν συναΐσαν*. Although in the old Sheets 'tis mended in the same hand, *eis ἐκκλησίαν καὶ συναΐσαν*. But in the *Fuketian* Manuscript 'tis excellently written thus, *eis ἐκκλησίαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ καὶ συναΐσαν*, should not meet in the Churches together with the men. Valef.

\* Or, He despaired of finding the Ornament of Chastity amongst men. *Valesius* thinks it should be written and pointed thus, *τὴν τῷ ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρῶντες φύσιν, ἐλεγχῶ κακῶ χρωμένους*; He despaired of the nature of men, making use of an ill argument.

### CHAP. LIII.

[Licinius's] Edict, that Women should not meet in the Churches together with the Men.

Wherefore, he made a second Law, wherein he gave Command, that the men should not be present at prayers [in the Church] of God together with the women: nor should womenkind frequent the Venerable Schools of Virtue: Lastly, that the Bishops should not deliver the Divine Precepts of Religion to women; but, that women should be made choice of, to be the Teachers of women. But whereas these things seemed Ridiculous to all

persons, he invented another device for the subversion of the Churches. For, he ordered, that the solemn Assemblies of the people should be held without the Gates, in the open fields; affirming, that the fresh air without the Gates was far more commodious for crouds, than the Oratories situate within the City.

### CHAP. LIV.

That he Cashiered from the Militia those who refused to Sacrifice; and forbad, that such as were shut up in Prisons should have any nourishment given them.

BUT when he perceived they would not obey him even in this; in future [he went to work] bare-fac'd [as we say,] and gave order, that the *Civil Milice* should be removed from their attendance upon the *Præsidial Office*, unless they were willing to sacrifice to *Dæmons*. The *Offices* therefore of Magistrates throughout every Province, were emptied of pious and religious persons. And he himself, who made this Law, was deprived of the prayers of holy men, which he had bereaved himself of. What need we, besides these things, make mention, in what manner he gave order, that no person should shew compassion to those afflicted in Prisons, by ministering food to them; nor, that any one should take commiseration of such as perished with Famine in their Bonds: (that is, that not so much as one good man should exist;) nor, that those who by nature it self are drawn to a compassion of their neighbours, should do any thing of good? Indeed, this was clearly the most impudent and unjustest of Laws, and far out-did the utmost ferity of Nature. To which Law there was a penalty also annexed, that they who shewed compassion, should suffer the same Inflictions with those to whom they shewed it; and that such as performed Offices of Humanity, should be lyable to punishment.

*ἔξ* is placed a Comma. *τάξεις* or *τάγματα* are Offices of Magistrates. For each Magistrate had his Office or Attendants. This Office was a certain Body of Officials or Souldiers, who attended on the Judges, as may be seen in the *Notitia* of the Roman Empire. These Offices the Greeks termed *τάξεις*, as I have long since remarked at the 26th book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 318 of my notes. The Old Glosses therefore are right, in explaining *τάξεις ἀρχόντων*, officium, apparitio. So *John Chrysostome* in his first Homily on the Epistle to the Corinthians; *ὅχι δεῖτε τὸν παῖδα, ὅταν παίζοντες τὰς παῖδας ἐν σπατιώταις, &c.* Don't you see children, how when at play they make a company of Apparitors or Attendants, and Officials, &c. Valef.

\* *Τὸν ἐκτὸς μνημονεύειν.* *Johannes Morinus*, a Learned person who has rendred these Books into French, thought that by *ἐκτὸς* here, the Gentiles or Heathens were meant; as if Eusebius had said, What need we make mention of the Heathens. See chap. 43. note (b.) But *Christophorson* renders *ἐκτὸς* *præterea*, besides; as if it 'twere the same with *ἐκτὸν ἐκτὸς*, in which manner Eusebius expresses himself at chap. 43. Valef. *Valesius* renders it in the same manner with *Christophorson*.

### CHAP. LV.

Concerning Licinius's Improbability and Avarice.

SUCH were Licinius's Constitutions. But, what need we reckon up his Innovations concerning Marriages? Or his new Laws in relation



tion to such as are ending their lives? Whereby he presumptuously abrogated the ancient, good, and wisely established *Roman* Laws, and instead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane [Ordinances.] Besides, he found out a thousand sorts of Exactions towards his Subjects. On which account, he invented \* *New Surveys* of Lands, that he might compute a small field to be greater in measure, because of his insatiable desire after unequal Exactions. For this reason, he enrolled in his *Censual Tables* the names of countrymen who were not alive, but had been dead long before; procuring to himself from hence a filthy and ignominious gain. For his fordidness had no measure; nor was his unsatiableness to be circumscribed by any Limit. Wherefore, when he had filled all his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and immense quantities of Riches, he sighed and lamented his Poverty; his mind being disquieted with the disease of † *Tantalus*. [Why should I mention] what punishments of Exile he inflicted on Innocent persons? What proscriptions of Goods? What Imprisonments of men well-descended and of eminent quality; whose young wives he delivered to some impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? How many married women, virgins, and young maids he himself attempted to force, though his Body was now rendred decrepit by age? 'Tis needless to enlarge upon these things, in regard the exorbitancy of his last Actions hath evinced his former to be trivial and in a manner nothing.

Or, Re-medu-rings.

† The punishment allotted him was, as we are told, to starve in the midst of plenty.

CHAP. LVI.

That at length he undertook the raising a Persecution [against the Christians.]

IN fine, he proceeded to that height of madness, that he armed himself against the Churches; and sets upon the Bishops, whom he accounted to be his chiefest Adversaries; and look'd upon them as Enemies, who were friends to the Pious and Great Emperour. On which account he sharpened his fury most especially against them, having forsaken <sup>a</sup> the way of sober and right reason. Nor did he take into consideration the memory of them, who had Persecuted the *Christians* before him, nor of those, whose Destroyer and Punisher he himself had been appointed, because of the height of those impieties at which they had arrived. Neither [did he reflect upon] what he had been an eye-witness of; then, when with his own eyes he beheld the <sup>b</sup> chief Author of [our] mischiefs, whosoever he was, smitten with a scourge sent from Heaven.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ σωφρονεῖν. After these words, an Alterus is to be placed. For there is an imperfection; which nevertheless may be made up from book

to. chap 8. in this manner; τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς λόγιους, declining from the way of sober reason. In the *Ful. Turneb.* and *Savil.* Copies, the reading is τὸ σωφρονεῖν παρρησιασμένον. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> He means *Galerius Maximianus*, who was the first Author and Ringleader of the *Christians* Persecution, as *Eusebius* relates in *book 8. of his Ecclesiastical History*. *Cedrenus* writes, that on the eighteenth year of *Dioclesian*, *Maximianus* had raised a Persecution against the *Christians*, by the persuasion of one *Theoctenus* an Impostour. Who having forged *Acts of Pilate* stuff with impiety against *Christ*, *Galerius* made an establishment by an Edict, that Masters should give them to their Scholars to be learned by heart. But any one may perceive, that *Cedrenus* is out here, who attributes that to *Galerius Maximianus*, which was performed long after by *Maximinus*. This is an usual mistake amongst the *Greeks*, to confound *Maximianus* with *Maximinus*. *Valef.*

CHAP. LVII.

That Maximianus having been afflicted with a Fistulous Ulcer that bred worms, wrote [a Law] in favour of the Christians.

FOR; whereas he had begun a Siege of the Churches, and was the first that had defil'd his own soul with the blood of just and religious persons; a punishment sent from God seized him: which, having made its beginning in his very flesh, proceeded even to his soul. For on a sudden an Impostume arose upon him about the midst of the privy parts of his Body; after that a *Fistula in ano*; and both these diseases spread incurably, and did eat into his inmost bowels. From them bred an unspeakable multitude of worms, and a most \* noysom stench proceeded <sup>Or,</sup> therefrom. For, the whole mass of flesh upon <sup>Deadly,</sup> his body, by reason of that abundance of food he devoured, was grown to an immense fatness: which being then putrified, became (tis said) an intolerable and most horrid spectacle to those that approach'd him. Whilst therefore he was struggling under these many and great afflictions, at length, though late, he began to be sensible of the Villanies he had audaciously committed against the Church. After which, having made his confession to God, he stops the Persecution against the *Christians*; and by Laws and Imperial Edicts orders that their Churches should with all expedition be built: and commanded that the *Christians* themselves should perform their usual Solemnities, and make Supplications [to God] for him.

CHAP. LVIII.

That Maximinus being a Persecutor of the Christians, fled away in a servile habit and hid himself.

SUCH was the punishment, which the Beginner of the Persecution underwent. But this [*Licinius*,] concerning whom we now speak, who had been an eye-witness of these things, and by experience had had an accurate knowledge thereof; nevertheless, on a sudden forgot all; neither did he call to mind the punishment inflicted on the Former, <sup>a</sup> nor the revenging judgment [divine justice executed] on the Latter. Who, because he strove with the greatest earnestness imaginable, to out-do the Former in a Combat of mischiefs as 'twere, gloried in his invention of new punishments against us. For he was not satisfied with Fire, Sword, and the \* *Fastnings with Nails*; nor with the wild-beast and depth of the Sea. But besides all these, he himself contrived a certain new sort of punishment, and by a Law gave order, that those members, whereby we perceive the light, should be destroyed. Immediately therefore, vast numbers, not only of men, but of children and women also, having had the Sights of their right eyes, and the junctures of their feet rendred useless, partly by Iron, and partly by † *Cauteries*, were † <sup>Or, Se-</sup> thrust into the Mines, there to be afflicted with <sup>ring-Irons:</sup> daily Labour. On which account, the just judgment

<sup>a</sup> Οὐτε τὸ ἐν τῇ δατύρῃ πτωρὲν δίκην. The Proposition must be expunged. Further, this person termed the Latter is *Maximinus* Tyrant of the East. *Valef.*

\* Πεπρωμένοι.

† Or, Sealing-Irons.



ment of God not long after seized this person also; at such time as, putting his trust in *Dæmons*, whom he thought to be Gods, and confiding in innumerable *Myriads* of Armed men, he began an Engagement. For, being at that time

† Or, *Hope*.

deprived of the divine † assistance, he divested himself of the Imperial Habit, which in no wise became him; and having in a cowardly and most unmanly manner shrowded himself in the common crowd, \* purchased his own safety by flight: after this, he absconded in the Fields and Country Villages [cloathed] in a servile habit, and supposed he might have kept himself concealed. But he could not thus avoid

\* Or, *Invented*,

† Or, *Of universal providence*.

the great Eye † of Providence which inspects all things. For when he hoped his life was now in safety, being struck with God's fiery dart, he fell prostrate on the ground; and his whole body was in such a manner consumed by a blow given him from Heaven, that the entire

\* Or, *Figure*.

\* shew of its Pristine beauty vanished; and only his parch'd bones, turned into a perfect Skeleton, like some Ghost, were left remaining to him.

## CHAP. LIX.

*That Maximine, blinded by [the acuteness of] his Disease, \* issued out a Law in favour of the Christians.* \* Or, *Wrote*.

**F**urther, when this Disease, wherewith God had afflicted him, was arrived at a greater degree of acuteness and vehemency, \* his eyes leap'd out; and falling from their proper place, left him blind: thus, by a most just sentence he underwent the same punishments, which he had been the first Inventer of against God's Martyrs. Breathing nevertheless still after these so calamitous miseries, at length, though late, he also made an open confession to the God of the *Christians*, and declared his own oppositions of the Deity. He likewise composed a Retraction, in such manner as the former person had done, and by Laws and Edicts in writing confess his own error in reference to those whom he thought to be Gods; attesting, that by experience it self he had found, the *Christians* God to be the only true God. Notwithstanding *Licinius* knew all this, not by the information he received from others, but from the very facts themselves; yet wrapping up his mind within some thick darkness as 'twere, he † resolved upon a performance of the very same things they had done.

\* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. book 9. chap. 10. note (a.)*

† Or, *Adhered to, or, closed with those very Actions, or, persons.*



THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS  
CONCERNING  
THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
BLESSED EMPEROR  
CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

*Licinius's Clandestine Persecution, and his Murder of the Bishops at Amasia [a City] of Pontus.*

**I**N this manner the fore mentioned [Licinius] plunged himself into the Pit of the \* impious. And, imitating their example to his own destruction, whose ruins by reason of their Impiety he had beheld with his own Eyes, he re-kindled the Persecution against the *Christians*, like some raging fire long since extinguished; and blew up the flame of Impiety to a greater fierceness than his predecessors had done. Moreover, (like some outrageous Wild-beast, or crooked Serpent rolled together about himself,) breathing forth Rage and Hostile Menaces against God, he durst not as yet commence an open War against the Churches of God within his own Dominions, because of his Fear of *Constantine*: but concealing the venome of his Malice, he contrived secret Plots. and those in some particular Places only, against the Bishops; and † by Calumnies framed by his Governours of Provinces, destroyed the eminentest and most approved amongst them. And the manner of murdering them was new, such as never was known before. \* Indeed, the Facts perpetrated at *Amasia* [a City] of *Pontus*, far exceeded the most superlative Cruelty.

\* Or, Rebels against God.  
† Or, By the treachery of his Governours in each Province.  
‡ It is thus, far exceeded the most superlative Cruelty.  
§ Or, from book 10. chap. 3. of his Eccles. History; where these passages occur almost word for word.

Further, 'tis strange that *Eusebius* should have made no mention, either in his *Ecclesiastical History*, or in these books, of *Basileus* Bishop of the *Amaseni*: which Prelate nevertheless, as all the Greek Writers do agree, was slain by *Licinius's* order. But *Philostorgius*, in the first book of his *Eccles. History*, writes in express words, that *Basileus* Bishop of *Amasea* in *Pontus*, was present at the *Nicene Council*. Further, the *Nicene Council*, as 'tis manifest amongst all Men was convened the year after *Licinius's* deposition. Besides, *Athanasius* in his first *Oration against the Arians*, (where he makes mention of the eminent Bishops who were either present with him at the *Nicene Council*, or had approved of his opinion;) together with others, names *Basileus* Bishop of *Pontus*. Nor does he style him Martyr, although he there terms *Hosius* Confessor. The *Acts also* of *Basileus*, which are extant in *Metaphrastes*, seem to me foolish and fabulous. And most of the passages which occur at the beginning of them, are word for word taken out of *Eusebius*. But, that little Story concerning the Virgin *Glaphyra* was, in my judgment framed by some idle People. *Valef.*

CHAP. II.

*The Demolishments of the Churches; and Butcheries of the Bishops;*

**W**HERE some of the Churches, after that former \* Demolishment of them, were \* Or, thrown down to the Ground from their vast Siege. Height; others were shut up by the Governours in their several districts, least any one of those Persons who usually frequented them; should meet there, or least they \* might render \* *Amaseni* *Aspeias*.  
In the *Fulk. Manuscript*, and in *St Henry Savil's Copy*, 'tis written *ἀπο-σίδειν*; in book 10. chap. 8. of his *Eccles. History* 'tis *ἀποσίδειν*. *Valef.*  
C c c      a due



a due worship to God. For that Person who issued out these orders, was of opinion, that Prayers were not made there for him, being induced to entertain such thoughts as these from a consciousness of his own impieties. But he had perswaded himself, that all we did was in behalf of *Constantine*; and to render God propitious [to him.] Now, those [Presidents] who were his flatterers and soothed him up, being fully perswaded they should do what would be grateful to the impious [Tyrant;] subjected the eminentest Prelates of the Churches to capital punishments. Therefore, harmless and innocent Persons were haled away, and without any the least cause punished as if they had been Murderers. But some of them underwent a new sort of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces: and after this barbarous spectacle far more horrid than any Tragical representation, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for Fishes. After this therefore, Persons that were worshippers of God began to fly again, in such manner as they had done a little before. And the Fields and Solitudes were again become the Receptacles of God's Servants. When the Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained thoughts of raising a general Persecution against the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle which might in future have hindered him from effecting it, had not [God] the defender of his own [servants,] (that he might prevent what would have ensued,) caused his Servant *Constantine* to appear like some great Light in darkness and in a most obscure Night, and led him by the hand as 'twere into these parts.

### CHAP. III.

*In what manner Constantine was moved in behalf of the Christians, when [Licinius] made preparations to persecute them.*

\* **W**HO perceiving, that the † complaint he had received of the foresaid proceedings was not any longer to be endured, musters up a soberness and prudence of mind; and having mix'd an austerity of disposition with his own innate clemency, hastned to the || assistance of the oppressed; judging, that that ought to be accounted a pious and holy Action, when by the taking off of one Person, the greatest part of mankind is preserved. For [thus he thought with himself,] if he should

<sup>a</sup> Παν. In book 10. chap. 9. whence this passage is transcribed, instead of παν, the reading is μόνον, clemency only; which seems truer. I had also rather write αὐτὸν χραμέε; unless the Dative case may be taken for the Ablative put absolute. Valef.

make use of <sup>a</sup> much clemency, and should shew compassion to him who deserved no pity, it would not advantage him in the least, for he would in no wise desist from his practise of mischief, but would rather increase his Rage and Fury against his Subjects: nor could there be any hopes of safety in future remaining to those persons who had been afflicted by him. The Emperour having considered these things with him-

self, without any dilatoriness resolved to stretch forth a salutary right hand to those who had fallen into the bitterest of calamities. He made therefore a \* vast provision of Military Forces; \* Or, and his whole Army, as well Troops of Horse as Companies of Foot, were drawn together. † Or, The But before them all were carried † the *Insignia* signs or Marks of his confidence in God, to wit, the forementioned Standard. <sup>usual.</sup> <sup>his good hope in God by the, &c.</sup>

### CHAP. IV.

*That Constantine made provision for the War with Prayers; but Licinius, with Divinations and Prophecies.*

**A**ND well knowing, that, if ever before, he now stood in need of Prayers, he carried God's \* Prelates along with him: it being his \* Or, Sentiment, that these Persons <sup>a</sup> like some good <sup>Priests.</sup> Guards of his Soul, ought to be always present <sup>αὐτῶν πνεύματι</sup> and conversant with him. Whereupon, when <sup>αὐτῶν πνεύματι</sup> he that Headed the Tyranny was informed, that <sup>αὐτῶν πνεύματι</sup> *Constantine* obtained Victories over his Enemies by no other means than by God's assistance; and, that the foresaid Persons were always present and conversant with him; also, that the Symbol of the Salutary passion went before himself and his whole Army: he judged these things to be deservedly ridiculous; and at the same time mock'd *Constantine*, and reviled him with opprobrious expressions. <sup>b</sup> But he himself got the Diviners and Soothsayers of the *Egyptians* about him, the Sorcerers and Impostors, the Sacrificers and Prophets of such as he look'd upon as Gods. And when he had with sacrifices appeased those <sup>c</sup> whom he thought to be Gods, he enquired of them, what manner of end he was like to have of the War. They made answer with one consent, that <sup>d</sup> without controversy he would be the Conquerour of his Enemies, <sup>e</sup> and should get the better in the War; the Oracles every where promising him this in long

present with him. Further, after the Verb ἐπειγέτω must be placed a point, from the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*; which *Christophorus* perceived not. But, in the *Fuketian*, *Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, 'tis truer written ἐπιγέτω, he carried along with him. A little after, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, πυνδύρωθ' κωνσαντίνου τὰς καὶ ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ ἄλλως, ἢ ὅς δ' αὖτε συμπεσέσθωσι πει- ζέσθω, was informed, that *Constantine*, &c. which is truer in my judgment, Valef. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is, πυνδύρωθ' κωνσαντίνου τὰς καὶ ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ δ' ἄλλως ἢ ὅς, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Αὐτοῦς ἑ δεοπόρεως. It must be αὐτὸς δὲ, But he himself. Although our *Manuscript Copies* have no alteration here; save that instead of δεοπόρεως, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis δεοπόρεως; but in the old sheets, δεοπερεῖς. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Οὓς δὲν αἶψα δεῖς. It must, I think, be, ἐς δὲ, or, rather in one word, ἐς διανοῦτο, whom he thought, &c. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀδελήτως. In the *King's Manuscript* 'tis ἀδελήτως. I write ἀδελήτως, that is, without controversy. In the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis ἀναντρήτως, without contradiction. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> It must, as it seems, be written, καὶ πολέμους κρατῆσαι πρὸς ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ταῦτα μακρὰς τε ἐπὶ καλλιπείαις ὅς ἀπα- ταχῆ χρησησίων περιζομένων. So this whole place is to be restored. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis thus written, καὶ τὸ πολέμους κρατῆσαι συμφώνως εἶπεν μακρὰς ἐπὶ καλλιπείαις ὅς ἀπαταχῆ χρησησίων τὰτο περιζομένων: which is the best reading, and we have therefore followed it in our Version. Valef.

and



ἡ Τάξις παρεμβολαῖς. In the *Fukerian Manuscript* this place is written thus; σὺν πολλῇ θράσει καθύπερθε τὰς παρεμβολὰς ὥς οἷ τε ἢ, ἐπετάθειν. He proceeded forth with great confidence; pitching his Camp as well as 'twas possible. Which reading and punctuation displicates not; τὰς παρεμβολὰς ἐπετάθειν signifies *castrametari*, to pitch a Camp, or lodge an Army. Vale!

## CHAP. V.

*What Licinius spake concerning the Idols and  
concerning Christ, whilst he was sacrificing  
in a Grove.*

\* Or, *The War.* **B**UT when he was about beginning \* a fight, he called together the choicest of his *Protectors* that were about Him, and those of his Friends for whom he had an higher value, into a certain place which by them was accounted sacred. It was a well-watered and shady Grove; but in it were erected various Statues, carv'd out of Stone, of those whom he thought to be Gods. To whom after he had <sup>a</sup> lighted Tapers, and offered the usual Sacrifices; <sup>b</sup> 'Tis reported, that he made this Speech [to those that stood by him.]

pers before the Statues of their Gods, as may be observed from the 22 book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 226. of *Valesius's Edition*.

<sup>b</sup> Kai Friends and <sup>b</sup> Fellow Souldiers! These whom we Honour, whose Adoration hath been handed down to us from our Remotest Ancestors, are our Country Gods. But he who leads the Army opposed against us, having violated the Usages and Institutions of his Fore-fathers, has made choice of their impious Opinion who believe no God; and hath erroneously embraced a certain strange God [procured] from I know not whence: And with his most filthy sign <sup>c</sup> disgraces his own Army. In whom having put his confidence, He comes forth and takes up Arms not so much against us, as against those very Gods whom he hath

\* Or, Time. *abused. This present \* day therefore will evidently shew, which of Us two have erred in Opinion, and will give a Judgment concerning those Gods who are worshipped by us, and of them [honoured] by the other side. For, either it will declare us Conquerors, and so most justly demonstrate our Gods to be the Saviours and true Assistants. Or else, if this one God of Constantine's who comes from I know not whence, shall get the better of our Gods, which are many, and at a present do exceed in number; no body in rather*

takes up Arms against those very Gods, &c. Which reading is truer, if I mistake not. *Valeſ.*

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ τὴν τῇ πλείθει πλεονεξούντων. *Christophorson* omitted the word *τὴν* at present; in which term lies the whole force of the Sentence. For *Licinius* shews, that his Gods exceed in number at present; but in a short time will be superior in force and power. *Johannes Portesius*, otherwise a silly Translator, has not omitted the rendition of this word. For he translates it thus, *Numero quidem adhuc potiores, as yet do exceed in number*. A little before, I read ἕς τις ἑῶν, *this one God*; as *Turnebus* has mended it at the margin of his Copy. *Val.*

future will be in doubt, which God he ought to wor-  
ship; but will betake himself to the more powerful  
God, and attribute to him the Rewards of Vi-  
ctory. And, if this strange God, who is <sup>now</sup> καὶ νῦν  
a Ridicule to us, shall appear to be the Victor, ἡνίκα  
it will behove us also to acknowledge and adore <sup>Tis the</sup>  
him, and to bid a long farewell to those, to whom <sup>same as if</sup>  
we light Tapers in vain. But, if our Gods shall <sup>he should</sup>  
get the better, which no person can entertain a doubt <sup>have said,</sup>  
of; after the Victory obtained in this Place, we will <sup>ὁ Χρὸς ἔ-</sup>  
proceed to bring a War upon those impious contem- <sup>περνὺν γ-</sup>  
ners of the Gods, <sup>νόμενοι,</sup>  
who is of

These are the words *Licinius* spake a little before the Engagement, to those Persons who stood round him. Which very Speech of his was not long after imparted to us who have been called to this History, by those who had been Ear-witnesses of his very Expressions. After therefore he had made this Speech, he commanded his Forces to begin the Fight.

new God. For amongst the Gods, some were accounted *patrii*, Gods of the Country, others *peregrini*, *strange Gods*. The *dii patrii* were commended for the ancientness of their worship. But the *peregrini* were new Gods, in regard they were lately procured or chosen. Cicero's words in his 2d book *De Legibus*, are these: *Novos verò deos, & in his calendis nocturnis previgilationes, sic Aristophanes facetissimus poeta veteris comœdiæ vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius & alii quidam dii peregrini judicati è civitate ejiciantur*; But the new Gods, and the watchings all night long in the worship of them have in such a manner been disquieted by Aristophanes the pleasantest Poet of Old Comedie, that Sabazius and some other Gods having by him been judged strange, are ejected out of the City. The passage of Aristophanes, which Cicero means, was extant in his Comedie *Lemniis*, as Suidas informs us in *ὁ γυν̄ δευμοὶ βακοί*. There was indeed at Athens a vast multitude of new and strange Gods, whom they termed *ξένος* or *ξενικός θεός*. Aristophanes the Poet had put together their Names and Series in his *Cretensi-bus*, as Hesychius attests in *θεοὶ ξενικοί*. Menander Rhetor or rather Alexander in *methodo generis demonstrativi* pag. 1612, observes; that some Gods were termed *ancienter*, others *more modern*, *οἱ μὲ γὰρ παλαιότεροι, δὲ νεώτεροι λέγονται τῶν θεῶν*. But Portesius and Christophorson who has followed him, have rendred this place ill; their mistake arose from hence, because they perceived not, that the Adverb *γυν̄* does sometimes signifie the same with *nuper*, *lately*, as I have noted at book 4. of the *Ecclesiastical History* chap. 8. note (d.) These remarks I had made here formerly, having followed the Geneva Edition, and afterwards I understood, that in Robert Stephen's Edition and in the Manuscript Copies the reading was, *καὶ γυν̄ νεώτεροι*, who is now a *Ridicule to us*. Which reading the Translators have followed, and therefore are in no wise to be blamed. *Vale.*

† Ταύτῳ κεκληρημένοις τῷ γεγραφὴν, *to us who have been called to this History*. In *Moræus* at the margin 'tis mended ποιημένοις *who compose*; in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 8. A little before, in the same Copy of *Moræus* 'tis well mended μακρὰ χαίρειν τέτοις ἐπόντως *and to bid a long farwell to those*: [In *Robert Stephens* 'tis μακρὰ χαιρεῖ ἔπος, &c.] In the *Fuketsian Manuscripts* I found it written, ἡμῶν δὲ τοῖς εἰς ταύτῳ κεκληρημένοις τῷ γεγραφὴν, *to us who have been called to this History*; which reading is right. *Valeſt.*

## CHAP. VI.

*The Apparitions seen in the Cities under Licinius's Government, of Constantine's Soldiers pursuing the Forces of Licinius.*

W Hilst these things were doing, a most wonderful Apparition ('tis said) was seen in the Cities subject to the Tyrant. For, they thought they saw various Companies of *Constantine's* Soldiers, passing at noon day thorow the Cities, as if they had obtained the Victory. And these things were seen, when in reality no Body appeared; but the Divine and Superior power, by that Vision shown to the Eyes of Men, foreshewed that which was ready to happen. Further, after the Armies had made ready to engage, he that had broken the League of Friendship, began the Fight first. Then *Constantine* having called upon God the Supream

C c c 2

Saviour



Saviour, and given this Signal to the Army  
 a The first about him; got the better in the <sup>a</sup> first En-  
 gagement. Not long after, he was Superior  
 in a <sup>b</sup> second Fight, and obtained a far greater  
 Victory; in regard the Salutory Trophy was  
 carried before his Army.

was in  
 Pannonia, at Cibala; which Zosimus describes excellently well in his  
 Second Book, as also The Author of the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*,  
 pag. 473. This fight hapned when Volusianus the second time and An-  
 nianus were Consuls; on the eighth of the Ides of October, as 'tis recor-  
 ded in Idatius's *Fasti*. To whom agrees Sigonius in his third Book *de*  
*Occidentali Imperio*. In Eusebius's *Chronicon* the Cibalensian Battel is  
 ill placed on the seventh year of Constantine, in regard that Action  
 hapned on the eighth Year of his Empire. Yea, if you compute the  
 matter exactly, it was now the ninth year of Constantine's Empire.  
 For, his ninth year began on the eighth of the Calends of August,  
 Volusianus the second time and Annianus being Consuls. Aurelius  
 Victor writes thus concerning the Wars between Licinius and Constan-  
 tine. *Ita potestas orbis Romani duobus quaesita. Qui quamvis per*  
*Flavii Sororem nuptam Licinio commixti inter se erant, ob diversos*  
*mores tamen anxie tricennum congruere querebant, &c.* Thus the power  
 of the Roman world was gotten by two. Who though by Flavius's  
 Sister married to Licinius they had been joynd together, yet because of  
 their different dispositions, for three years space they could ill agree, &c.  
 Which passage does manifestly confirm Idatius's *Fasti*: Otherwise  
 from the opinion of the Eusebian *Chronicon* it ought to be said, *Bien-*  
*num*, for two years space. A passage in Eutropius's Tenth Book must  
 also be corrected, which is commonly Printed thus. *Ac primo eum*  
*in Pannonia, Secundo ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instru-*  
*entem, repentinus oppressit, &c.* Doubtless, the word *Secundo* must be  
 expunged, which was added by some unskilful Transcriber. For, first,  
 Constantine's first Battel against Licinius was at Cibala, as we have  
 shown above. Then, it would be ridiculous to say, that the first  
 Battel was in Pannonia, the Second at Cibala; in regard Cibala is a  
 City of Pannonia. Moreover, Peaninus who rendred Eutropius into  
 Greek, acknowledges not that word *Secundo*, as appears from his  
 Rendition. Yet Orosius (as also the Author of the *Historia Mis-*  
*cella*.) hath followed the vulgar reading in Eutropius. For his words  
 are these; *Constantinus Licinium Sororis sue virum in Pannonia*  
*primum vicit, deinde apud Cibalas oppressit.* Valef.

<sup>b</sup> This second Fight of Constantine against Licinius, hapned in  
 Thracia as Zosimus informs us. But Zosimus mentions not the very  
 place: but the Author of the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini* pag. 474.  
 says 'twas fought in the *Campus Mardensis*: which place is equally  
 unknown to us. Further, this Battel hapned on the same year with  
 that at Cibala, as 'tis concluded from the Relation of Zosimus, and  
 of that unknown Author. Which may also be demonstrated by this argu-  
 ment. After this Battel a Peace being made up between Constantine  
 and Licinius, on the year following Constantine and Licinius were  
 made Consuls; and in the *West* that year is inscribed, *Constantine*  
*the fourth and Licinius the fourth time Consuls*; but in the *Eastern*  
*parts* Licinius's name is set first, in this manner, *Licinius Augustus*  
*the Fourth and Constantine the fourth time being Coss.* as it oc-  
 curs in the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

*That in the Battels, where ever the Standard,  
 made in the form of Cross, was, there a Vi-  
 ctory was obtained.*

I Ndeed, where ever that [Standard] ap-  
 peared, happened a Rout of the Enemies,  
 and a pursuit [was made] by those who had  
 gotten the better. Which when the Empe-  
 ror perceived, in what ever place he saw any  
 party of his Army prest hard upon, thither he  
 ordered the Salutory Trophy to be carried,  
 as some most efficacious \* Amulet to procure  
 a Victory. After the doing whereof, a Victory  
 followed immediately; in regard Strength and  
 Courage was by a Divine Act of Providence  
 infused into those who fought.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That Fifty Persons were made choice of, to  
 carry the Cross.*

W Herefore, out of the *Protectors* that  
 were about him, he made choice of  
 such Persons as excelled for strength of Body,  
 courage of Mind, and exemplariness of Piety;  
 on whom he imposed only this of Duty, that  
 they should take an assiduous care of this Stan-  
 dard. <sup>a</sup> These Persons were in number no less <sup>a</sup> These  
 than Fifty: on whom nothing else was incum- Guards to  
 bent, but to surround, defend, and guard the whose care  
 Standard; which each of them by turns carried Constan-  
 on his Shoulders. These things the Emperor tine com-  
 himself related to us who compose this Hi- mitted the  
 story, whilst he was in Peace and Repose, a *Labarum*  
 long time after [the Transaction] of these in Battels,  
 Affairs; and to his Relation he added a matter *Grethserus*  
 highly worthy to be recorded. (book 2.  
*de Cruce,*  
*chap 40)*  
 says are the

same with those who in the *Theodosian Code* are termed the *Prapostis*  
*Laborum*, that is, *πρὸς λαβάνων*. For the Greeks termed it *λαβάνων*,  
 because it was an assistance to the Labouring Companies, as Sozomen  
 attests. Valef.

## CHAP. IX.

*That one of the Cross-bearers who fled, was  
 killed, but he that by Faith stood his Ground,  
 was preserved.*

F OR he said that a dismal Noise and sudden  
 Disturbance having one time put the Ar-  
 my into a Consternation during the very heat  
 of an Engagement, he who bore the Stan-  
 dard on his Shoulders, was in an agony by reason  
 of his Fear; whereupon he deliver'd the Stan-  
 dard to another, to the end he might make his  
 escape out of the Fight. That other Person had  
 no sooner taken it, <sup>a</sup> but he who slipt away, <sup>a</sup> 'O d'  
 being got without the protection of the Stan- *word.*  
 dard, was stuck into the Belly by a Dart cast The *Fuk*.  
 at him, and was deprived of his Life. Thus *Manu-*  
 this Man underwent the Punishment of his cow- *script* has  
 ardice and infidelity, and lay dead upon the opened to  
 Spot. But the Salutory Trophy became the pre- us the true  
 servative of his Life who bore it. In so much writing of  
 that, though Darts were frequently cast at him this place;  
 who bore the Standard, yet he was preserved wherein  
 unhurt: but the Spear of the [Salutory] the reading  
 Trophy received the Darts. And this was a *is o d'*  
 thing which far surpassed every Miracle, [to *word.*  
 see] in what manner the Enemies Darts fell *For Idoubt*  
 upon the smallest circumference of the Spear, not but  
 whereon they were fixt and stuck fast; but the *Eusebius*  
 Standard-bearer was preserved from Death: wrote, *π*  
 yea, none of those employed in this Office did *περὶ τῆς*  
 ever receive a wound. This is not our Rela- *who slipt*  
 tion, but the Emperor's own, who amongst *away.*  
 other Matters declared this also to us. Who, *Valef.*  
 when by the Power of God he had obtained  
 the former Victories, afterwards marched for-  
 ward, and moved his Army in a Military  
 order.

\* Or, Re-  
 medy, or  
 help.



CHAP. X.

Various Fights, and the Victories of Constantine.

<sup>a</sup> This ἐ-  
φαντας ὁ-  
μῖν. The  
words are  
transpo-  
sed, and  
are thus  
to be re-  
stored. τῶ-  
ν δὲ τῶν  
πρωτῶν ὁ-  
μῖν οἱ δὲ  
ἑκαστὸς  
in the Eu-  
ketian  
Manu-  
script;  
and so we  
have ren-  
dered it.  
Valef.  
<sup>b</sup> Περὶ οἱ-  
λίκας καὶ  
σε. I  
think it must be written, οἱλίκας μετὰ λόγους μετὰ χάριτος, that is,  
blandis & amicus verbis eos compellais, treating them with kind and  
friendly words. Further, what Eusebius relates in this chapter, seems  
to belong to the first Battle in the field of Cybale, whereof I have spoken  
before. And this is confirmed by what follows. Valef.

**B**UT the Van<sup>a</sup> of the adverse party, not able  
to stand his first Attack, cast away their  
Arms with both their hands, and fell  
prostrate at the Emperour's feet. He  
\* saved them all, being one that was  
highly pleased with the preservation  
of Men. But others of them, who  
continued in Arms, prepared themselves for an  
Engagement. To whom when the Emperour  
had proposed overtures, and had<sup>b</sup> treated them  
with expressions of kindness and friendship;  
perceiving they were not to be perswaded, he  
sent his Army against them. They turned their  
backs immediately, and betook themselves to  
flight. And some of them, taken in the pursuit,  
were slain by the Law of || Arms:  
|| Or, War. but others ran one against ano-  
ther, and so were cut off by their own  
swords.

CHAP. XI.

Licinius's Flight, and Inchantments.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ  
τῶν οἰκέων  
Eusebius  
uses the term οἰκέτας in a new  
sense, to signifie Soldiers. In-  
deed, the Militia was a kind of  
Temporary servitude Which  
Sudas tells us also, in the word  
βρεγγεῖον. Hence 'tis, that the  
Thrones were marked, like Ser-  
vants, with certain marks in their  
skin. The Missio likewise, or  
Military-discharge answers the  
Manumission or making free of  
Servants With good reason there-  
fore Eusebius terms the Roman  
Soldiers οἰκέτας. But if any one  
be displeased herewith he may  
easily make it τῶν οἰκέων his own  
Men. Valef.

<sup>\* Or, Was in safety.</sup>

**A**fter this, when their Prince saw himself  
deprived of an assistance<sup>a</sup> from his ser-  
vants, and that the vast numbers as well of Sol-  
diers as Auxiliaries which he  
had gotten together, were  
vanished; and was experi-  
mentally convinced that the  
hope he had placed in those  
whom he thought to be  
Gods, was vain; he forth-  
with betook himself to a  
most inglorious flight. And  
in this manner he made his  
escape, and \* secured him-  
self from danger; because  
the most pious Emperour  
ordered his own Men not  
to make a close pursuit af-  
ter him, to the end by flying  
he might obtain safety. For 'twas his hope,  
that Licinius, made sensible of the unhappy  
posture of his own affairs, might at length de-  
list from his mad boldness, and would change  
his opinion for thoughts that were sound and  
better. These were Constantine's thoughts, sug-  
gested to him from that transcendancy of Hu-  
manity wherewith he was endowed; and he  
took a resolution patiently to bear injuries, and  
to give Him pardon who deserved it not. But  
so far was Licinius from abstaining from his  
pristine improbity; that he heap'd mischiefs  
upon mischiefs, and attempted more nefarious  
and audacious Facts. Moreover, he betook him-  
self again to the evil Arts and practises of  
Conjurers, and was more insolently embol-  
dened. But, that saying might have fitly

been applied to him, which was spoken of  
that old Tyrant, to wit, God had hardened his  
heart.

CHAP. XII.

In what manner Constantine, praying in a  
Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.

**L**icinius having therefore involved himself in  
such [impieties] as these, was thrust  
headlong into the pit of destruction. But the  
Emperour, when he saw there was a necessity  
of a<sup>a</sup> second Battle, diligent-  
ly † applied himself to [the  
worship of] his Saviour.  
And pitch'd a<sup>b</sup> Tabernacle  
of the Cross without [his  
Camp,] and at a good di-  
stance from it: where he  
|| lived chastly and purely,  
and poured forth his Prayers  
to God; agreeable to the  
practise of that old Pro-  
phet of God; concerning  
whom the divine Oracles  
give this attestation, that  
\* He pitch'd the Tabernacle without the Camp. \* Exod.  
Some few Persons, of whose Faith, Piety and  
Benevolence he had the most assured proofs,  
were continually present with him. And this  
he was always wont to do, as often as he was  
about to begin a fight. For he was slow; be-  
cause he would be secure: and 'twas his con-  
stant usage to act all things by the advice of  
God. Further, when with great earnestness he  
made Supplications to his God, he was always,  
vouchsafed the Divine presence. After which,  
moved as 'twere by a more Divine inspiration,  
he was wont to leap out of the Tabernacle, and  
would forthwith give order for the immediate  
march of his Army; and that without delay,  
yea even in that very hour, they should draw  
their Swords. His Men would fall on pell-mell,  
and cut down all before them without any di-  
stinction of age; till such time as (having got-  
ten a Victory<sup>d</sup> within a very short space,)  
they had erected Victorious Trophies against their  
Enemies.

<sup>a</sup> Eἰς ὥ-  
ρας ἀναρῆ  
ροπή. In  
the Kings  
Copy 'tis ἐς ὥρας. I write ἐν ὥραις ἀναρῆ ῥοπή, within a very short  
moment of an hour; so I found it mended in Moræus's Copy, and in  
the Eusebian Manuscript. A little before, instead of ἐς ὥρας, I read  
ἐἰς ὥρας, till such time as; in which manner Eusebius does usually  
express himself. Valef.

CHAP. XIII.

His Humanity towards the Soldiers that were  
taken Prisoners.

**I**N this manner was the Emperour long be-  
fore wont, both to behave himself, and to order  
his Army, before they engaged in a Battle: for  
he always preferred God before his own Life;  
and studied to perform all things by his advices;  
and used all imaginable caution to prevent the  
slaughter of many Men. On which account, he  
consulted the safety of the Enemies no less, than  
that



that of his own Soldiers. Wherefore, he admonished his own Men, when they had been Victors in a Battle, to shew compassion to the vanquished: and, that being Men themselves, they ought not to forget the same Nature which they were of. But if at any time he perceived, that the minds of his Soldiers were greedy of slaughter, he repressed them by a Largess of Gold; giving order, that whoever took one of the Enemy alive, \* should have a certain weight of Gold bestowed on him. And this inticement for the preservation of Mens lives, was found out by the Emperours prudence. In-  
 \* Or, Should be honoured with, &c.

## CHAP. XIV.

Again concerning his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

THESE, and infinite other such like actions as these, the Emperour was wont at other times frequently to perform. But at that present, before he joyned Battle, he retired alone into the Tabernacle, where, as his usage was, he was earnest in Prayers to God; abstaining from all manner of divertisement, and delicious food; and \* macerating himself with fastings, and † bodily austerities. And in this manner he appeared God with Supplications and Prayers, that he might have him for his benign and propitious Assistant, and might perform those things which God had suggested to his mind. Moreover, || his care in behalf of the Republick was watchful and diligent; and he poured forth Prayers, not more for the safety of his own Forces, than for that of his Enemies.

## CHAP. XV.

Licinius's \* disssembled Friendship, and his Worship of Idols.

BUT because Licinius (who had fled a little before,) practised dissimulation, and entreated, that an amicable League might be again renewed; [the Emperour] supposing a Peace would be of use [to the Government,] and advantageous to Mankind in general, vouchsafed to grant him even this, upon certain <sup>a</sup> Terms and Conditions. Licinius speciously pretended a ready compliance with the Terms offered him, and with Oaths confirmed his  
 \* Or, Faith.  
 † Or, Pro-  
 vision of  
 Forces.

Barbarians to be his Auxiliaries; and went up and down in quest of other Gods, because he had been deceived by the former. He did not in the least remember, what he himself had said a little before, in his Speech concerning the Gods. Nor would he acknowledge that God who had been Constantine's Defender: but in a most Ridiculous manner began to enquire out for himself, more and those newer Gods.

## CHAP. XVI.

In what manner Licinius Commanded his Soldiers, not to make an Attack against the [Standard of the] Cross.

AFTER this, knowing for certain, that there was a certain divine and secret power in the Salutory Trophy, by which power (he understood) Constantine's Army obtained Victory; he warned his Soldiers, that they should by no means engage against it, nor by chance or

rashly cast their eyes upon it. For, that Standard (he said,) was of a force incredible, and an Enemy and Adversary to him in particular: wherefore they were to use great Caution, not to begin a Fight against it.

Having given out these Orders, he prepared for an Engagement with \* Him, who by reason of his † innate Clemency made delays, and deferred that Ruine which hung over him. The || Licinians, placing their confidence in a Multitude of Gods, marched forth with vast numbers of Forces, carrying before them, as their defence, Images of dead Persons, and inanimate Statues. But Constantine, surrounded with the \* Armour of Piety, against the multitude of his Enemies opposed the Salutory and Vivifick Standard of the Cross, as some affrightning spectacle and potent preservative against mischief. And at first he † made an Alt; in which interim he forbore the use of his Arms, that he might not begin the Fight first; which thing he did, on account of the League he had made.

## CHAP. XVII.

Constantine's Victory.

BUT when he saw the Enemy persisting in an obstinacy of mind, and perceived that they drew their Swords; moved with indignation, <sup>a</sup> with one Shout and in a moment he Routed all the Forces of the Enemy, and obtained a Victory at the same time, both over his Enemies, and over the Demons.

<sup>a</sup> Or, with one Shout and in a moment. And so 'tis in the Eusebian and Savi. Copies. Further, this signal Victory of Constantine's happened in Crispus's and Constantine's third Consulate, on the fifth of the Nones of July, near Hadrianople, as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti. But Baronius places this Hadrianopolitan Battle on the year of Christ 318, whereon Licinius the fifth time, and Crispus were Consuls. Whose opinion we overthrow by these arguments and Testimonies of the best Writers. The first is Idatius, who in his Fasti writes thus; Crispo III. & Constantino III. Coss. &c. Crispus and Constantine being Consuls the third time, the Hadrianopolitan Battle [happened] on the fifth of the Nones of July, and the Chalcedonensian Battle on the fourteenth of the Calends of October. The same words occur in the Alexandrian Chronicle; but they are erroneously ascribed to the year following, when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls. With Idatius agrees Aurelius Victor, who writes thus concerning the Fights between Constantine and Licinius: Quo sanè variis praeliis pulso, &c. Who having indeed been beaten in many Battles; in regard it would have seemed dangerous wholly to crush him; on account of Affinity; the Children of them both being received into a Colleague ship, and elected to the Empire of Cæsars; Crispus and Constantinus begotten by Flavius: Licinianus by Licinius. Which [Colleague ship] was scarce lasting, nor proved it happy to those who were assumed into it, being published in that same month on a day defiled with an Eclipse of the Sun. Therefore



fore six years after, the Peace being broke, Licinius, Routed amongst the Thracians, went to Chalcedon. Crispus, Licinianus, and Constantinus had been created Cæsars in the Consulate of Gallicanus and Bassus, on the Calends of March, (as Idatius relates in his Fasti, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle,) that is, on the year of Christ 317. On the year following there happened a darkness in the day time, at the ninth hour, as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti. Wherefore Aurelius Victor is mistaken, who places the promotion of the Cæsars on the same year whereon the Eclipse of the Sun happened. For, there happened indeed an Eclipse of the Sun on the year of Christ 318. But Crispus (together with Licinianus and Constantinus,) had been made Cæsar on the year of our Lords Nativity 317. Yet, Aurelius Victor does rightly compute the intervals of the times. For, from the Eclipse of the Sun, which happened on the year of Christ 318, to the Hadrianopolitan Battle there are full six years. Hereto agrees Cedrenus, who on the nineteenth year of Constantine's Empire, says, that Constantine undertook an Expedition against Licinius. For Constantine's nineteenth year falls on Crispus's and Constantine's third Consulate, which was the year of Christ 324. Sigonius differs not much from this account, who assigns the Hadrianopolitan Fight to the year of Christ 323, when Severus and Rufinus were Consuls. There is mention of the same Hadrianopolitan Fight in Leg. 1. Cod. Theod. de Veteranis, where Constantine says thus. *Veteranis qui ex die quinta nonarum Juliarum, &c. To the Veteranes, who from the fifth day of the Nones of July, when the first Victory in Thracia shined upon the whole world, and who afterwards deserved a Mission [or, Discharge] at our Nicomedia, we have indulged certain privileges by an Edict, &c.* For the Hadrianopolitan Battle was fought on the fifth day of the Nones of July, as Idatius has recorded in his Fasti, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle. But the subscription of this Law is faulty. For, 'tis said to be published, Licinius the fifth time and Crispus being Consul, that is, on the year of Christ 318. Which gave occasion of mistake to Baronius. But, who sees not that it should be written, Paulinus and Julianus being Coss.? For when they were Consuls, Constantine came to Nicomedia, after Licinius was Routed and totally vanquished. But, when Licinius the fifth time, and Crispus were Consuls, Nicomedia obeyed Licinius, and was the seat of his Empire. When they were Consuls therefore Constantine could not indulge a Mission and Privileges to his own Veteranes, in the City Nicomedia, in regard that City was in no wise subject to his Government. Whereas therefore in that Law Constantine does term it Our Nicomedia, we must of necessity say, that that Law was dated in the Consulate of Paulinus and Julianus. Valef.

CHAP. XVIII.

Licinius's Death, and the Triumphs celebrated over him.

\*Licinius. **T**hen he inflicted on that \* Enemy of God, and on those about him, a condign punishment; to which he adjudged them by the Law of War. What Persons soever therefore had been his Advisers to a War against God, were lead away, together with the Tyrant himself, and underwent a deserved punishment. - And they, who a little before had been puffed up with a vain hope, did in reality embrace the God of Constantine, and profest that at length they acknowledged him to be the true and only God.   
\* Μικρόν ὕστερον I write, μικρόν πρότερον, a little before. Unless we should say, that the words are transposed, which frequently occurs in these Books. And so Christophorus seems to have mended this place; μικρόν ὕστερον, ἔρως ὁ κοινωτικὸς θεὸς οὗ ἢν παρελάβανον, a little after, did in reality discern the God of Constantine, what a God he was; which reading is very good. Further, in the Fugkerian Manuscript and in the old Sheets, from those words, But when he saw, to these, only God; 'tis but one chapter, not two, as 'tis in the Geneva Edition. Valef.

CHAP. XIX.

The publick Rejoycings and Festivities.

\*Or, Taken away. **M**oreover, when the Impious were quite destroyed, the Rays of the Sun in future appeared bright and pure, [the cloud as

twere] of Tyrannick power [being dispersed.] And all parts of the World which paid obedience to the Roman Empire became conjoyned; those Provinces in the East were united to them in the West; and the whole Body of the Empire was adorned with \* one universal Monarch, as with one Head; the Dominion and Authority of one Person † comprehending all Men whatever. And the bright Rays of the Light of Piety bestowed joyful days on them, who before fate in darkness and the shadow of death. Nor did there remain any remembrance of the past Evils; in regard all Persons every where adorned the Conqueror with praises, and profest they acknowledged the only God his preserver. Thus, Our Emperour, embellish'd with all the vertues of Religion, Constantinus Victor (for he procured himself this \* most agreeable and proper Surname and Title, on account of those Victories granted him by God over all his Enemies and Opposers:) received the East; and reduced under a Subjection to himself the entire Roman Empire, conjoyned as heretofore it had been. He was the first [Emperour] who publish'd to all Men the Dominion of one God: and he himself, possesst of the sole Dominion over the Roman World, governed the whole Body of Mankind. All fear of those mischigfs wherewith all Men had been heretofore oppress'd, was now taken away. And they who in times past had been dejected and sorrowful, then look'd one upon another with smiling countenances and chearful eyes. In Dances also and Songs they first of all glorified God the King of Kings, (<sup>b</sup> for thus they were instructed to do;) and in the next place The Victor Augustus, and his most Modest and Pious Sons The Cæsars, with \* uninterrupted Acclamations. There was an oblivion of past Afflictions, no remembrance of impiety; but an enjoyment of the present † Blessings, and an expectation of more in future.   
\* Or, Voices not to be stopt. they were instructed, from the close of the Tenib Book of his Ecclesiastical History, where all these passages occur almost in the same words. A little after, write παῖδες τε αὐτοῦ κοσμιωτάτες, and his most modest Sons as 'tis in the Fugkerian and Savil. Manuscripts, and in the Kings Sheets. Valef. In Robert Stephens the reading is παῖδε, Son.

CHAP. XX.

How Constantine made Laws in favour of the Confessours.

**M**oreover, the Emperour's Constitutions full of Clemency, were then \* published \* Or, amongst us also, as they had been before amongst those who inhabited the other part of the World: and Laws, breathing forth Piety towards God; gave various promises of all manner of Goods; in regard they bestowed <sup>a</sup> on the Provincials. In the Alexandrian Chronicle these words occur concerning Constantine's Liberality and Indulgence towards the Provincials; on the twentieth year of his Empire, οἱ τεχνιτῶν καὶ σωσιλέων τὰ ἐπιτάγματα ἀπετέλει, he took off the Burthens of Artificers and Collators (that is, those of the Provincials who paid Tribute.) Valef.   
Ccc 4 throughout



\* The Laws.

\* Τὰς βε-  
λτιμώτερας  
ἐκείνας  
τοὺς Χρι-  
στοφωρ-  
στον  
under-  
stood not  
this place;  
but Por-  
teus has  
rendered it  
not un-  
happily,  
in this  
manner;  
Quicquid  
de causâ  
translati  
erant ad  
Curias,  
who for  
the same  
reason had  
been re-  
moved to  
the Curia.  
Valef.  
The Curia  
were the  
Offices of  
Corpora-  
tions, the

bearing whereof was generally very chargeable and burthensome; the Persons who bore these Offices were termed *Curiales*.

\* Δημόσιος ἔργος δαλεῦεν. Christophorson renders this place ill, thus, *ad publica imperii opera obeunda vi compulsi, by force compelled to undergo the publick Works of the Empire.* Eusebius terms the Mines, publick Bake-houses, Work-houses wherein they Wove, and Gynæcia; δημόσια ἔργα: to which works who ever had been condemned by a sentence of the Judge, lost their Liberty. For this was termed a servitude of punishment. Now, 'twas usual to condemn the Christians to such works as these, because of their confession of Christ's name. And, as to the Mines, the matter is notorious. But, of a condemnation to the publick Bake-house, we have an instance in the Acts of the Passion of Pope Marcellus. Valef.

\* Ἐπιθεσίαι. Two words seem to have grown into one, which are, thus to be disjoined, ἐπ' ἑξέταις. A little after, where the reading is, τὰς οἰκίας ἀπαραμύδαν, of recovering their Houses; I think it must be, τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐξέταις ἀπαραμύδαν, of recovering their proper Offices. For they had not been despoiled of their Houses, but of their Employments in the Militia. Valef.

\* Γυναικείαις δ' ἔργοις. Concerning the Gynæcia there is frequent mention, as well in both the Codes, as in the Notitia of the Roman Empire. See Briffonius's Lexicon. Further, Persons condemned to the Gynæcia, were clothed in a short Coat made of Linen, which was a servile habit. We learn this from the Passion of Romanus the Martyr, which is published by Mombrinius, and occurs in the Muscæacensis Copy. Eadem vero die Maximianus iussit, &c. But on the same day Maximianus commanded, that the Christians who were in the Palace should be ungirt. Maximianus therefore took notice to himself of many passing by, whilst they were loosing their Girdles: and he saw Istitius of Blessed Memory; and being in a rage, called him to him, and strip'd him of the garments wherewith he was clothed, and clothed him in a Linen short-coat, and put him into the Gynæcium to the Wool-Workers, in order to his reproach. Further, the Fuketian Manuscript has this place written thus, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ ἀτιμία δαλεῦεν καὶ δέσας ἐμοίαις τοῖς λοιποῖς ἡλευδέραις, which is the truer reading no doubt, and we have followed it in our Version. Valef. The Gynæcium or Gynæceum (says Briffonius in his Work de Verbo. Significat. book 7. fol. 254, Edit. Paris. 1596.) signifies the Weaving-House appointed for making the Garments of the Emperour. The Emperours had Slaves of both Sexes employed in their Gynæcia. They had likewise Weaving-Houses for Linen Garments, termed λινέον Linophia, which we find mentioned in Chap. 34. of this Second Book.

throughout each Province, what was useful and of advantage to them; and assigned to the Churches of God those things that were congruous and convenient. And first of all, \* they recalled home those Persons, who, because they would not sacrifice to Idols, had been banished by the Governours of Provinces, and compelled to remove out of their own Country. Then, they freed from publick Functions, those who for the same reason had been <sup>b</sup> adjudged to the *Curia*: and ordered, that such as had been deprived of their Goods, should have them restored to them again. Besides, they who during the time of Persecution, [having been strengthened] by God, had given a signal proof of their fortitude and constancy of mind; and were either condemned to the Mines, there to be tortured with daily Labour; or adjudged to a *Deportation* into the Islands; or had been forced to a slavery in the *Publick Works*; these Persons, freed on a sudden from all these disquietudes and troubles, enjoyed their Liberty. Further, such as, by reason of their egregious resoluteness in retaining their Religion, had been despoiled of the honour of the *Militia*, were recalled from this ignominy by the Emperour's Munificence: who gave them <sup>d</sup> a free Liberty of choice, either of recovering their proper Offices, and of flourishing in their Pristine dignities; or, if they were in love with a quiet and retired Life, of continuing in future exempt from the troubles of all publick Functions. Lastly, whatever Persons in order to their being reproach'd and disgrac'd, had been condemned to a slavery in the *Gynæcia*, them [the Emperour] set at Liberty as well as the rest.

## C H A P. XXI.

How [he made Laws] concerning the Martyrs, and concerning the Estates of the Churches.

AND these were the Establishments which the Emperour made in written Laws, concerning such Persons as had undergone those sufferings. But in relation to their goods, a most full and ample provision was made by a Law of the Emperour's. For he commanded, that the Goods and Estates of God's holy Martyrs, who had ended their lives in their Confession, should be enjoyed by their nearest Relatives. But, if no Relation of their's could be found, then the Churches were to have their Estates. And, the [Imperial] Letter of Indulgence ordered, that the Goods which had been heretofore transferred to others, out of the Treasury, either by a Sale, or by donation; and which remained still in the Treasury, should be returned back to their Owners. Such were the favours which the Emperour's benignity conferred upon the Church of God, by his Laws transmitted into all the Provinces.

## C H A P. XXII.

In what manner he refreshed and cherish'd the People also.

BUT, his Imperial Munificence bestowed <sup>a</sup> more, and far greater Favours than these, <sup>b</sup> upon the People that were strangers to our Religion, and upon all the Provinces. Wherefore, all the Inhabitants of our [Eastern Countries,] <sup>c</sup> who having before this received an account of what had been done in the other part of the Roman Empire, had stiled them happy because they were possessors of such Blessings; and who fervently prayed, that they themselves might at length enjoy the like: beholding these things with their own eyes, \* doubted not of terming themselves blessed \* Or, now; and confest, that some new Miracle, and Thought such a one as no Age under the Rays of the Sun had ever beheld before, so great and gracious an Emperour [namely,] had <sup>d</sup> appeared to mankind. And these were their Sentiments. <sup>e</sup> But, &c. and from these words the twenty second chapter is to be begun, as 'tis in the Fuketian Manuscript and the Old Sheers. Valef. <sup>f</sup> Οὐκ ἔστι πέν. I mend it, οὐκ ἔστι πέν, who having before this: which Christophorson saw not. I write also, πτωχὸν ὁρῶν τὸ ἐν δαπέδῳ, received an account of what, &c. Valef. <sup>g</sup> Or, Shined upon.

## C H A P. XXIII.

That he publicly Proclaimed God the Author of Good; and concerning the Copies of his Laws.

BUT, when the Emperour, by the power of God his Saviour, had reduced all places under a Subjection to himself, he himself made known to all Men that God who had bestowed these Blessings upon him: and attested, that He



ο Πισιν τῶ. The reading in the *Medicean Manuscript* is far more elegant, thus, *πισιν δὲ τῶ πνεύματι*, *Indeed, the things, &c.* *Valef.*

† Or, Record the evidence of the confirmation  
of our discourse.

Manuscript, and in the *Old Syriac*. *Παλαι*  
*ἡ* *Ἐκκετιαν* *ἡ* *Μανυσκρῖτις* *ἡ* *τῆς* *παρέσεως*,  
 which reading the *Geneva-men* have taken notice of, as occurring  
 in some Copies. But, this way of writing is not to be born with.  
 For *παρεσῶνον* in the singular number follows. Besides, *Eusebius* pro-  
 duces but one Constitution of *Constantine's* here; to wit, that which  
 had been sent by *Constantine* to the *Provincials*. He does indeed  
 attest, that two Laws had been issued forth together in favour of the  
*Christians*; the one to the *Catholick Church*, the other to the *Pro-*  
*vincials*. But he annexes the Copy but of one of them, namely  
 of that which had been sent to the *Provincials of Palestine*. The  
 other, sent to the *Churches*, is omitted by *Eusebius*, either because  
 it had been drawn according to the same Copy with that to the *Provin-*  
*cials*; or for some other reason. *Valeſt.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS,  
MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS,  
a To the Provincials of Palestine.

at any time transacted. Also, instead of ἐξχειρήσεως πῆρας <sup>ὑπομνήμας,</sup> the Issue of their attempt: 'tis written, τὰς ἐξχειρήσεις πῆρας, their attempts to an—issue; in which manner I found it written in the Kings Sheets and Fuketian Manuscript. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> This place is imperfect, and ought thus to be restored from the *Medicean Manuscript*;  $\kappa\iota\ \eta\ \omega\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\omicron\theta\eta\tau\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma,\ \eta\ \omega\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\ \gamma\lambda\omicron\ \text{λογισμ\acute{o}\nu}\ \delta\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\ \mu\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\beta\acute{o}\nu\eta\alpha\varsigma,\ \&c;$ ; which reading we have express'd in our Rendition. *Valeſ.*

<sup>c</sup> 'Οὐκ ἀπεικότως. In the *Medicean Manuscript* 'tis written, ἢν ἂν ἀπεικότως, ἢδ' ἂν ὑπὸ λόφῳ συμβαίνοι. In the *King's Manuscript* also 'tis συμβαίνοι. *Valef.*

## Concerning the Persecuted, and the Persecutors.

ter, from the same Manuscript it must be read ἡ χριστιανικὴ διακονία, *worship of Christianity*; and the same is the reading in the Kings Sheets and Fuketian Manuscript. Vale! In Robert Stephens 'tis γειστανικὴ διακονία.

<sup>c</sup> καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντες. The Medicæan Manuscript has it καταφρονητικῶς ἔχεν ἐδελοντες, desirous of condemning it; which reading seems to me much truer. Valeſ.

**F**OR, what ever persons proceed to Action<sup>a</sup> At these words I  
with a just [purpose of] mind, and have began the  
the fear of God continually in their thoughts, pre-26th Chap.  
serving their Faith towards Him firm and un- from the  
shaken; and who do not prefer present fears and Fuk. Md.  
dangers before the hopes of those future things. nuscript.  
although they may have had experience of some and the  
Troubles and afflictions for a time, yet they have King's  
not born what beset them with heaviness, be- Sheets.  
cause they believe, that greater Rewards are Valet.  
treasured



treasured up for them. But, by how much more pressing the Calamities were, wherewith they have been tryed; by so much more shining was the Glory they obtained. But, such as have either dishonourably contemned what is just; or not acknowledged God themselves, and have dared to inflict on those who faithfully \* Or, \* worship Him, Contumelies and the cruellest of punishments; and who have not judged themselves wretched, because they have punished [men] upon such Pretexes as these; nor [accounted the persons thus punish'd] happy and blessed, who amidst so great sufferings have preserved their Piety towards God inviolate: Many of these mens Armies have been ruined, and many routed. In fine, their whole Military Forces have ended in a total Overthrow.

either dishonourably, &c. 'Tis much like what he had said above, at chap. 25, where see note (b) Valef.

\* Εὐχολαζόν. In the Medicæan Manuscript the reading is καλὰ ζώντο, which is truer if I mistake not. A little after, the same Copy has it, εἰς ἀρχίστην ἐλθόντες ἡμῶν, have ended in a most reproachful Overthrow. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVII.

That Persecution hath been the Occasion of Mischief to those who waged War.

\* Or, Heavy. From such [impieties] as these, \* Bloody Wars have risen, and dismal devastations. Hence [bath been occasioned] a want of necessities for daily use, and multitude of independent Mischiefs. Hence, the Authors of so great Impiety, fallen under the pressures of the extreme calamities, have either perished by an unhappy death; or, leading a most reproachful Life, have acknowledged that more afflictive than Death it self; and have received punishments in a manner equal to their unjust Actions. For, each of them bath met with Mischiefs so much the more Calamitous, with how much more of in the same vehemency he had through madness resolved to Copy, the assault (as he hoped,) and put a force upon the reading is, Divine Law. In so much that, they were not only disquieted with the Troubles of this present Life, but most acutely tortured with a fear and &c. From expectation of the Infernal punishments. such [impieties] as these, bloody Wars arise. Valef.

\* Παράκλητον. The Medicæan Copy adds a word, in this manner, δάνατον πανώλεθρον ἐδυσχίσαν perished by an unhappy death. A little after, in the same Manuscript the reading is, πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν εὖρετο, For, each of them bath found, or met with, &c. which doubtless is truer. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

That God chose Constantine to be the Minister of Blessings.

Further, when so great and sore an impiety had seized a Mankind; and the Republick, as 'twere by the rage of some Pestilential distemper, was infected with the imminentest of dangers, and therefore wanted a Cure that was salutary and great; what solace, what Remedy did God find out to free us from these evils? (Now, when I speak of God, He must always be meant, who really σωθεὶς πολλῶν, a great salutary Cure; without the Conjunction. Valef.

\* Εὐνοητέον. In the Medicæan Copy, the simple term occurs instead of the compounded, thus, νοητέον; which has less of roughness. A little after, the reading in the same Copy is, ὁ μόνον τε καὶ ὡς εὖτε ὁρί. Valef.

is the only God, and is possessor of a perpetual power in every Age. Nor will it in any wise be arrogancy for him, who acknowledges the Benefits [received] from God, to speak magnificently.) God himself hath required and determined to make use of our assistance as fit in order to [the Completion of] his own will. Who having begun from that British Ocean, and those parts where, by a determined Necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having by a certain divine power expelled and dissipated all those mischiefs which had possessed [the world;] both, that Mankind, instructed by my Ministry, might be recalled to an observancy of the most Venerable Law; and also, that the most Blessed Father might be increased and propagated, by God Himself being the Leader:

chap. 8. where he has epitomized this Law of Constantine. Valef.

\* Τὴν γὰρ ἐμὴν ὑποψίαν, For God Himself hath required, &c. In the Medicæan Copy the particle γὰρ is wanting, which to me seems altogether superfluous. Valef.

\* Κρείττονι πνεύματι, by a certain divine power. The two last words are wanting in the Medicæan Copy, and the term κρείττονι is referred to the word ἀνάσκειν which went before; in this manner, by a divine necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having expelled, &c. Valef.

\* Τὰ κατέχοντα πάντα δεῦρα. After these words, the Fuketian, Turnebian and Savil. Copies add these two, ἐκποδῶν ἐποικήσε, hath wholly taken away. And so Christopherson read, as 'tis apparent from his Version, which at this place is very intricate. But I am of opinion, that those words [ὅς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεταννῶν ἐκείνης θαλάσσης ἐξῆλθεν, &c. Who, having begun from that British Ocean, &c.] are spoken concerning Constantine himself, and not concerning God, as Musculus and Christopherson thought. Wherefore, there is no need of those words ἐκποδῶν ἐποικήσε, which occur not, either in the Medicæan or King's Copy, or in the Old Sheets: especially, in regard it follows in the next chapter, μέχρι καὶ τῶ ἐὼν πρὸς ἐμὴν, I am come as far as the Eastern parts. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIX.

Constantine's Pious Expressions towards God; and his praise of the Confessours.

\* OR I could never have been ingrateful in reference to the Benefit wherewith I am obliged; in regard I firmly believe this most excellent Ministry to have been conferred on Me as a Gift of the highest value; ) at length I am come as far as the Eastern Parts. Which [Countries,] because they \* groan under heavier Calamities, call for a greater Cure from us. Further, I do most firmly believe, that My whole Soul, all that I breath, and what ever dwells within the inmost recesses of my mind, is entirely owing from Me to the supream God. I know accurately well indeed, that they who have rightly pursued an hope of Celestial things, and have peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen in the divine dwellings; do in no wise stand in need of the Benevolence of men: in regard they enjoy

understood as spoken by a Parenthesis. In the Fuketian and Turnebian Copies the reading is ἐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνώμων. Valef.

\* Τὴν αἰσλῶ. In the Medicæan Copy this whole place is written far truer, thus, πάντῳ αἰσλῶ διακρίαν, τὸ πρὸ κεχαισμένο ἑαυτοῦ δῶκεν πένους, μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐὼν πρὸς ἐμὴν, &c. in regard I firmly believe this most excellent, &c. as we have rendered it. Further, with these words the whole period is concluded, which begins from those of the preceding chapter, ὅς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεταννῶν, who having begun from that British, &c. which the Translatours perceived not. Nor could I my self even have found it out, without the assistance of the Medicæan Copy.

\* Ἐξαιρετὸν τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς. The Medicæan Manuscript has it written, Ἐξαιρετὸν τε καὶ βασιλικὴ ἀσφαλῶς, and have peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen. The Emperour Constantine terms the hope of the Sons of God, a Queen, because it excels all humane things. Valef.



so much the Greater Honour, <sup>a</sup> by how much farther they have removed and separated themselves from <sup>\*</sup> the vices and impieties of Mortality. Nevertheless, I account it as belonging to Me, at the greatest distance now to remove, from persons void of all fault and reprehension, those necessities imposed on them for a time, and those misbecoming tortures. Otherwise, it would be most absurd, that these mens fortitude and stability of mind, should have been made apparent under their Reign, who were desirous of persecuting them, on account of their Worship of God: but, that under a servant of God [swaying the Imperial scepter,] their Glory should not have been raised <sup>c</sup> to an higher degree of Resplendency and themselves Blessedness.

from, &c; which conjecture the Medicæan Manuscript hath plainly confirmed. In which also the reading is, *ποσῶν τε* so much the greater; but *γ* is overwritten, thus, *ποσῶν γ* Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Εἰς λαμπρότερον π.* In the Medicæan Copy I found it written, *εἰς λαμπρότερον καὶ μακραιότερον χάριτι τῷ θεῷ, &c.* to a more resplendent and more blessed Scheme or Figure. Valef.

CHAP. XXX.

A Law setting [men] free from Banishment, from The Curia, and from Proscription of Goods.

LET all those therefore, whether they be such as have changed their Country for a strange Soil; because they would not <sup>\*</sup> betray their Honour and Faith towards God, to which with their whole souls they had consecrated themselves, at what time soever each of them have been condemned by the cruel <sup>a</sup> Sentences of the Judges: or, whether they be such as have been enrolled within the Catalogues of the Curiales, when as before they did not fill up their Number: be now restored both <sup>b</sup> to their paternal Estates, and to their wonted leisure, and return thanks to God the Deliverer of all.

Also, whoever have been deprived of their Goods, <sup>\*</sup> Or, Loss. and, <sup>c</sup> stricken with a <sup>\*</sup> Mulct of their whole substance, have hitherto led a most miserable and sad life; let them likewise be restored to their Pristine habitations, <sup>d</sup> Families, and Goods; and may they with gladness enjoy the Beneficence of God.

within, &c. In the Kings Sheets and Fuketian Copy 'tis συννηθμισαν, have been enrolled within. Valef. The same with this last is the reading in Robert Stephens.

<sup>b</sup> *Χωρίς τοῖς πατέροις.* In the Medicæan Copy the reading is righter, thus, *χωρίς τε πατέροις ἀποκαταστάντες*, be now restored both to their, &c. In the King's Copy the reading is also *ἀποκαταστάντες*: in Robert Stephens 'tis *ἀποκαταστήσαντες*. Further, Eusebius here calls their paternal Lands or Estates, *πατρῷα χωρία*. For those that were lyable or bound to serve in the Curia, (into which the richest persons were wont to be enrolled;) their Farms or Lands were enlaved to the Curia; [that is, were burthened with such Services and Offices as belonged to the Courts of Corporations.] Therefore, although they withdrew themselves by flight, it availed them nothing, in regard The Curia seized their Farms. Constantine therefore appoints by this Constitution, that those who had been bound to the Curia on account of the Christian Faith, (provided their paternal Farms, which the Curia had made seizure of, were not of a Curial original;) should recover those their paternal Farms. Wherefore Christopherfon has rendred it ill, thus, *Patris sedibus*, to their Fathers seats. Turnebus in his Copy hath mended it, *ἀποκαταστάντες*. In the Fuketian Manuscript 'tis written *ἀποκαταστήσαντες* εἰς τὰς; as 'tis also in Sir Henry Savil's Copy, and in Christopherfon. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Καταπονθέντες*, oppressed. In the Medicæan Copy the reading is *καταπεπληγότες*, stricken, which pleases me better. For, 'tis a Civil-Law Term. So, *feriri mulctâ*, to be stricken or smitten with a mulct, occurs frequently in the Constitutions of the Emperours. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> *Γενέσθαι*, Generations. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis *ῥέσθαι*, Families. And a little after, the reading there is *χαίειν τε σπουδάζειν*, and may they with gladness enjoy. Valef. In Robert Stephens 'tis *χαίοντες τε σπουδάζουσιν*, and they shall with gladness enjoy.

CHAP. XXXI.  
Those in Islands likewise.

Moreover, we Command, that what ever persons are detained in Islands <sup>a</sup> against their wills, shall enjoy [the benefit of] this provision <sup>b</sup> to the end that they, who hitherto have been inclosed, both within the impassable Craggs of Mountains, and within the surrounding Sea, being freed from their sad and inhumane Solitude, should restore themselves to their dearest Relatives, and fulfil their wishes and desires. And, that such as for a long time have lived a miserable and necessitous Life in a most detestable filthiness, having obtained their return as some prey given to them, and being in future freed from Cares, <sup>c</sup> should without fear live with us. For, for any one to live in fear under us, who both boast and believe our selves to be the servants of God, would not only be a very absurd thing to be heard, but also much more to be believed. For our <sup>\*</sup> usage is such, that we would correct the faults of others.

Not without reason he has added the words *καὶ ἐναντίον τῶν ἐγγύων*, against their wills; because of the Monks, who lived a solitary life in Islands. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> *Ὅπως οἱ μὴ φοβούμενοι ὑμᾶς, οἱ καὶ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ ᾤοντο, οὐκ ἔσται ἡμῶν ἀκούοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν θεοῦ δοῦλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν.* The Medicæan Manuscript, Nature gives us a different reading, in this manner *ὅπως μάλιστα ποτε ὁρῶν, &c.* to the end that they who at any time have with some difficulty been inclosed, &c. And a little after, *ἀποδοῦναι*, may restore themselves. Also, *οἱ πενιχρόν*, that such as for, &c; not, *οἱ πενιχρόν*, And, that such, &c. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Ἀποστερηταὶ ῥύπτῃ, detestable filthiness.* In the Medicæan Copy I found it written *περὶ ῥύπτῃ*. Which perhaps is truer. The import whereof is *cum invidioso quodam squalore*, with an hated nastiness. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> *Μὴ μὲν φόβῳ σὺν ἡμῖν βίωειν.* This place is written far otherwise in the Medicæan Copy. For, that Manuscript hath a full point after these words *καὶ τὸ φροντιστικὸν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμειψόμενοι*, and being in future freed from cares. Then, it words the following passage thus; *μὴ φόβῳ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βίωειν, οἱ θεοῦ δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ ᾤοντο, καὶ εἰς ἀκοήν ἐλθεῖν μόνον εἰς τὸ ἀποπνεύσαι, ἀντὶ τῆς μὴ ἡμῶν ἢ μοχθηρίας, ἢ τῆς περὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἀμειψίας σπουδῆς πληρῆν.* That his; For, to live with fear under Us, who both boast and believe we are the servants of God; would be a most absurd thing even barely to be heard; much more, that any one should undergoe either the four Labours [at the Mines,] or the services in the publick works. Which reading, in my sentiment, is purer, and more plain than the common one. Valef.

CHAP. XXXII.

Also, Those who have been <sup>\*</sup> condemned to the Mines and Publick Works.

Also, what ever persons have been condemned either to work in the sore Labours of the Mines, or to undergo the Services in the Publick Works: Let such men exchange their continual Toils for a <sup>a</sup> sweet leisure, and in future lead a more easie life agreeable to their own minds, and conclude <sup>\*</sup> the Troubles of their immoderate Labours with a pleasing rest. And although some of them may have lost their common Liberty and may have been so unfortunate as to have been marked with infamy; nevertheless, let them with a becoming joy recover their Pristine dignity separated from them by some long voyage as it were, and hasten to return into their own Countries.

which is far truer. Turnebus in his Copy had mended it, *καὶ εἰ τῆς κοινῆς*; but the reading of the Medicæan Manuscript is truer, which is confirmed by the Fuketian Copy. Valef.



nevertheless



D d d



\* Or, Drily \* ejected; incompassionately destroyed; care-  
ven away. lessly cast forth; when Proscriptions of innocent  
† Or, Per- Persons were frequent; the † fury of Persecutors  
secutions insatiable; and sales of Goods [every where vi-  
insatiable. sible.] But, if any Men do insist upon such dis-  
courses as these, and do persist in their insatiable  
σιν, ad- c purposes and intentions; they shall be sensible, that  
monitions. such a practise will not be suffered with an im-  
I corrected punty to themselves; especially, in regard on this  
this place account chiefly we give our Help and Ministry  
by the help of the Me- to the supreme God. a Whatever things there-  
dicæan Co fore a destructive necessity hath heretofore forced  
py, in which || to be received, 'tis now dangerous to  
'tis plainly || Or, To keep. And besides, 'tis necessary to les-  
written, receive. sen Lusts not to be satiated, partly by  
αεγυρίσσε- tions, or, purposes. Valef.

a "Οσα γὰρ αὐτῶν. The Medicæan Copy has it, ὡς αὐτῶν  
πον, &c. so that, what things a destructive, &c. and a little after,  
ἐπισημαίνουσιν ὑμῶν, it will now be dangerous, &c. Which I rather  
approve of. For this period is to be joyned with the foregoing one.  
Presently, where the reading is ἄλλως τε δὲ, 'tis righter in the  
Medicæan Copy, where the last particle is wanting. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

That the Exchequer shall restore to the Churches, Grounds, and Gardens, and Houses.

a "Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τα-  
μῖον. In the Medi-  
cæan Copy b daring to utter any thing of Obloquie against the  
the particle sacred Churches, those things which for a long time  
γὰρ is it hath unjustly detained, them it shall at length justly  
wanting; restore to the Churches. All things therefore what-  
and a little after, which c may rightly appear to appertain to  
after, in the ever, which c may rightly appear to appertain to  
same Copy the Churches; whether they be Houses [enjoyed  
the reading as] a Possession; or certain Fields and Gardens;  
it, ἢ δὲ ἀν- or whatever else they be, (no right belonging  
πρότερον δὲ a to the Dominion being diminished, but all  
δὲ. Valef. things continuing firm and entire;) We order to  
b Τοῦ μὲν εὖν I write be restored.

τοῦ μὲν εὖν, as 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Which the Medicæan Manuscript con-  
firms, wherein the reading is ἐπὶ τοῦ μὲν εὖν. In the same Copy, after  
the word Churches, is added αἰπεῖ, that is, some words are wanting.  
Valef.

c "Ορδὼς ἀναφανείν. The reading in the Medicæan Copy is truer,  
thus, ὁρδὼς ἀν φανείν, may rightly appear. Valef.

d Εἰς τὴν δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν. The emendation of this place is  
due to the Medicæan Copy, where we found it plainly written εἰς τὴν  
δεσποτείαν, to the dominion; excellently well. For the Emperors  
will is, that all Places and Farms, which had been taken away from  
the Christians, should truly and sincerely be restored to them to-  
gether with their rights. In such a manner that, if service was  
owing to any Farm or Field, to wit, a drove way, passage, or high  
way, it should be restored to the Christians with the same right  
in no part diminished. Therefore, if any one had mortgaged a Farm  
taken from a Christian, or had let it out by Lease to be planted and  
improved, or by a sale of it had encumbered it with any burthen or  
service; all these things are by Constantine's Edict rescinded. A little  
after, where the reading is ἀνδίστασθαι πρὸς ἀποδοῦναι, from the same Copy  
we have mended it thus, ἀποδοῦναι, to be restored. Yet, the Fuke-  
tian, Turnebian, and Savilian Copies have εἰς ἀποδοῦναι, which is no ill reading. Valef.

## CHAP. XL.

The \* Martyria and Cæmiteries † are or-  
dered to be yielded up to the Churches.

\* Places.  
where the  
Reliques of  
any martyr are.

† In the Greek 'tis we order.

a Καὶ μὴν a Moreover, who doubts but those Places, which  
δὲ In Mo- have been honoured with the Bodies of  
reus's Copy  
it mended, καὶ μὴν δὲ; which pleases me better. Valef.

the Martyrs, and are the Monuments of their glo-  
rious departure, do belong to the Churches? Tea-  
rather, who would not even command that? In  
as much as, there can be no Gift more valuable,  
nor can there be any other Labour pleasanter, and  
b which has in it more of advantage, than that, After  
by the impulse of the divine c Spirit, a diligent words in  
care be taken about these matters; to the end that the Greek,  
those Places, which with wicked pretexts have been in the Me-  
taken away by unjust and d most flagitious Men, dicæan  
being justly yielded up, may be restored again to Manu-  
[Gods's] sacred Churches. script fol-  
low these,  
ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν

γνώστο, can there be any other; which words are wanting in the or-  
dinary Editions. Valef.

c πνεύματος, Spirit. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis πνεύματος, τὴν αἰ-  
τῶν πνεύματος ποιῶν, will, a diligent care be taken about such  
matters as these. Also in the Fuk. Turneb. and Savil. Copies the  
reading is ποιῶν. Valef. In Robert Stephens, 'tis ποιῶν, to  
take a diligent, &c.

d Μοχθηρῶν. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis πορνῶν, most  
wicked. Valef.

## CHAP. XLI.

That such as have bought things belong-  
ing to the Church, or have received them  
as a gift, must restore them.

a BUT, because it appertains to an entire and ab-  
solute \* Providence, that they  
should not be past over in silence, who \* Or, Pro- I began  
b either by a right of Emption have vision. a new  
bought any thing of the Exchequer, or by a Title I also put  
of donation have possess themselves of any thing the Title  
as granted to them, having c in vain d extended before it,  
their insatiable desires to such Goods: Let all such which was  
Persons known, that although they have attempted wanting in  
to alienate Our Clemency from themselves, by rea- va-Edition,  
son of their most notorious audaciousness in making and in that  
such purchases; nevertheless, that our Benignity shall of Robert  
not be wanting to them, so far as 'tis possible and Stephens  
becoming. But let it suffice thus far to have treated printed at  
concerning these matters. Paris.  
Which de-  
fect we

made up from the Fuketian Manuscript and the King's Sheets.  
Valef.

b H ὡς δὲ δικαίω. The Medicæan Copy opened to us the true  
writing of this place; wherein the reading is ἢ ὡς δὲ δικαίω. I write,  
ἢ ὡς δὲ δικαίω, either by a right of Emption. Indeed, to style this  
Emption just, is contrary to the mind of Constantine, who terms these  
purchases unjust and nefarious presumptions. Valef.

c Μέρτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ. I had conjectured long since, that  
the particle καὶ was to be expunged: which conjecture of ours the  
Medicæan Copy does plainly confirm. The Emperor speaks concern-  
ing those Men, who had petitioned that these places might be given  
them by the Emperors. Which Christophorus perceived not. Pre-  
sently in the same Copy the reading is γνωσκέτωσαν ὡς τοῖς τοῖς, &c. a  
truer than in the ordinary Editions, ὅσοι τοῖς τοῖς. In the Fuk. and Turneb.  
Copies 'tis ὅσοι τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς, which is the worst reading of all. Valef.

d Ἐντινῶντες. In the Fuketian Copy 'tis ἐντινῶντες. Valef.

## CHAP. XLII.

An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

FURTHER, whereas it hath been b made appa-  
rent by most evident and most perspicuous ev. In the  
demonstrations; partly by the power and might of Medicæan  
Copy 'tis

ἐπεὶ δὲ δὲ. Valef.

b Ἐξέφην ἢ ἀπερῆ. If I mistake not, the reading in the Me-  
dicæan Copy is truer, thus, Ἐξέφην ἀπερῆ τε τῶ, &c. and we have  
pointed and rendred it accordingly: It should, I think, also be τῶ  
πασι τοῖς θεοῖς, of the omnipotent God. Valef.

the.



the Omnipotent God, and partly by the Exhortations and Assistances which He desires should frequently be given by Me; that that calamitous grief and disquietude, which had heretofore seized the whole Complex of humane Affairs, hath now been banished from all places under the Sun: all of you in general, and each Person in particular, by most accurate inspection, do perceive, what and how great that Power, what that Grace is, which hath wholly extinguished and destroyed the Seed (as I may so say) of the most flagitious and wickedest Men; but hath recalled the gladness of the Good, and abundantly diffused it throughout all Regions: and which hath permitted all imaginable Liberty to all Persons, that they should again both pay a meet worship to the divine Law it self with the highest Veneration, and also in a befitting manner revere those who have consecrated themselves to the service of that Law. Who having risen up out of a most profound darkness as 'twere, and received a clear knowledge of Affairs, will in future exhibit a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in our Eastern Parts.

Further, whereas it hath, &c. There is nothing clearer than this reading, nothing more certain. Instead of *ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ* for me, it must in my judgment be *ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ* or *παρ' ἐμοῦ*, by me, or from me. For Constantine means his own Ministry or service, which he lent God in the effecting of these things. Concerning which matter he does, not without reason, boast in the beginning of this Edict. Valef.

*Ἡ ἐξουσία*. In the Medicæan Copy the Article is wanting; and after these words, *τὴν χάριν*, what that Grace is, which words cannot be wanting without a great detriment to the whole Sentence. For, the term *ἐξουσία* imports that which he has above termed *ἀπειρὼς τῷ Θεῷ*, the power of God: but *χάρις* signifies the Benefit conferred upon Men by the Assistance and Ministry of Constantine. Valef.

*Ἡ τῶν ῥῆν μοχθηροτάτων*. In the Medicæan Manuscript, 'tis *ἡ τῶν ῥῆν μοχθηροτάτων καὶ μοχθηροτάτων*, of the most flagitious and wickedest. Further, it must be made *ἡ*; as 'tis in the King's Copy in the Fuketian Manuscript, and in the Old Sheets. Valef.

*Σοφὸς βασιλεὺς*. In the Medicæan Copy the reading is *βασιλεὺς σοφὸς* profound. Valef.

*Γεγραμμένων*. The Medicæan Manuscript has it *πεγγραμμένων* of Affairs. I found the same reading in the King's Copy, in the Old Sheets, and in the Fuketian Copy. Away therefore with Robert Stephens's Emendation. Valef. In Stephens 'tis *γεγραμμένων* of Letters.

In the Medicæan Copy the close of this Edict runs thus; *δεξιπῶν τε τῶν ἀρεσκουσὶ τῷ λοιπῷ πᾶσι αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσι συμφανὸν ἐπιδείξονται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικαῖς μέρεσιν. ἰ. e. Will in future exhibit a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in Our Eastern Parts. And this is the Subscription, which (as Eusebius attests, Chap. 23.) was put to this Edict in Constantine's own hand. For the Emperors were wont, in their own hand to add to the Edicts they sent out, *proponatur*, let it be published; and to give that in Command to the *Præfetti Prætorio*, as it appears from the Novels of Valentinianus and Majorianus. Indeed, even this one word *ἡμετέροις* Our, is a sufficient indication, that this Subscription was added in Constantine's own hand. For 'tis the Emperor himself that speaks, and who calls the Eastern Parts His own. For so the Emperors were wont to express themselves, then especially, when they spoke of any Province lately reduced under their Government. So Constantine in his Letter to Elafius, and in that to Probianus Proconsul of Africk, says *Africam Nostram* Our Africa; and in the first Law Cod. Theod. de Veteranis, apud Nicomediam nostram, at our Nicomedia. So in the only Law Cod. Theod. de his qui sanguinolentos, &c. Imperator Constantinus Italici suis, Emperor Constantine to his Italians. Lastly, Constantius Caesar in his Letter to Eumenius, which Letter Eumenius records in his Oration pro scholis; Merentur Galli nostri, &c. Our Galli are in service, &c. Further, this Edict of Constantine occurs, in the Medicæan Copy, after the Books of Ecclesiastick History, with this Title, ἀντίγραφον διατάξεως τοῦ θεοφιλέως βασιλέως. ἢν τὰς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ δελάου, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδεντο ἐλλογικῶς σωτάξας φανὴ διεπράξατο, that is, a Copy of the Constitution of the Emperor dear to God, which, (after he had destroyed the Tyrants,) he wrote in the Greek Tongue, and transmitted to the Province under him. Valef.*

CHAP. XLIII.

That those things which Constantine had established by Laws, were by him really accomplished and performed.

These were the Constitutions contained in the Emperors first Edict sent to us. Immediately therefore the Orders contained in this Law were effectually put into Execution: and all things were transacted, contrary to what a little before had been audaciously perpetrated by Tyrannick Cruelty; and they, to whom the Law granted them, enjoyed the Imperial Indulgences.

I was therefore willing to remark; because Dionysius Gotofredus thought, that Eusebius Cesariensis was not the Author of this Work: which nevertheless 'tis easie to refute, both by innumerable testimonies of ancient Writers, and also from very many passages of this Work; especially from chap. 45, and 46, of this Book. Now, the aforesaid Law of Constantine was issued out to the Palestinians in particular, for this reason, Because the persecution had raged most sorely there, and there had been many Confessors and Martyrs in that Province. Notice likewise is to be taken of what Eusebius says, viz. that this first Sanction or Edict of Constantine hath been brought to them. For that Edict concerning the Peace and Liberty of the Christians, which Constantine had sent into the East after his conquest of Maxentius, was by Maximine's fraud suppress'd, as Eusebius tells us in the beginning of his ninth Book. Valef.

CHAP. XLIV.

That he preferred Christians to the Government of Provinces; but if [any of the Governors] were Pagans; he forbid them to Sacrifice.

After this, the Emperor put his hand seriously to the work. And in the first place, most of those he sent as Governors of the Nations distributed throughout the Provinces, were Persons dedicated to the salutary Faith. But, if any of them seemed addicted to Gentilism, it was forbidden them to Sacrifice. The same Law was imposed also upon those, who in dignity preceded the Presidents, as likewise on them that had obtained the highest pitch of Honour and the Power of the Prætorian Præfecture. For either, if they were Christians, he gave them permission, that they should perform what was correspondent to their Appellation: or else, if they were otherwise affected, he ordered them not to worship Idols.

For these dignities were far more eminent than those of the Presidents, as every one knows. But Christopherson, according to his usual mistake, translates *ἡγεμόνας* Præfects; than which nothing is more absurd. Valef.

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning the Laws forbidding Sacrifices, and ordering the Churches to be built.

SOON after, two Laws were issued out at one and the same time. The one whereof forbade the detestable Sacrifices to Idols, here renders it, *due Leges in eandem sententiam promulgabantur*, two Laws were promulg'd to the same effect, or meaning: wherein he seems to have followed Portesius, who had rendred it thus; *Due postea Leges emissa non ita dissimili argumento*, Two Laws were afterwards issued out of a Subject not unlike. But I thought *ἃ τὸ αὐτὸ* to be the same with simul, uno eodemque tempore, together; at one, and the same time. For so Eusebius does usually express himself. Valef.







latry, wherein they had been involved, who had Governed the Roman Empire before him. [In which Oration] he exhorted His Subjects with an admirable eloquence, to acknowledge the supream God, and openly to assume to themselves his [Son] Christ to be their Saviour. Moreover, I judged it necessary to translate this Letter also, written with his own hand, out of the Latine Tongue [into Greek,] and insert it into this present Work; that we may seem to hear the Emperour himself, crying out in the hearing of all Men after this manner.

† Or, Eastern Provincials.

Portesius has rendered these words right, although he has not hit the sense. Valef.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Constantine's Edict to the Provinces, concerning the Errour of Polytheism. The Preface, concerning Vertue and Vice.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the † Provincials of the East.

ALL things what ever that are contained in the most Authentick Laws of Nature, do give all Men sufficient notices of a divine providence over and || Inspection into the administration of all matters. Nor is there any doubt to those, whose minds are by the right way of knowledge † directed to that end, but an accurate comprehension of a sound mind and of the very sight it self, a by one and the same impulse of true Vertue, may lead to the knowledge of God. Wherefore, no considerate Person can ever be disturbed, when he perceives most Men following \* Courses of Life contrary the one to the other. For, the Beauty of Vertue would be b unuseful and lie concealed, unless improbity should on the other hand † set forth a perverse and depraved way of living. Therefore, a Crown is proposed to Vertue; but the Most high God presides in the Judgment [and punishment of Improbity.] But, I will attempt, with all possible perspicuity, to || discourse to you all, concerning those \* Hopes I have of things future.

† Or, Carried to that scope.

† Or, Dis-closure a life of perverse madness.

† Or, Make a confession.

\* Or, Hopes within my self.

fection tends to the same end, to wit, the knowledge of truth. The sense proceeds to the truth of things sensible; and the understanding to the verity of Intelligibles from the truth it self of things sensible: and hence by degrees it ascends to the knowledge of the supream God. Also at this place ἀρετή καὶ ἀλυσθῆς may be termed the force and virtue of Truth. Yet, the following words do assure us, that this place must be taken concerning Moral Vertue. Valef. Valefius renders those Greek words set at the beginning of this note thus, vera virtutis eodem urgente atque inclinante natura, the nature of true Vertue verging and inclining to the same end.

b' ἄβησις, foolish or absurd. I read ἀβήσις unuseful, as 'tis in the Euketian Manuscript, and in Moræus's, and Gruter's Copy. A little after I write, διὰ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν σέβουσι μέγιστα, Therefore a Crown is proposed to Vertue. But these words are very obscure and intricate; which is partly to be attributed to Constantine himself, in regard being ὁμιληθῆς a person that began to learn late, he was more obscure in expretting himself; and partly to Eusebius, or whoever else it was, who of obscure Latine words made the Greek more obscure. In the Euketian Manuscript the reading is ἀβήσις, and διὰ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν, &c. excellently well. Valef.

CHAP. XLIX.

Concerning the Pious Father of Constantine; and concerning Dioclesian and Maximian the Persecutors.

I Always look't upon the former Emperours, by reason of the Ferity of their dispositions, as Persons \* extraneous and foreign. My Father was the only Man, who took in hand works of Lenity and Mansuetude; and with an admirable Piety invoked God the Father in all his Actings. But the rest [Of the Emperours,] not sound as to their Intellectuals, made immanity, rather than mildness, their Business; and this they nourished † in † Or, Pro-a wonderful manner, subverting the true doctrine during their own times. Further, the fury of their improbity was kindled to such a degree, that a Civil Wars were raised by them, against all as a He well Divine as Humane affairs, when in the terms the greatest repose and tranquility imaginable. Persecutions of

the Christians, Civil Wars. For there is nothing liker a Civil War, than when the Christians were put to flight and murdered in all Cities, not by an incursion of Enemies and Barbarians, but of their own Fellow Citizens. Valef.

CHAP. L.

That by reason of Apollo's Oracle, who could not give forth Responses because of The just Men, a Persecution was raised.

IT was reported, that at that time Apollo gave forth an Oracle out of a certain Den and dark Cavern, not by humane voice; whereby he declared, that The just Men upon Earth were an hindrance to him, that he could not speak the truth: and, that on this account † false Oracles were given out from the Tripods: and, that for this reason a his mournful prophetess suffered her long hair to hang down neglected; and, the Art of Divination being banish'd, lamented that great Evil amongst Men. But Let us see, what manner of conclusion these things were brought to.

† Or, The Oracles of the Tripods were made false.

ἀεφθίτης (or, if you will, ἰερεῖα) κατὰ τὸν ὅρον; which reading we have followed in our Version. Portesius also, and Morinus understood these words concerning the Pythia or Priestess of Apollo. But, in the excellent Euketian Manuscript, this whole place is written thus, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡρεῖς τὸ πλοκάμους ἀνείναι πεποίηκε. τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐλαυνόμενους, &c. For this reason he [Apollo] suffered his mournful long hair to hang down neglected, &c. whereto agrees Sir Henry Savil's Copy. Presently, in the same Copies the reading is εἰς ὅποιον τέλος κατέληξεν, in what manner of end these things terminated. Valef.

CHAP. LI.

That Constantine, when he was a youth, heard that the just Men were the Christians, from him that had written the [Edicts] concerning the Persecution.

I Now † appeal to Thee, Most high God! [Thou knowest,] that being then a very young I † Or, Call upon. heard, how He, who at that time held the chief- a Κομισσὴν. χων. In the Greek Title of this chapter, 'tis truer written, νεῖς a youth; For Constantine was not then a Child, when, as an Hostage, he resided at Dioclesian's Court. For, he was deliver'd by his Father Constantius to Dioclesian, on the year of Christ 291; after Constantius had been made Caesar by Dioclesian. At which time Constantine was about 15 years old. For he Died on the year of Christ 337, in the 62 year of his age. Valef.



est place amongst the Roman Emperours, (a person wretched, truly miserable, \* imposed upon by the error of his mind;) with a great deal of curiosity enquired of those that were his Guards, who those just Men were [that lived] upon the earth: and, that one of the Sacrificers about him made answer, that they were the Christians. The Emperor, <sup>b</sup> having devoured this answer like some honey, unsheathed the Swords, \* prepared to punish Crimes, against an unblamable Sanctity. Immediately thereafter he wrote Edicts of Blood <sup>c</sup> with bloody points of Swords (as I may say;) and ordered his judges to <sup>d</sup> stretch that subtilty implanted in them by nature, to an invention of Acuter punishments.

<sup>e</sup> King's Copy. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> *Μικροῖς δυνάμεις*. He alludes to the point of an instrument to write with. Constantine expresses himself with much of Eloquence, in saying, that those Laws concerning the Persecution of the Christians, were written with the bloody points of Swords. So some of the Ancients tell us, that *Draco's Laws* were written with Blood, not with Ink. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> *Ἐκτείνω* to produce. I had rather say *ἔκτεινεν* to stretch; which is an usual expression with Eusebius. Valef.

## CHAP. LII.

How many sorts of Tortures and Punishments were made use of against the Christians.

Then you might, [I say] you might have beheld, with how great a freedom [and Licence] the \* venerable worshippers of God <sup>a</sup> gravity of daily underwent the severest of Contumelies, [captivity] by a continuedness of Cruelty. For, that modesty, which even none of the Enemies ever affected with any injury, <sup>b</sup> was made the easie sport and pastime of the contumely of their own So enraged Fellow-Citizens. What fire, what man- above, at ner of Torments, what sort of Tortures was not made use of upon every body, and without distinction [applied] <sup>c</sup> to persons of all ages what- speaking ever? Doubtless, at that time the Earth wept; of Severus the Heavens, within whose circumference all Caesar, says things are contained, being defiled with Blood, lamented. Also, the very [light of the] day it self was clouded by the sorrow and horror of became a that prodigy.

cheap and easie sacrifice of death; where see what we have noted concerning that expression. For the Translators perceived nothing here. Valef. In the Greek Text of *Valesius's* Edition, the term *παροῦσας* is left out; but it occurs in *Robert Stephens*.

<sup>d</sup> *Καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσαν*. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is *ἐκ ἡλικίας πᾶσαν*. A little after, in the same Copy, and in the *King's Sheets* 'tis written, *ἡ γὰρ μὲν ἡμεῖς αὐτὴ τῇ πένθει τῇ δαυμάτῃ ἐξέκα- λυπμετο*. Valef. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is the same also.

## CHAP. LIII.

What reception was given to the Christians by the Barbarians.

BUT why [do I mention] these things? On account hereof the Barbarians do now boast, who gave reception to the Men of our Country <sup>a</sup> Kept, or, Preserved, that fled at that time, and \* treated the Captives with all imaginable tenderness and humanity. For, they allowed them not only safety, but permitted them to retain <sup>b</sup> their religious worship with <sup>c</sup> their San- ctimony.

security. Therefore the Romans do now bear this perpetual Brand of Infamy, which the Christians, at that time driven out of the Roman World, and flying to the Barbarians, fixed upon them.

## CHAP. LIV.

What manner of Revenge overtook them, who, on account of the Oracle, raised a Persecution.

BUT, what need I in many words rehearse those Lamentations, and that common mourning of the whole World? Those Authors of so horrid an impiety, perished afterwards by a most ignominious end, and were thrust down into the pits of Acheron, to an eternal punishment. For, having been \* involved in intestine Wars, they left no <sup>a</sup> Or, Mixt Remains, either of their Name, or Stock. Which together, doubtless had never happened to them, had not that impious prophecy of the Oracles of Apollo had a false and depraved force.

## CHAP. LV.

Constantine's Glorification of God, and his confession in reference to the sign of the Cross, and his Prayer for the Churches and People.

NOW, I beseech Thee, \* Most supream God! \* Or, Be mild and propitious to Thy Easterns: Greatest. Be [merciful] to all thy Provincials, worn out by a lasting Calamity: by me Thy servant, † administer a Remedy. And these things I † Or, ask of Thee not without Cause, O Thou Lord of Reach all, Holy God! For, by Thy Guidance and As- forth- sistance, I have undertaken and perfected Salu- tary Affairs. Every where carrying before Me Thy Sign, I have lead on my Victorious Army. And as often as the publick necessity requires, fol- lowing those very Ensigns of thy || Virtue, I || Or, march out against the Enemy. For these reasons Power. I have dedicated my mind to Thee, purely tem- pered with love and fear. For I love Thy Name with a sincerity: but I have an awful fear for Thy Power, which Thou hast demonstrated by many indications, and hast thereby rendred my faith firmer. I hasten therefore, to put my shoulders, my own shoulders [I say to the Work,] that I may re-edifie thy Most holy <sup>a</sup> House; which <sup>b</sup> He means The Catho- those detestable and most impious [wretches] have lick Church ruined by \* a wicked overthrow. which in the next chapter he

\* Or, By a wickedness of demolition. terms the House of Truth. In the sacred Scriptures 'tis called The Pillar and Ground of Truth. A little after, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts*, and from the *King's Sheets* write, *ὅν οἱ μωροὶ ἐκείνοι, &c. which those detestable, &c.* Valef.

## CHAP. LVI.

How he prays that all Persons may be Christians; but forces no body.

I Desire, that thy People may live in Repose, and without Tumult or disturbance, for the com- mon advantage of the World and all Mortals. May



May those involved in the Error [of Gentilism] with gladness partake of an enjoyment of the same Peace and Quiet with the Believers. For, this Reparation of mutual society will be of great efficacy in leading Men to the true way. Let no Person molest another. Let every one do that which his Soul desireth. Yet, it behooves those whose Sentiments are true, to be firmly persuaded, that they only shall live holily and purely, whom Thou callest [to this,] that they should acquiesce in Thy holy Laws. But, let those who withdraw themselves, have their Temples of Lyes, since they desire them. We retain the most splendid House of Thy Truth, || which Thou hast given us according to Nature. We wish this likewise to them, namely, that by a common consent and agreement, they also may reap a delight of mind. And we have rendred it accordingly. *Valef.*

*Εκαστος ὁ ἑαυτοῦ ἡ πίστις βέλτεται, ὅσο καὶ προσηλῶται.* The meaning is, Let every one follow what religion he has a mind to. By which words Constantine leaves His Subjects an entire Liberty of worshipping the Deity according as every one shall have a mind. For, the most Religious Prince earnestly desired indeed, that all Mortals should come to the Faith of Christ: but he never compelled any one to that. He wish'd that the Heathens were freed from their Pritine Error: notwithstanding, he prohibited not the Ceremonies and sacrifices of the Temples, as he himself attests hereafter, at chap. 60. *Valef.*

*Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ φῶς δέδωκεν.* *Valef.* renders it, *quam nascentibus nobis donasti, which thou gavest us when born.* I understand neither the Emperour's, nor *Valef.*'s meaning.

CHAP. LVII.

He gives Glory to God, who by his Son has enlightned those that were in Error.

*\* Concerning the Original and Antiquity of the Christian Religion Eusebius writes the same in the beginning of his Ecclesiastick History, and in his book de Evangelicâ Demonstratione. Valef.*

**N**OR is our Religion new, or of a late date; but, from such time as we believe this beautiful Fabrick of the World to have stood firmly put together, Thou hast instituted this [Religion] with a due observancy of Thy Deity. Further, Mankind seduced by various Errors, hath stumbled. But, least this Evil should increase and grow stronger, Thou by Thy Son hast raised up a pure Light, and hast put all Men in mind \* of the worship of Thy Deity.

*\* Or, Concerning Thy Self.*

CHAP. LVIII.

*\* Charge, or, Administration.* Another Glorification of God, from his Government of the World.

**T**HY Works give confirmation to these things. Thy Power makes us innocent and faithful. The Sun and Moon have their stated and prescribed Road; nor are the Stars moved round the Axis of the whole World in an irregular manner. The Vicissitudes of Times recur by a certain Law. By Thy word the firm \* site of the Earth hath been established. And the wind makes its motion according to a set time. Also, the current and carriage of the Waters proceeds from the motion of a restless Flux. The Sea is contained within fixt and immovable Bounds.

*\* Κατὰ τὸ ἐπεσευχθέντα καιρὸν. I read κατὰ τὸ ἐπιταχθέντα καιρὸν, according to a set time; as Christophorson seems to have read. And so the reading is in the Eusebian and Savilian Manuscripts. Valef.*

*† Or, Slides by.*

And what ever is diffused thorow the Earth and Ocean, every such thing is framed for certain admirable and || great Uses. Which unless it were in this manner governed according to the Arbitrement of Thy Will, doubtless so great a diversity, and so manifold a division of power, would have brought destruction upon the whole World and humane affairs. For they who have waged War against one another, would doubtless have fought with a greater vehemency against mankind. Which questionless they do, although they are not seen with the Eyes.

Stars, and Elements, concerning which he hath spoken above. For all these, unless they were governed by the Beck and Power of one God, would likewise be Gods. *ἑξουσία* therefore imports a power subject to no dominion; which we commonly term an Impendency; which is proper to God only. *Valef.*

He means the Gods of the Heathens, as I have said above: to wit, the Sun, Moon, and the rest of the Elements of the World, which Antiquity worshipped for Gods. Presently from the Eusebian Copy write τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐμὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ as the reading also is in the King's Sheets. *Valef.*

CHAP. LIX.

He praises God, in regard he always teaches good things.

**W**E give Thee many thanks, Thou Lord \* Or, of all, Greatest God! For, by how much the more Humane Nature is known from different Endeavours; by so much the more the Precepts of the Divine Religion are confirmed in those, whose Sentiments are right, and who are studious of true Vertue. But, whoever hinders himself from being cured, let not him impute that to another. For the Medicine, which is of strength sufficient to effect the Cure, is publicly proposed to all Men. Only [this must be taken care of,] that no one should violate that Religion, which things themselves do manifest to be pure and immaculate. Let all us Men therefore make use of the || atonement of that Good in common conferred on us, that is, the blessing of Peace; to wit, by separating our Consciences from every thing that is contrary to it.

*\* Or, Pre-sides over the Cure. Sir Henry Savil's Copy the reading is γυνώσκω, &c. who are sincerely studious of Vertue. Valef.*

*ἢ Ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ καὶ λογίζεσθαι.* That is, whosoever suffers not himself to be cured, or freed from the disease of Idolatry; let him impute it to himself, in regard the Medicine is ready. Christophorson has rendred this place ill, thus, *alteri qui sanari vult, non vitio vertat; let him not blame another, who has a mind to be cured.* I say nothing concerning Portesius, who wanders from the true sense almost every where. But Musculus has rendred these words not unhappily. *Valef.*

Or, The common Inheritance of that good given us. *Valef.* renders it, *The fellowship.*

CHAP. LX.

An Exhortation at the close of the Edict, that no Person should give trouble or disturbance to another.

**B**UT, let no Person do harm to another, by that which he hath persuaded himself of, and declared. What one Man hath understood and known, with that let him assist his Neighbour, if it may be. But, if it be impossible, let him omit it. For 'tis one thing written in the same hand, *ἀναδέσται* received. Both readings may be born with. *Valef.*



thing, voluntarily to undertake the Combat for immortality; another, to be forc'd to it by punishment. These things I have said; these things I have discoursed of more at large than the scope of Our Mansuetude required, because I would not conceal <sup>b</sup> the true Faith. Especially, in regard some Persons (as I hear,) do assert, that the Rites of the Temples and the <sup>c</sup> Power of Darkness are wholly abolished. That is, Which I had indeed perswaded all Men to, had not the violent <sup>d</sup> Insolency of nefarious Error been immeasurably fix'd on the minds of some Persons, to the hurt and damage of the <sup>e</sup> Emendation of Mankind.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τῆς πίστεως the Truth of the Faith. He expresses himself so again, hereafter. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> These words are taken out of St. Paul's Epist. to the Colos. chap. 1. v. 13. Further, as he here terms Gentilism the power of darkness, so lower (at chap. 67.) he calls Christianity the power and efficacy of Light. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐπειρωσις. This term does properly signifie Conspiracy and Rebellion: which is most appositely said concerning the worship of Idols For Idolatry is a defection from the true God. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, of the common Resurrection. It must, as I think, be ἀπορθώσεως, Emendation or Correction. For the common word seems to have been fetch'd out of the foregoing line. Further, at the end of this Edict, this subscription was doubtless placed (concerning which I have spoken at large above,) περὶ ἐδῆτω ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικαῖς μέρεσι, Let it be published in Our Eastern parts. For this subscription is properly agreeable to this Edict, in regard it was sent to the Provincials of the East. Valef.

## CHAP. LXI.

\* Or, How from the City Alexandria \* Controversies were raised on account of Arius.

These things the Emperour, like a most loud-speaking Preacher of God, by his own Letter † proclaimed to all the Provincials; || diverting his Subjects from Diabolical Error; and exhorting them to the exercise of true Piety. But whilst he was exceedingly joyful on account hereof, news was brought him, concerning a disturbance of no small consequence, which had seized the Churches. At the hearing whereof he was extreamly troubled, and began earnestly to consider of a Cure. [The Original of the disturbance] was this. The People of God were in a flourishing condition, and

\* Or, Were \* pleased themselves with the exercises of good Actions. There was no fear without, which might give disturbance: in regard, by the grace and favour of God, a splendid and most profound Peace fortified the Church on all sides.

But Envy framed treacherous designs against our Blessings. [At first] it crept in privately; but [afterward] it danced in the very midst of the Conventions of the Saints. At length it raised Contention between the Bishops, and <sup>a</sup> cast in discord and wranglings amongst them, under

<sup>a</sup> Στάσις ἐμὲν ὁλῶν ἐρηλείας. It must, as I think, be ὁ ἐρηλείας and ὁλῶν faith. † That is, Mere † Dogmata. From thence, as 'twere from some small spark, a great fire was kindled. Which began from the

Alexandrian Church, as 'twere from an || Eminence; and afterwards over-ran all Egypt, and Libya, and the Further Thebais. Moreover, it ruined the rest of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, you might have seen not only the Prelates For so Eusebius does usually speak in many places. Valef.

of the Churches fighting one with another with words; but the People also rent into factions; some inclining to this party; others, to that. <sup>b</sup> Further, the spectacle of the things performed proceeded to such an height of absurdity, that even in the very Theatres of the Infidels, the venerableness of the Divine Doctrine <sup>c</sup> was traduced by a most ignominious and reproachful derision.

\* Or, Underwent a most, &c.

like better. This whole place therefore is thus to be written; εἰς τοσαύτην δὴ ἡλῶνεν ἀπορίαν, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is εἰς τοσαύτην. Valef.

## CHAP. LXII.

Concerning Arius and the Melitians.

These Persons therefore at Alexandria in a childish manner strove about the Sublimest [Points.] But <sup>a</sup> others all over Egypt and the Upper Thebais were in the interim at difference on account of a controversie which had been started before: so that, the Churches were in all places rent in sunder. And whereas the Body [of the Church] was distempered as 'twere with these [diseases,] all Libya likewise fell sick; and the other parts of the Provinces without were seized with the same distemper. For they of Alexandria sent Legates to the Bishops in each Province; and these, divided into either side, partook of the like Sedition and disturbance.

## CHAP. LXIII.

How Constantine sent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Composure.

Upon hearing hereof the Emperour was highly perplex'd in mind; and looking upon this thing to be his own calamitous Concern, he forthwith dispatches away one of the worshippers of God whom he had about him, (a <sup>a</sup> Person whom he well knew to have been approved for his <sup>b</sup> modesty of Faith, and in the late times to have been ennobled with confessions in defence of Piety;) to Alexandria, to make Peace between those that were at difference there. And by him he sends a most useful and necessary Letter to the Occasioners of that Contention. Which Letter, in regard it contains an illustrious Specimen of his Care in reference to the People of God, is fit to be inserted into this our Discourse concerning him. The Contents of it are these.

crates and Sozomen. Valef.

## CHAP.



CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Arius the Presbyter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Alexander and Arius.

*\* Or, Make God our witness.*  
*† Ministry, or, Charge.*  
**WE** call God to witness, who, as 'tis meet, is himself the Assistance of Our attempts, and the Saviour of all men; that upon a twofold account we were moved to take in hand the management of those affairs which We have in reality performed.

CHAP. LXV.

That he was continually Sollicitous about Peace.

*\* Τὸν αὐτὸν πᾶσι δίδωμι.*  
*I had rather write διδόναι, or αὐτὸν δίδωμι, as the affection or mind, or prepossession of Opinion.*  
*On the contrary, in the beginning of this Letter, instead of διδόναι, μὴ παροτρύνω, upon a twofold account, I had rather read αὐτὸν δίδωμι. Presently, I write αὐτὸς μὴν ἔξεως αὐτοῦ ἐνῶσαι, from the Fukeitian and Savil. Copies: or rather, αὐτὸς μᾶς, &c. Valef.*  
**FOR** first, [our design was] to unite the Opinion of all Nations concerning the Deity, in one Constitution and Form as 'twere: Secondly, We were desirous of restoring to an healthiness the Body of the whole World, afflicted as 'twere with some terrible distemper. Which [two things] having proposed to Our Self as Our aim, we inspected the one with the secret eye of Thought; but we attempted to effect the other by the power of a Military force: well knowing, that if (as 'twas Our desire) We could establish an universal agreement amongst the Worshippers of God, the consequence would be, that the Administration of the publick Affairs would certainly obtain a change agreeable to the pious minds of all men.

CHAP. LXVI.

In what manner he put a stop to the Controversies raised in Africk.

*\* Μαλις, or, εὐτοῦς.*  
*See Question 11. It must be written, μαλὶς, &c.*  
*When therefore, &c.*  
**WHEN** therefore an intolerable madness had seized all Africa, occasioned by some persons, who with a rash levity had dared to rent the Religion of the people into various Sects; We being desirous to put a stop to this Distemper, could find no other remedy sufficient to effect its Cure, than (after we had destroyed

the Common Enemy of the world, who had opposed his own impious Opinion and Command against your sacred Synods; ) that we should send some of You as Assistants in order to the making up an agreement between those who were at variance one with another.

*Without doubt he means Licinius, as these following words declare, who had opposed his own impious opinion, &c. For Licinius had prohibited the Synods of the Christian Prelates, as Eusebius attests in book 1. chap. 5. But Christopherson by a great mistake thought, that by the Common Enemy of the world here was meant The Devil. The meaning of this place therefore is this. We had thoughts, says Constantine, after our conquest of Licinius, of sending some of you Eastern Bishops into Africa, to make up a Peace there between the Donatists and Catholics. For, when the Bishops of Italy and of the Gallia's could not effect that, we hop'd it would at length be done by your help. But, as we perceive, you your selves do now stand in need of Peace-makers. Valef.*  
*\* Ἀπεῖλαι με. I write ἀπεῖλαιμι, from Gruter's and Moræus's Copy; whereto agree the Fukeitian and Savilian Manuscripts, and the Kings Sheets. Valef.*

CHAP. LXVII.

That the Beginnings of Religion were from the East.

**FOR**, whereas the power of [the true] Light, and the Law of the Sacred Religion, being by the Beneficence of God given forth out of the Bosoms (as I may so say) of the East, bath at the same time illuminated the whole world with its Sacred Light; we upon a very good account believing you would prove the Authors as 'twere and Promoters of the Salvation of [all] Nations, have attempted to find you out, as well by a propensity of our mind, as the sight of our eyes. Immediately therefore after our great Victory and our most certain Triumph over our Enemies, we had resolved before all things to enquire into that again, which we judged to be the chiefest and most momentous of all.

*\* Ἡμᾶς ὁπότε πρὸς ἀρχὰς.*  
*Question 11. The reading must be ὑμᾶς you, as 'tis mended at the margin of Moræus's Copy.*  
Nor is the reading otherwise in the Fukeitian and Savilian Manuscripts. Further, Constantine does expressly reckon the Egyptians amongst the people of the East, which was not perceived by Christopherson. Indeed, Egypt was then accounted amongst the Provinces of the East, from the times of Maximine, who having been constituted Cesar in the East, had had Egypt under him. Hence 'tis, that Amm. Marcellinus (in his fourteenth book where he reckons up the Provinces of the East,) attests, that Egypt and Mesopotamia were of their number. The place occurs at pag. 19 of our Edition. Moreover, the Comes of the East had Egypt and Mesopotamia under his dispose in the times of Constantine and Constantius, as this old Inscription informs us: M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURIO CÆCILIANO. PLACIDO. C. V. COMITI ORIENTIS ÆGYPTI ET MESOPOTAMIÆ: CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Further, under the Latter Emperours, although the Egyptick Diocese was served from the Oriental, yet 'twas always under the Præfectus Prætorio in the East, as 'tis manifest from the Notitia of the Empire. A little after, I think it should be written. ἔπειτα ἡμετέραν, have hastned to find you out. Valef.

*\* Ἄνω γὰρ τῇ μεγάλῃ νίκῃ.*  
*Tis the same with what he had said in the foregoing chapter, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, after we had destroyed the Common Enemy of the world. Constantine means the Hadrianopolitane Battle, and that at Chalcedon. The Former of which happened on the fifth of the Nones of July: the Latter on the fourteenth of the Calends of October, in the year of Christ 324. About the end of which year This Letter seems to have been dated: Valef.*  
*\* Τῆς πρώτης εἰδήσεως.*  
I think the reading should be τῆς ἐπὶ perhaps also αὐτῆς εἰδήσεως; that is, we had resolved again to enquire into and determine that dissention of the Donatists. In the excellent Fukeitian Copy the reading is τῆς πρώτης, &c. and so 'tis mended in Turnebus's and Moræus's Copy at the margin. Some words are doubtless wanting here. But the meaning of the place is wholly the same with what I have said. Further, the reading of all Copies being compared together, the place seems to be restored thus, τῆς πρώτης εἰδήσεως, &c. we resolved upon enquiring what that first thing was, which, &c. Valef.



## CHAP. LXVIII.

That being troubled by reason of the Disturbance, he advises to an Agreement.

**B**UT (O the most Beautiful and Divine Providence!) what a deadly wound hath been given to our Ears, or rather to <sup>a</sup> our very heart, when 'twas told us, that the diffentions raised amongst you were far more fierce than those which have been <sup>b</sup> left remaining in Africk? In so much that, your parts, from which we hop'd a remedy might have been produced for others, do now stand in need of a greater Cure. Indeed, when we seriously considered of the Origin and cause of these [differences,] the Occasion appeared to us very trivial, and such as in no wise deserved so fierce a Contest. Wherefore, being induced to a necessity of [penning] this Letter, and writing to Your <sup>c</sup> Unanimous Sagacity, having also called upon Divine Providence to be Our Assistant in this affair, we do upon a good account interpose Our Self as the <sup>\*</sup> Arbiter of your mutual diffention, and as an <sup>†</sup> Administrator of Peace. For, if We Our Self (God giving us his assistance, although there were a greater occasion of discord, yet) by instilling reason into the Pious minds of Our Hearers, could be able without much difficulty <sup>a</sup> to recal each person to more wholesome Counsels; why may not we the same person (in regard the occasion is small and very trivial, which binders the agreement of the whole Body;) promise Our Self an easier and far more expedite <sup>†</sup> accommodation of this mendation. matter?

<sup>b</sup> Τὸν ἐκείναι καὶ πάλαι εἰρηνοῦσαν. Christophorson saw nothing here, nor perceived that this word ἐκείναι was to be referred to the Schism of the Donatists, whereof Constantine had spoken above. The Emperour says therefore, that this Schism was for the most part appeased, and that only some small Remains of it were left in Africa. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Πεδὶ τῶν ὁμόθυρον ὑμῶν ἀσχινοῖαν. Christophorson designedly omitted the term ὁμόθυρον unanimous, because he thought, that Alexander and Arius could not be termed unanimous; in regard they disagreed one with another about matters of so great consequence. But Constantine does nevertheless term them unanimous, in regard he thought well of them both, and believed that they disagreed in words, rather than in reality and in mind. But the term ἀσχινοῖαν seems but little agreeable to Prelates. The Emperours do use this term indeed in their Letters to Governours of Provinces. But when they speak to Prelates, they do more frequently use Sanctity, Gravity, or Prudence. The Old Glosses ἀσχινοῖαν Solertia, Experientia, Sagacity or Prudence, Experience. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Εἰς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἕκαστον μετὰ τῶν. The word ἕκαστον seems to be used in the Neuter Gender. For 'tis referred to the Article ὅπερ, whereto by an by τὸτο answers. In the Kings and Eusebian Copy therefore, after the Verb μετὰ τῶν, a distinction is rightly placed. For the sense is not entire. But Christophorson, contrary to his own usage, of one priod has made two. Valef.

## CHAP. LXIX.

Whence the Controversie between Alexander and Arius arose; and, that such matters ought not to be enquired into.

**W**E understand therefore, that the Ground of the present Controversie arose from hence. For whereas You, Alexander, enquired of your Presbyters, <sup>a</sup> what every particular person <sup>b</sup> thought. The word φερεῖ is without doubt to be added from Gelasius Cyzicenus book 2 chap 4. But Nicephorus (book 8. chap. 13) has voel, thought. By and by, where the reading is πυνθάνοιο, the Eusebian and Savilian Copies have it written ἐπιπυνθάνοιο, which is truer. Valef.

sons [Sentiment was] concerning a certain passage of those things written in the Law, or rather asked about a part of fruitless Controversie: and whereas You, Arius, <sup>b</sup> inconsiderately vented that; which you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had such conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in silence: <sup>c</sup> heretupon a diffention has been raised between you, <sup>d</sup> communion is denied; and the most holy people, rent into two Factions, are separated from the harmonious unity of the whole Body. Wherefore, let both of you, mutually <sup>e</sup> pardoning each other, accept of what your Fellow-Servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was fitting, neither to have asked such questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return thereto. For such Questions, which no Law does necessarily order or prescribe, but are proposed by the contentiousness of an unprofitable vacancy from business (although they may be made to exercise and imploy our Natural parts about yet) we ought to confine within our Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in publick assemblies, nor unadvisedly commit them to the Ears of the Vulgar. For, what person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified, either accurately to comprehend the full efficacy and nature of things so sublime and performed, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or, should any man look upon this to be an ease all our performance, how small a part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perswaded hereof? Or, what man can without danger of falling into gross errors, insist upon the accurate discussions of such nice Controversies? In questions therefore of this nature, Loquacity must be bridled and restrained, least either through the frailty of our Nature, we being not able to explicate what we propose, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, (being unable accurately to apprehend those matters discoursed of;) least <sup>f</sup> the people be reduced to a necessity either of Blasphemy, or Schism.

Convention is denied to some. Christophorson translated it in this manner, *Conventus qui in Ecclesia fieri solet, impeditur, the assembly which is wont to be made in the Church, is hindered.* They took σύνθεσιν therefore here for Synaxis, in which sense 'tis used not infrequently. So again in this chapter, εἰς ἀντιθέσεις συνόδους ἐκφέρειν, divulge them in or among publick assemblies. Further, Epiphanius renders it *mysteria contemnuntur, the mysteries are contemned.* Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Τὴν συγνώμην ἀφαιρῶν. Socrates and Gelasius Cyzicenus and Nicephorus have γνώμην, that is, *affording me your ears and mind.* But the common reading, which we have followed, is truer. For so Constantine expresses himself below in the next chapter. Epiphanius renders it *voluntatem præbens.* Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Ἡ δὲ τὰς τῶν τοῦτων. In the Kings, Fuk. and Savil. Copies, the reading is, ἡ δὲ τὰς, &c. In Nicephorus 'tis ἡ δὲ τὰς, &c. truer than in the common Editions. By and by, from the Eusebian and Savil. Copies I have mended it, ἡ τῇ τῶν ἀνεγάρψαντων, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, &c. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐξ ὁποτέρου τῶν. In the King's, and Fuk. Copy the reading is ποτέ without the Preposition; which reading may be born with, if you refer the word ποτέ to those which follow ἡ ἐλασφονία, ἡ σχίσμα, either of Blasphemy, or Schism. The one of these two, says he, will beget an occasion either of Blasphemy, or Schism. But Socrates and Gelasius and Nicephorus have it written here αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου. Indeed, this place is very difficult and obscure by reason of the ill Syntax. Therefore in the Kings Copy at the side of this line is set this mark φε that is, φερίστω, attend. Valef.



## An Exhortation to an agreement.

\* Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς Κοινωνίας. *Langus* and *Musculus* render it *Communione tessera*, Mark or token of communion; *Christophorson*, *communione consensum*, consent of communion. I had rather render it *Signum* a sign. For, as in the mysteries of the Heathens some Signs or Symbols were delivered to the persons initiated, whereby the *Symmystæ* [companions of the same discipline] might know one another: so the *Christians* had a sign of Communion, that is, The *Eucharist*, or *Baptism*. Indeed, *Epiphanius Scholasticus* renders it *communione signum*, a sign of Communion. *Valef.* *Valefius* has translated it a society of Communion.

That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raised concerning this matter, on account of some light and frivolous Expressions.

\* Ὑπομνήσαιμι, λέξω. The last word is wanting in *Gelasius* *Ouzicenus*, nor does it seem very necessary. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius* has omitted it in his Version. *Vulgef.*

b' Ως ἐνὶ μὲν ὁσμάτι πάντες  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. Translators under-  
 stood not what the import of  
 ὁσμά was here; some of them  
 have rendred it *Opinion*, or *firm*  
*consent in one opinion*; others,  
*a profession of discipline*. But,  
 there is not one opinion amongst  
 Philosophers, as 'tis sufficiently  
 manifest. Therefore I had ra-  
 ther render it *Sect*. For all Phi-  
 losophers have some *Sect* to which  
 they are addicted; some have the  
*Sect of the Stoicks*; others, that  
 of the *Peripateticks*. Now, in  
 every *Sect* there are sometimes  
 controversies concerning some  
 questions between Philosophers of  
 the same *Sect*. Yet the same  
 persons, on account of the society  
 of their *Sect*, do easily agree one  
 with another. This is the mean-  
 ing of *Constantine's* words as I  
 think. Valef.

read *ὁὐδ*; that you; from *Gelasius*, *Nicophorus*, and *Epiphanius*. And a little after, *ἐν ὁὐδ* between you, from the same Authors; to whom agree the *Fuketian* and *Saturnian Copies*, and the *Kings Streets*. Valef.

tend one with another about things so slight and  
in no wise necessary, be rent in sunder by an

the common Saviour of all, hath reached forth a Light common to all. By the assistance of whose Providence, give us leave who are his Servant, successfully to finish this our Endeavour; that by our Exhortation, diligence, and earnest admonitions, we may reduce you to a Communion of Convention. For in regard, as we have said already, your faith is one and the same, and your Sentiment of our Religion is one, and whereas the commandment of the Law doth in each part of it inclose all in general in one consent and purpose of mind: Let not this thing, which has raised a small contention between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to \* the sum of \* Or, The all Religion in ge- power of neral, ) by any the whole. means make any

Separation and Faction amongst you. And these things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one opinion concerning this foolish idle Question, of what soever it be. For the pretious value of the Convention may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a

great diversity of Sentiments in things of the least moment. For, we do not all will the same in all things; nor is there in us one disposition or opinion. Therefore concerning the Divine providence, let there be amongst you one faith, one understanding, and one <sup>†</sup> consent in reference to God. But, as for <sup>†</sup> Or, Co- those slender and trivial questions, which with so venant of much niceness you dispute of and make researches the Deity. into amongst your selves, although therein you do not agree in the same opinion, yet 'tis fit you should confine them to your own thoughts; and keep them within the secret repositories of your minds. Let therefore that eximious [privilege] of a common friendship, and the || belief of the Truth, || Or, Faith. and the honour of God, and a religious observancy in reference to [His] Law, remain amongst you firm and immovable. Return ye to a mutual friendship and charity: restore to the whole Body of the people their own embraces. And be you your selves (having <sup>s</sup> purified <sup>s</sup> Purged your own souls as 'twere,) acquainted again <sup>in</sup> in- [and renew your familiarity] with each other. <sup>again</sup> again.

having put away the darkness of hatred, wherewith the acuteness of your mind was clouded and obscured. For it follows, ἀλλήλους ἐμψύχωτε, that is, be acquainted one with another again, embrace, salute. In which words Constantine seems to allude to the usage of the Christians of his own time: amongst whom in their sacred Conventions, whilst the people approach'd to the participation of the Mysteries, the Deacon often cried out ἐμψύχωτε ἀλλήλους, take acquaintance one of another; to wit, least any prophane person or Jew might creep to the sacred Table, as Chrysostome informs in his first Oration against the Jews, pag. 440 of the First Tome. The same word Marcion used when

*ἃ Τὸ φῶς ἐξέτεινεν, hath produced a Light. He had better have said ἀνέτεινεν hath reached forth. A little before I read ὁ κοινὸς ἀνδρωτων σωτηρ the Common Saviour of all; as 'tis in the Fulk and Savil Copies. Valef.*

*That is, this our endeavour and purpose, of establishing concord in the Church, and of reducing all men to the worship of one God. Concerning which endeavour and design, Constantine hath spoken at the beginning of this Letter, and does boast of it every where. Valef.*

f For the Law enjoyns us nothing else but love; namely, that we should love God with the entire affection of our hearts, and our neighbour as our selves. In these two consists the whole Law, as our Lord says in the Gospel. *Christophorson* understood not this passage; he renders it thus; *unumque Legis ac disciplina institutum, &c.* and one Decree of the Law and discipline, which binds the whole body of the Church with its parts, in one agreeing concord and purpose of minds. *Portesius* translates it truer, thus; *Præceptumque Legis in id omnibus partibus incumbit, ut in unam animam univ ersum concludat,* and the commandment of the Law in all its parts earnestly endeavours at this, that it may include the whole Body in one mind. Perhaps also it should be written τοῖς διότι αὐτὸς κεφαλὴ in both its parts. For there are two parts of this commandment, the one has a reference to God, the other to our neighbour. *Valef.*



when on a time he saw Polycarp, ἀμφιμαρτυροῦν take acquaintance of us, as Eusebius relates out of Irenæus, book 4. chap. 14. of his Eccles. Hist. The Latines also use the verb *recognoscere* in the same sense. So in the passion of Fructuosus the Bishop: *cum se excalceasset, &c.* when he had pulled off his shoes, a Fellow-souldier, our Brother, by name Felix, came to him, and took him by the right hand, *recognoscens eum* taking acquaintance of him, and beseeching him, that he would be mindful of him. Valef.

For Friendship (when it returns to reconciliation again,) frequently becomes sweeter and more pleasing,

<sup>h</sup> Tis *ἐν* after the <sup>h</sup> removal of the Enmity.

*ἀπὸς τοῦ*

*ἀπὸς*, the occasion of the Enmity. The reading must be *ἀπὸς τοῦ* removal, as 'tis in Gelasius and Nicephorus. And so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuk* and *Savil* Copy, and in the *Kings* Sheets. Valef.

## CHAP. LXXII.

That being highly affected with Grief in regard of his Piety, he was necessitated to shed tears; and, that on this account, he put off the Journey he was about to make into the East.

**R**estore therefore to us peaceable and serene days, and nights void of care; that the pleasure of the pure Light, and the joy of a quiet life may in future be reserved for us also. Which if [we shall] not [obtain,] we must of necessity groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears; nor shall we finish the residue of our Life without great disquietude. For, whilst the people of God, (we mean our Fellow-Servants) are rent in sunder by this unreasonable and pernicious Contention one with another, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of mind? But, that you may be sensible of our excessive Grief on ac-

\* In So- count of this matter, [\* be attentive to what we crates the shall tell you:] when we lately came to the City Verb ἀκού- Nicomedia, we had resolved forthwith to have our hear, or, be at- made a journey into the East. But whilst we tentive, were hastning unto you, and <sup>a</sup> by the greatest part occurs;

but we meet not with it here.

<sup>a</sup> That is, in mind and thought. For the mind is the greater and the better part of any one. But Christophorus thought the meaning was the greater part of his journey; which is not to be endured. Valef.

were with you, <sup>b</sup> the news of this af- fair \* quite altered our Resolution: \* Or, <sup>b</sup> Tis ὅτι ἡ γένηται. *Wholly* τὸ ἀγένηται. *that we might not be necessitated to* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *behold with our eyes those things of* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *which we accounted even the Report to be intolerable.* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *Do you therefore in future, by your unanimity, open a way for us into the East, which by* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *your mutual Contentions you have stop'd up.* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *Give us leave with joy speedily to see you, and* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *all the rest of the people, and that with an un-* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *nimous consent of praises we may attribute to* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *God due thanks for the Concord and Liberty of* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *all persons.* <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται.

little after I read *ἀγένηται*, as 'tis in Nicephorus and Sir Henry Savil's Copy. Valef.

## CHAP. LXXIII.

That after this Letter, the disturbance about \* Or, <sup>b</sup> ἀγένηται. *the* \* Controversies continued.

**A**fter this manner the Pious [Emperour,] by sending his Letter, made provision for the Peace of the Church of God. Moreover, that good man made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. And he was every way a <sup>a</sup> Pious person, as I have said. But, <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *the affair was greater, than to be accommodated* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *by the help of a Letter. In so much that, the* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *Contention of the persons at variance increased* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *daily; and the vehemency of the mischief over-* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *ran all the Eastern Provinces. Envy, and the* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *malicious Devil, vexed at the prosperity of the* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *Church, † invented these things for our destru-* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *ction.* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται.

† Or, wrought these things. <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *my con-* <sup>a</sup> ἀγένηται. *jecture,*

that the place is to be read in one breath, thus, *δικονοῦντο ὅτι τῇ γενεῇ μόνον συνεβλήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τῷ καταπύρι-φαι. νεύματι καὶ καλῶς, καὶ τὰ πάντα προσέβησαν ἀντὶ, ὡς εἰρηται, That Good and every way Pious Person, as I have said, made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. But the affair, &c. He means Hosius; see chap. 63. Valef.*

*The End of the Second Book.*



# THE THIRD BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

## CHAP. I.

*A Comparison of Constantine's Piety with the Improbability of the Persecutors.*

**I**N this manner the Devil, the hater of Good, envying the Felicity of the Church, raised up Storms and intestine Disturbances in it, during a time of Peace and Joy.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ μὴν <sup>a</sup> In the Interim, the Emperor dear-to-God neglected not the performance of what became him: <sup>b</sup> but doing all things contrary to what had been audaciously perpetrated a little before by Tyrannick Cruelty, [by that means] he was made Superior to every of his Enemies and opposers. In the first Place therefore, They, alienated from [his Worship] who truly is God, by various methods of force compelled all Men to adore those who were not Gods: but He, evincing them as well by words as in reality in no wise to be Gods, exhorted all Persons to an acknowledgment of Him who is the only God. Besides, they derided God's Christ with blasphemous Expressions: But he <sup>c</sup> assumed to himself as his preservative, that very thing, a-

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<sup>a</sup> Καὶ μὴν <sup>a</sup> In the Interim, the Emperor dear-to-God neglected not the performance of what became him: <sup>b</sup> but doing all things contrary to what had been audaciously perpetrated a little before by Tyrannick Cruelty, [by that means] he was made Superior to every of his Enemies and opposers. In the first Place therefore, They, alienated from [his Worship] who truly is God, by various methods of force compelled all Men to adore those who were not Gods: but He, evincing them as well by words as in reality in no wise to be Gods, exhorted all Persons to an acknowledgment of Him who is the only God. Besides, they derided God's Christ with blasphemous Expressions: But he <sup>c</sup> assumed to himself as his preservative, that very thing, a-

φῆλο, he assumed. But if you had rather take the verb ἐσέφῆλο in its common signification, that may also be born with. For Constantine ordered it to be engraven on the Base of his Statue, which he erected at Rome after the Victory gotten over Maxentius, that by the Virtues of this Standard Rome had been set at Liberty by him. Valef.

gainst which those impious Wretches with the greatest Virulency \* belch'd forth their Blasphemies; and gloried in the Trophy of [Salutary] Passion. They persecuted the Worshipers of Christ, and drove them from their Houses and Habitations. He recalled them all [from Exile,] and restored them to their own Dwellings. They surrounded them with ignominies; he made them honourable and happy in the opinion of all men. They seized upon the Goods of God's Worshipers, and with the greatest injustice made sale of them: He not only restor'd their Goods to them, but likewise enricht them abundantly with very many Gifts and Benefactions.

They by written Constitutions <sup>a</sup> publish'd Calumnies against the Prelates [of Churches:] on the contrary, he raised and advanced those Men to Honour [bestowed] by Himself, and by Edicts and Laws made them more renowned than they had been before. They demolished the Oratories to the very Foundations, and from their vast height pulled them down to the Ground: He by a Law ordained, that those Oratories which were standing should be raised higher, and that new ones should be magnificently erected, [the

<sup>a</sup> Ταῖς καὶ τῶν, &c. The Rule of Syntax requires that we should read τὰς καὶ τῶν, &c. A little after it must be written τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ μηδ', to honour [bestowed] by himself; as the reading is in the Eusebian and Savil. Copies: Valef.

ones should be magnificently erected, [the

E e e charges







Inspiration he exprest those very things in paint, which the words of the Prophets had declared before concerning that same Beast in this manner, saying, \* That God would † unsheathe a great and terrible Sword against the Dragon the † Or, Bring forth Serpent that flees, and would slay the Dragon that is in the Sea. The Emperor therefore exprest the Figures hereof, || having in the Picture truly imitated the thing it self.

† Or, Having in the adumbration truly set forth the Imitations.

#### CHAP. IV.

Again concerning the Controversies [raised] in Egypt by Arius.

These things he performed with a complacency of Mind. But the blackness of Envy, which [at that time] in an horrid manner disturbed the Churches of God at Alexandria, and the pestilent Schism of those of Thebais and Egypt, troubled him not a little. For the Bishops in each City \* strove with the Bishops, and the People made insurrections against the People, and dash'd one against another like the Symplegades, were cut in pieces by mutual wounds. In so much that, spurred on at length by a fury and desperateness of Mind, they attempted impious and nefarious Facts, and were so audacious as to do violence to the Pictures of the Emperor. But these things did not so much excite the Emperor's anger, as they grieved and disquieted his Mind; in regard he was extreemly troubled at the madness of Men that were impaired as to their Intellectuals.

#### CHAP. V.

Concerning the Dissention on account of [the Feast of] \* Easter.

Moreover, before these [Distempers] there had risen another most sore Disease, which \* for a long time, had infested the Church; [namely] a Dissention about the \* Salutory Feast. For some affirmed, that the usage of the Jews ought to be followed: others asserted, that † the time it self was accurately to be observed, nor were erroneous Persons to be followed, who were estranged from Evangelick Grace even in this matter.

\* Εκ μακρῆ διανοχλῆου. In my Judgment the reading would be truer thus, ἐκ μακρῆ διανοχλῆου, which had indeed a long while infested. Valef.

\* He means Easter.

† Or, The accurate hour of the time was to be, &c.

Καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς πύλης. This Place is corrupted by an ill Punctuation. I write thus therefore, τοῖς τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀλλοθείας χρεῖται καὶ τὸ πῶς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, &c. who were estranged from Evangelick Grace even in this matter also. Whereas therefore, &c. Eusebius says, that the Jews were estranged from the Grace of the Gospel, both in other things, and also most especially in this; because they as yet celebrated The Pascha agreeable to the Mosack usage, not according to the verity of the Gospel. Constantine confirms our Emendation in his Letter to the Churches, the words whereof are recorded below at chap. 18. καὶ πῶς καὶ τὰ τῶν μέγιστων ἀλλοθῆσαν ἐκ ὁρῶσιν. Valef.

ter also. Whereas therefore the People in all Places had now for a long time disagreed one with another, and whereas the divine Laws [of our Religion] were distributed and subverted; (for, in one and the same Feast, a \* diversity \* Or, of time begat the greatest dissention imaginable Change. amongst those who celebrated the Feast; in regard some Persons † afflicted themselves with fastings and austerities; others || indulged to Leisure and Mirth;) there was no mortal able † Or, Were exercised with. † Or, As to find out and administer a remedy to this mischief; because the \* controversie hung in an equal poize as 'twere between the dissenting Parties. To the only Omnipotent God it was easie to cure these Evils. Whose sole Minister of good things upon Earth appeared to be Constantine. Who, after he had received an account of what we have even now mentioned, and saw that his Letter to Alexandria proved ineffectual; himself mustered up [all the Forces of] his own Mind, and said, that this \* new sort of War against an invisible Enemy that had disturbed the [peace of the] Church, ought to be ended by him.

the Victory. In the same sense Eusebius has here termed it ἰσοδυσίον ἐκείνου, that is, paribus utrinque momentis librata controversia, the controversie was poized by equal weights on both sides. Christopherson therefore has not rendered it well, thus, praesertim cum controversia diffidentium animos ex aequo exagitarat, especially in regard the controversie equally disquieted the minds of the Persons dissenting. Valef.

#### CHAP. VI.

In what manner he gave order, that a Synod should be convened at Nicæa.

Immediately therefore setting in array as 'twere a divine \* Army against † him, he convened \* Or, Phœan || Oecumenical Synod; by honourable Letters inviting the Bishops every where, to the end they † that is, should come with all the speed imaginable. Nor was it a simple and bare Order; but the Emperor's appointment gave assistance to the business || Or, Genit self. For to some he allowed a Liberty of making use \* of the Cursus publicus: others he supplied abundantly with the assistances of Beasts of Burden. Moreover, a most convenient [Place] was assigned for this Synod, a City [namely] which from Victory has the name Nicæa, situate in the Province of the Bithynians. When therefore the Emperor's Order was brought into all the Provinces, all Persons [set out] as 'twere from some Goal, and ran with all imaginable alacrity. For the hope of good things drew them, \* and the participation of Peace, and [Lastly] the spectacle of a new Miracle, to wit, the sight of so great an Emperor. When therefore they were all come together, that which was done appeared to be the work of God. For they who were at the greatest distance one from another, not only in Minds, but in Bodies, Regions, Places, and Provinces; were seen assembled together in one Place. And one City received them all, as 'twere some vast Garland

\* Δημοσίῳ δέσμῳ. 'Tis strange that Eusebius does here distinguish τὰ νοσφόρα, the Beasts of burden from the Cursus Publicus. But it may be answered, that by the name of the Cursus Publicus Eusebius understood the Waggon or Chariots. In which sense Nicephorus took it, book 8. chap. 14. To some Bishops therefore Constantine ordered Waggon or Chariots should be allowed; to others, publick Horses, whereon they might be conveyed to the Council. Valef.



of Priests made up of a variety of beautiful Flowers.

## CH A P. VII.

*Concerning the Oecumenical Synod, at which were present Bishops out of all Provinces.*

\* Τὰ ἀναγε-  
μένα, the  
first fruits,  
or top. **T**HE most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which fill'd all Europe, Africk, and Asia, were convened.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἑκκλησίας. I read ἐκ τῆς οὐκ ἐκ, &c. and one sacred, &c. from *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Socrates*. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> And one sacred Oration, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time within its walls, Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians; *Palæstinians* likewise and moreover *Egyptians*, *Thebæans*, *Libyans*; also those that came out of *Mesopotamia*. There was likewise present at this Synod a *Persian* Bishop; nor was <sup>b</sup> the *Scythian* absent from this Quire. *Pontus* also, *Galatia*, and *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Phrygia* afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, [there appeared here] *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, *Achaïans* and *Epirots*, and such as dwelt far beyond these, were

\* Or, *The* nevertheless present. From *Spain* likewise it self, that most celebrated Person [*Hosius*] was one, amongst the many others, who sat in this

<sup>c</sup> *Gelasius Cyzicenus* was absent indeed, by reason of his Age: but thought his *Presbyters* were there, who filled his Place. that by *Constantine* was the <sup>d</sup> only Emperor of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who, after he had platted such a Crown as this with the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a Divine Present and grateful Acknowledgement for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries; having constituted this [Synod convened] in our days, to be a lively Representation of that Apostolick Quire.

*Whom Nicetas hath followed in his The- saurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 6. in these words; *Eusebius autem Pamphilus*, &c. But *Eusebius Pamphilus*, in his third Book of the Life of the Emperor *Constantine*, writes that the Prelate of Constantinople was absent from the Synod, but he expresses his name: in whose stead some *Presbyters* appeared. But 'tis manifest from the Acts of the Synod, that at that time *Metrophanes* was Bishop of Constantinople, &c. So also *Epiphanius Scholasticus* tells us in Book 2. of his *Tripartite History*. But this Explication is not to be born with. For *Constantinople* was not as yet dedicated, nor grac'd with the name of the Imperial City, when the Synod was convened in the City *Nicæa*. Therefore these words of *Eusebius* are necessarily to be understood concerning the Bishop of *Rome*. Which *Sozomen* confirms, book 1. chap. 16. (into which Writer the name of *Julius* has corruptly crept, instead of *Sylvester*;) and *Theodoret* book 1. chap. 7. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Μόρον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. The same also is the reading in *Socrates*. But I had rather make it μόνον as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read in *Socrates*. But whereas ἐκ follows, that ought not to trouble any one. For *Eusebius*, hereafter at chap. 26. puts μόνον ἐκ together. Valef.

## CH A P. VIII.

*That, like as 'tis said] in the Acts of the Apostles, they met together out of various Nations.*

\* See Acts 2. 5. **F**OR 'tis said, that in the Apostles times, there were gathered together devout men out of every nation under heaven. Amongst whom

were *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, *Judea* and *Cappadocia*, of *Pontus*, and *Asia*, of *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia*, of *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya* adjacent to *Cyrene*: strangers also of *Rome*, Jews and *Profelytes*, *Cretians*, and *Arabians*. This only was wanting amongst them, they who met were not all the Ministers of God. But in this present Quire, there was a multitude of Bishops, which exceeded the Number of <sup>a</sup> two hundred and fifty. But the number of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who followed them, <sup>b</sup> of the *Acolythi*, and of the many other Persons, was not to be comprehended.

<sup>a</sup> In *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. where this place of *Eusebius* is quoted, the reading is τετρακοσίων three hundred. The Ancients are not agreed about the number of the Bishops who were present at the *Nicene Synod*. *Eusebius* at this place tells us they were two hundred and fifty. But *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* (in his *Homily* concerning those words which occur in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, *Dominus creavit me*,) says they were about 270; but tells us, that he had not accurately reckoned up their number. But the more constant Report, and which is confirmed by the consent of all the more modern Authors, is, that 318 Bishops sat in that Synod. So amongst the Ancients *Athanasius* in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*, not far from the beginning, *Hilarius* in his book against *Constantius*, *Hieronymus* in his *Chronicon*, and *Rufinus*. *Athanasius* in his Letter concerning the Decrees of the *Nicene Synod*, says, that the Bishops who met at *Nicæa*, were three hundred more or less. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ακολύθων δὲ πλείων ὅσων δ' ἐτέρων. It must be written, ἀκολύθων τε πλείων ὅσων ἐτέρων, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. and from *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian* Copies the reading is ἀκολύθων τε πλείων; and after the word πλείων, a middle distinction is set in all our Manuscript Copies. Valef.

## CH A P. IX.

*Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two hundred and fifty Bishops.*

**M**oreover,] of these Ministers of God, <sup>a</sup> At these some were eminent for their words I began a new chapter, having followed the authority of the Kings and *Fuketian* Copy: where to agrees the Old Sheets. Valef. <sup>b</sup> Οἱ δὲ τῶ μέσῳ τῷ πῶ κατὰ <sup>c</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>d</sup> Or, *Course*. <sup>e</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>f</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>g</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>h</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>i</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>j</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>k</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>l</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>m</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>n</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>o</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>p</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>q</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>r</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>s</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>t</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>u</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>v</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>w</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>x</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>y</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>z</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>aa</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ab</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ac</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ad</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ae</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>af</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ag</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ah</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ai</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>aj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ak</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>al</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>am</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>an</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ao</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ap</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>aq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ar</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>as</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>at</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>au</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>av</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. 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<sup>lm</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ln</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lo</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lp</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lr</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ls</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lt</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lu</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lv</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lw</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lx</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ly</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>lz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ma</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mb</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>md</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>me</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mf</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mg</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mh</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mi</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mk</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ml</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mm</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mn</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mo</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mp</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mr</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ms</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mt</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mu</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mv</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mw</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mx</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>my</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>mz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>na</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nb</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nd</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ne</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nf</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ng</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nh</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ni</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nk</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nl</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nm</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nn</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>no</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>np</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nr</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ns</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nt</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nu</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nv</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nw</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nx</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ny</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>nz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oa</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ob</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>od</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oe</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>of</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>og</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oh</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oi</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ok</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ol</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>om</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>on</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oo</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>op</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>or</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>os</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ot</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ou</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ov</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ow</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ox</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oy</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>oz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pa</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pb</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pd</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pe</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pf</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pg</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ph</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pi</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pk</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pl</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pm</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pn</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>po</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pp</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pr</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ps</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pt</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pu</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pv</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pw</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>px</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>py</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>pz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qa</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qb</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qd</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qe</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qf</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qg</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qh</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qi</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qj</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qk</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ql</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qm</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qn</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qo</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qp</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qq</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qr</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qs</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qt</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qu</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qv</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qw</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qx</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qy</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>qz</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ra</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rb</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rc</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rd</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>re</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rf</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rg</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>rh</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*. <sup>ri</sup> Or, *Dis- course of Wisdom*



CHAP. X.

*The Synod [was held] in the Palace, amongst whom Constantine went in, and sat together with [the Bishops.]*

**B**UT on the day appointed for the Synod, whereon the points in controversy were to be determined; after <sup>a</sup> every Person concerned in that [determination] was come <sup>b</sup> to the very middlemost \* Edifice of the Palace, which [Edifice] in greatness seemed to exceed all others: and after a great many Seats had been placed in order on both sides of the Room, the Persons who had been sent for went in; and each of them took an agreeable Seat.

Παρίν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πλῶτῳ αὐτοῦ. It must be written ἐκεῖ καὶ ἕκαστος ἑνὶ καθέδρῳ, as Christophorson seems to

have read. To whom nevertheless I can't assent, as to his having thought, that τῷ πλῶτῳ was to be referred to σύνοδον. But I doubt not, but τῷ αὐτῷ the determination (which word precedes immediately) is to be understood. For 'tis truer Greek, as I take it, to say ἀγὼν or ἐπάγην τῷ αὐτῷ, than ἀγὼν τῷ σύνοδον. In the *Eusebian* and *Savilian* Copies 'tis plainly written ἐκεῖ.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ μεσσησίῳ οἰκῇ τῇ βασιλείῳ. Whoever that Person was that composed the Greek contents of the Chapters, he took these words as meant of the Palace; and *Christophorson* has followed him in that. *Sozomen* likewise (book 1. chap. 19) and *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7.) do write that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Palace, where the Emperour *Constantine* ordered Seats and Benches to be prepared for the Bishops. *Nicephorus* also (book 8.) hath written out the words of *Theodoret*. But, with the favour of so many and such great Men he it spoken, 'tis in no wise likely, that the *Nicene Synod* should have been held in the Palace. These Persons were deceived, as it seems, by the ambiguous word here made use of by *Eusebius*, τῇ μεσσησίῳ οἰκῇ τῇ βασιλείῳ. For this term is promiscuously used, as well for the Palace of the Emperour, as for a Church. To certain *Eusebius*, in the *Tenth Book of his Ecclesiastical History*, terms a Church βασιλικὴν οἰκον. Indeed, much would be detracted from the Authority of that Council, should we believe it to have been held in the Emperour's Palace. Besides, *Eusebius* himself does most apparently contradict this Opinion. For above at chapter 7. he writes thus in express words, ἐς τὴν οἰκὴν εὐκνήσει, And one sacred Oration, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time with his Writings, Syrians and Cilicians, &c. What can be more manifest than these words? Is it not most evidently declared by this passage, that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Church? For *Eusebius* affirms, that all the Bishops were contained within the compass of one Church. Moreover, the words which *Eusebius* subjoins in this Chapter, in my judgment do sufficiently shew this. For he writes, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ μεσσησίῳ οἰκῇ τῶν βασιλείων, ὅς δὲ τῇ μεσσησίῳ οἰκῇ, to the very middlemost Edifice of the Palace, which [Edifice] in greatness seemed to exceed all others. *Eusebius* says, that that House was the greatest and largest of all Houses in any place. But this can't be said of the Palace of the City, *Nicaea*. For, although we grant there was a Palace in that City, questionless that could not be the greatest of all the Palaces every where. For the Palaces at *Rome* and *Milain* were far greater. Nor do I doubt but the Palace at *Nicomedia* was far larger and richer than that at *Nicaea*, in regard *Nicomedia* had been the Seat and Habitation of the Emperours from the times of *Dionysius*. Some one will perhaps answer, that *Eusebius* does not say, that that middle Edifice of the *Nicene* Palace or Church, in greatness exceeded all the Buildings of the whole World; but only, that it was greater than the other Edifices of that Palace or Church. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter, at book 4. chap. 66. where he describes *Constantine's Funeral*. Indeed, I could willingly grant, that this is the meaning of *Eusebius's* words. But yet it follows not from hence, that the *Nicene Palace* is meant by *Eusebius*. For, as well in Churches as in Palaces, the middlemost Edifice was the largest and most capacious, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, in his description of the Church of *Tyre*. All things therefore being accurately weighed, this is my Sentiment: that the Bishops met first in the Church; and treated there many days concerning the opinion of *Arius* and the Rule of faith; but, that at length, on the day appointed for finishing the business, they came together into the Palace, that they might declare their Opinion before the Emperour, and might put an end to the Contention. And thus all manner of difficulty is taken away. Indeed *Eusebius* does plainly confirm that which I have said. For he says that the Bishops, on the day appointed whereon an end was to be put to the Controversies, came all into the Palace. And the Emperour going forth immediately to the Synod, all things, says he, were established in his presence. From which words it plainly appears, that *Eusebius* does here speak concerning the last day of the Council, or the last Session, after the matter had been before discussed and sifted, in many Sessions of the Bishops. For so many and such great mat-

ters, as were negotiated in that Synod, could not be examined and determined in one days space. The same also had been done before in the *Antiochian Synod* against *Paul of Samosata*, as *Eusebius* informs us in the *Seventh Book of his Ecclesiastical History*. Valef.

But when with a befitting decency the whole Synod had sat down, they were all silent, expecting the Emperour's coming forth. Soon after this enters one, then a second, and a third Person of those about the Emperour. Others also went before, not any of the [Emperour's] usual Protectors and Guards, but \* those only of \* Or. Those his friends who profess the Faith of Christ. only of his faithful friends. And when, <sup>c</sup> upon a sign given which declared the Emperour's entrance, they had all risen up, at length he himself <sup>d</sup> came walking in the midst, like some Celestial Angel of God: τῷ βασι-

λεως ἔδωκε. Concerning this sign whereby the Emperours coming was declared, *Corippus* speaks in these words;

Prænunciis ante  
Signa dedit cursor posita de more Lucernæ. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Διέβαινε μέσθ. *Christophorson* renders it per medium confessum intrat, enters through the midst of the assembly sitting together. He might better have rendered it, went thorough the middle space which was between the two ranks of the Persons sitting. That's the import of the word διαβαίνειν, that is, διὰ τῆς διένει βαίνειν, to go between two. See below at ch. p. 15. μέσθι δὲ τῶν διέβαιναν. &c. thorough the midst of whom the Men of God without fear passed, &c. Valef.

shining with his bright purple-garment as 'twere with the splendour of Light, glittering with \* fla- \* Or, ming Rays, and adorned with the clear bright- Fiery- nesses of Gold and precious Stones. Such was the attire of his Body. But as to his mind, 'twas sufficiently manifest, that he was to an accuracy adorned with a fear and reverence of God. And an indication hereof was given by his cast-down Eyes, by his blushing Countenance, and by † his Gate and Motion. Moreover, the rest of † Or, The his Bodily shape; his tallness of Stature namely, motion of his walking- wherein he excelled all Persons that were about him, [as he did likewise] in a comeliness of Make, in a magnificent gracefulness of Body, and in an invincible strength and might: all these [accomplishments I say] being mixt with a † sweetness of disposition, and with an Im- † Or, perial Lenity and Mansuetude, declared the immense excellency of his mind to be superiour to or, Mode- all manner of commendation. After the Em- fly. perour was come to the \* upper end of the seats, \* Or, First beginning, or, head. <sup>e</sup> in the first place he stood in the midst. And <sup>c</sup> when a || low Chair made of Gold || Or, <sup>d</sup> had been placed before him, he sat Small. <sup>e</sup> Or, πρῶτον. <sup>f</sup> τῷ. *Christophorson* seems to have read πρῶτον: for he has

rendered it thus; Primum in medio conventu erectus constitit, in the first place he stood upright in the middle of the Convention. Valef.

CHAP. XI.

*The Silence of the Synod, after Eusebius the Bishop had made a short Speech.*

**T**Hen <sup>a</sup> He of the Bishops, who sat first on the right-hand-side, arose, and addrest himself to the Emperour in a speech of an indifferent length, wherein he gave Almighty God thanks that he who had the first place on the right side, and who in the name of the whole Council made a speech to the Emperour, was *Eusebius Pamphilus*. And so 'tis written in the Title of this chapter. But *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7. of his *History*,) says this Oration was not

<sup>a</sup> Sozomen attests, book 1. chap. 19. that he



made by Eusebius but by Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. Baronius has followed Theodoret's Opinion; whom any one, from his writings, will easily find to have been of a mind full of anger and hatred against our Eusebius. But The Authour of the Tripartite History, (book 2. chap. 5. where he writes out Theodoret's words,) says that after Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, Eusebius Bishop of Casarea made a speech likewise concerning the praises of the Emperour. Which nevertheless occurs not now in the Greek Copies of Theodoret; so that it necessarily follows, either that Epiphanius Scholasticus had procured more perfect Copies of Theodoret, or else that he added this of his own head, as 'tis sometimes his usage. Of this nature is that which we have noted above concerning the Bishop of the Imperial City, whom Socrates from Eusebius relates not to have been present at the Nicene Synod, where Epiphanius Scholasticus by a notorious mistake has added the name of Alexander; when as he ought rather to have said Meletianus. But to return to our business, there are those who write, that that honour was conferred neither on Eustathius, nor Eusebius, but on Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, that in the name of the Council he should make a speech to the Emperour. Nicetas in his *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 7. affirms this in these words: Eusebius de Vita Constantini Libro 3. se primum verba in Synodo fecisse testatur, &c. Eusebius in his third book concerning the Life of Constantine attests, that he made the first speech in the Synod. But if we believe Theodoret, Eustathius was the first, &c. But as Theodorus Mopsuestenus writes, that honour was freely conferred on Alexander the Pontiff of Alexandria. But in such a diversity of Writers I should more willingly close with that Opinion, which affirms that the first Course of speaking was by the Synod conferred on Eusebius. First of all, because without controversy Eusebius was the Learnedest and most eloquent Person amongst them. Secondly, he himself does plainly attest this, at the beginning of this work, in these words: ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀντι, &c. We our selves also, by a Panegyrick spoken in his Vicennalia, have lately Venerated the same glorious Conquerour environed with a Synod of Gods Sacred Ministers. See the Preface to the first Book, note (a.) Valef.

† The thanks and praise for † Him. After he had taken his Seat also, Silence was made, all Persons having fix'd their eyes on the Emperour. When he had look'd upon them all with joyful eyes and a pleasing countenance, afterwards He made a recollection of his own mind within himself, and with a calm and mild voice uttered these words.

## CHAP. XII.

Constantine's [Speech] to the Synod concerning Peace.

\* Or, End. **T**HE \* Sum of my Prayers (Dearest Friends!) was this, that I might enjoy the sight of your Convention. Which having now obtained, I render my thanks to [God] the supream King; because, besides his innumerable other [Benefits,] He hath granted Me a sight of this, which is the chiefest of all Goods: I mean, that I might behold all You Convened together, and † find one and the same unanimous Sentiment amongst you all. Let no envious Enemy therefore in future † Or, Sec. disturb the happy posture of our Affairs: and, since that opposition made by Tyrants against the Deity is wholly removed by the power of God Our Saviour, let not the malignant Devil \* by any other methods \* expose the Divine Law to Blasphemies. For, an intestine Sedition of the Church of God appears to me more grievous and dangerous than any sort of War or Fight whatever: nor do any external affairs seem more afflictive to Me, than these matters. Indeed, at such time as, by the Will and Cooperation of God, I had obtained a compleat Victory over mine Enemies, <sup>b</sup> I was of opinion, that the whole Emphasis and force of the sentence. For to this word the following period is referred. Take heed, says he, least after the destruction of their Tyranny who brought a War against God, the Devil by some other way should again expose our Religion to reproaches and calumnies. By another way therefore is meant intestine dissensions. See the following words. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐδὲν τε λέγω. It must be written, as I suppose, ἔδεν ἐμοὶ καὶ λέγω ἐννοῶν, I was of opinion that nothing remained to me. And a little after with Turnebus and Gruetius I read ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ὑμετέρον, &c. But when—— I had received information of your, &c. Valef.

nothing remained to Me, but to give God thanks, and to rejoyce with those whom he by our means had set at Liberty. But when (contrary to all expectation) I had received information of your disagreement, I look'd upon that † thing as in no wise to be neglected: but wishing that by our assistance a remedy might be applied to this [mischiefe] also, without any delay I called you all together. And I am highly pleased with the sight of this Your Convention. But shall then judge that I have managed this affair according to my Prayers, when I shall behold all of You † Or, Mixt conjoined in your minds, and one amicable agreement in common concluded on amongst you all, together, which it becomes You, who are Persons consecrated to God, to Preach to others. Delay not therefore, Dearest Friends, ye Ministers of God, and good Servants of the Common Lord and Saviour of us all! But beginning <sup>a</sup> even from hence to take away the Occasions of mutual dissent amongst you, <sup>c</sup> dissolve every knot of controversy by request by the Laws of Peace. For by this means You will perform both what is most acceptable to the supream God; and will likewise bestow a transcendent favour on Me Your Fellow-Servant.

Predicare, to Preach. For in this sense Eusebius is wont to use this word, as 'tis apparent from innumerable passages in his Eccles. History; for instance, book 4. chap. 15. In the Eusebian and Savil. Copies the reading is bad, thus, ἐν βεβαίῳ. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς φέρον. In the Eusebian Copy, this whole place is written far otherwise, thus, πρὸ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν διαστάσεως αὐτὰ καὶ λοιπὰ φέρον ἀνδοχρῆδε. πάντα δὲ σύνδεσμον, &c. refuse not in future to take away the occasions of dissent amongst you; dissolve every knot, &c. And so Sir Henry Savil and Christopherson found it in their Copies. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐπιλύουσι. I read with Christopherson ἐπιλύουσι, to dissolve. But the common reading may stand, provided after the words Saviour of us all, a Colon be placed, as Sir Henry Savil hath noted at the margin of his Copy: and so 'tis pointed in the Kings Copy. Valef.

## CHAP. XIII.

That he reduced those Bishops who were at difference, to an agreement.

**H**AVING spoken these words in the Latine Tongue, which were done into Greek by some other Person, he gave those who presided in the Synod, leave to speak. But then, some of them began to accuse their Neighbours; others answered their accusations, and on the contrary made complaints. Many things therefore being in this manner proposed on both sides, and a great controversy raised even at the first beginning [of the debate,] the Emperour heard them all very patiently, and with an <sup>a</sup> intent mind received their proposed Questions; and by turns assisting the Assertions of both parties, by degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind. And by his gracious Speeches to each Person, and his making use of the Greek tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language,) He rendered himself most extraordinarily pleasing and delightful; <sup>b</sup> inducing some to be of his opinion by the force of his arguments; woing others by entreaties; praising those who spoke well; and exciting all to an agreement: till at length he had made them all of the same mind and opinion, in relation to all matters concerning which they had before disagreed.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸς μὲν γὰρ πείθων. In Socrates, Gelasius, and Nicephorus, the reading is τὸν μὲν συνεπειθων. But in the Kings Copy 'tis τὸν μὲν πείθων. Valef.



## CHAP. XIV.

\* Or, Ex. The Concordant \* Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning Easter.

SO that, there was not only an universal Agreement about the [Articles of] Faith, but one and the same time also was generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the salutary Feast [of Easter.] Moreover, <sup>a</sup> the Determinations ratified by a Common Consent, were draught of engrossed, and confirmed by the Subscription of the Creed, every person. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperor affirmed that he had obtained this second Victory against the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a Triumphant Feast in honour of God.

<sup>a</sup> That is, the draught of engrossed, and confirmed by the Subscription of the Creed, every person. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperor affirmed that he had obtained this second Victory against the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a Triumphant Feast in honour of God. were confirmed by the Subscriptions of every one of the Bishops. They who besides these three, think that the Acts of the Nicene Synod were put into writing, are very much mistaken. For Eusebius says in express words, that nothing was committed to writing, except those matters which had been Decreed by the common consent of the Council; and he affirms, that those things were confirmed by the Subscriptions of all. Indeed Baronius at the year of Christ 325. chap. 62. says that the Acts were written by the Nicene Synod, and has affirmed that that is expressly recorded by Athanasius in his Book de Synodis. But Baronius was imposed upon by the Latin Version, which runs thus; Tom. 1. pag. 873. quod si ad hanc rem usus Synodi desideratur, supersunt Acta patrum, nam neque in hac parte negligentes fuere qui Nicæa convenerunt, sed ita accurate scripserunt, &c. But if the use of the Synod be wanting to this matter, the Acts of the Fathers are to be had. For those convened at Nicæa were not negligent even in this matter, but wrote so accurately, &c. But in the Greek Text there is no mention of Acts; for thus it runs, ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων, that is, the Writings of the Fathers are to be had; to wit, the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter. There is another passage of Athanasius, in his Epistle de Decretis Nicænæ Synodi, pag. 250. whence it may be manifestly gathered, that there were no Acts written. For thus he speaks: Quandoquidem tua dilectio ea nosse desiderat quæ in Synodo, &c. In as much as your love desires to know those things which were done in the Synod, I have made no delay; but have forthwith signified to you whatever was done there, &c. Now, if the Acts had been taken in writing by the Notaries, Athanasius had done enough, had he transmitted those Acts to his Friend. Valef.

## CHAP. XV.

That Constantine entertained the Bishops at a Feast, it being His Vicennalia.

<sup>a</sup> These words must be interpreted favourably. For the twentieth year of Constantine's Empire was not yet compleated, nay scarce begun. For the twentieth year of his Reign began on the eight of the Calends of August, when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls, which was the 325th year of Our Lord's Nativity. But the Nicene Council was celebrated on the twentieth of the month May, in the same persons Consulate, as Socrates writes in the thirteenth chapter of his first book, or rather on the 13th of the Calends of July. on the 19 day of the month Desius, which by the Romans is termed June, as it occurs in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, in the Alexandrian Chronicle, and in the Collectio Cresconiana, which I think to be truer. For if we suppose the Nicene Council to have been convened on the 20th day of May, too narrow a space of time will be left for the transacting of those affairs which Constantine performed after his Conquest of Licinius. Licinius was vanquished in the last Battle at Chalcedon, on the year of Christ 324, on the 15th of the Calends of October, as 'tis recorded in Idacius's Fasti, and in the Alexandrian Chronicle. On the day following Licinius, who had betaken himself to Nicomedia, surrendered himself to Constantine

the Vicennalia. After this Constantine made his Entry into Nicomedia; whilst he made his residence in that City, and hastned to take his progress into the Eastern parts, he received the news concerning the dissention of the Alexandrian Church and all Egypt, on account of the Opinion of Arius and the disturbances of the Meletians, as he himself writes in his Letter to Alexander and Arius. And in the first place he sent Hosius with his Letters to Alexandria, who by his authority might compose the Tumults there. But after Hosius had staid some time at Alexandria, he returned to Constantinople without having effected any thing. All which businesses could not any wise have been done within less time than three months. Further, when Constantine saw the mischief increase daily, he resolved upon convening a General Council of Bishops, that thereby he might restore Peace to the Church. In order thereto he dispatch'd away the Veredarii (Couriers) and Agentes in Rebus (Messengers of the Emperor) throughout all the Provinces, who might call together the Bishops to Nicæa of Bithynia. Let us suppose therefore, that the Veredarii had brought the Emperor's Letters to each of the Bishops in the month March: 'tis scarce credible that the Bishops could come into Bithynia from the most distant Countries as well of the East as West, before the month July; especially, in regard they were conveyed thither by Land, not by Sea, as Eusebius tells us chap. 6. The Greeks do usually term the Tenth Sunday after Easter, that namely which immediately precedes Whitsontide, κυριακὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων the Sunday of the holy Fathers, or τῶν ἁγίων τετρακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ δευτέρα τῶν ἐν νικαῖᾳ of the 3:8 holy Divines which were at Nicæa; as we are informed from The Typick of the Monastery of Saint Saba. Valef.

Further, what was then performed, surpasses the bounds of any Narrative. For the <sup>b</sup> Protectores and <sup>c</sup> Soldiers, with the naked points of their Swords, on all sides guarded the Porticus's of the Palace; in the thorow the midst of whom the Men of God without fear passed, and went into the inmost Rooms of the Palace. Then <sup>e</sup> some of them \* lay down together with the Emperor; others rested themselves on Stibadia [or, Beds to eat on] placed <sup>d</sup> on both sides. One would have thought, that a representation of Christ's Kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing it self was a dream, but nothing more.

are the Hastati, or the Protectores who carried Spears. Themistius in his Oration to the Emperor Jovian, writes that he went an αἰχμαφόρος (a Spear Carrier) against the Persian, that is a Protector Domesticus, as we understand from Amm. Marcellinus. The ὀπλίται were the Scutari, Shield Bearers; to wit, Soldiers who were under the Command of the Magister Militum præsentialis, or Master of the Milice who lived at Court or in the presence of the Prince. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν συναρπάξαντες. It must be made αὐτῶν together with the Emperor, as Chrysostom seems to have read; and so 'tis plainly written in the Eusebian Copy. Theodoret confirms our Emendation (book 1. chap. 11:) in these words, which do wonderfully explain this passage of Eusebius; πολλὰς δὲ σιβάδας εὐτρεπισθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὰς τῶν εἰσίων ἀπαντας τὰς μὲν ἀξιώτερας ὁμοτεπέζας λαβὼν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας διελθὼν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας, and having ordered many Stibadia to be made ready, he feasted them all in one and the same place; the more honourable of them he took to his own Table, but distributed the rest upon other Stibadia. A better Scolion could not have been placed at Eusebius's words. Those which Eusebius had termed κλινάδας, (for so 'tis to be read from the King's and the Eusebian Copy;) Theodoret calls σιβάδας; that is Stibadia or Accubita. Nicephorus's Translator renders it toros, which is ill done. Nor has Theodoret's Translator done better in translating it Sedes, Seats. Suidas interprets σιβάς, χαμακοίσιον, ἀκκέσιον, a Bed lying on the ground, an Accubitum. The words of Juvenal's Scholiast at the fifth Satyr, are these; apud veteres Accubitorum usus non erat, sed in Lectulis Discumbentes manducabant, amongst the Ancients there was no use of the Accubita, but they lay down upon little Beds and eat. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν. I think it must be written ἐξ ἐκατέρωθεν on both sides. Than which Emendation nothing is more certain. Eusebius says that the Stibadia were placed on both sides of the Imperial Hall, whereon the Bishops might lie down; but, that the Emperor's Stibadium was in the midst, whereon he lay down together with the more honourable Bishops. After the same manner in the Nicene Synod, the Seats whereon the Bishops sate were placed on both sides: but the Emperor himself sate in the midst on a golden Chair, between the two rows of the sitting Prelates. The Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita at Constantinople was some such like thing, made in imitation of his Constantinian Feast, as I think. Valef. See Evagr. book 5. cha. 13. note (a.)







*lasmus*. From whom the following words must be amended in this manner, *τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, your prudence. And a little after, *ἐν ὁμοιότητι*, in no likeness. Although in those writers I have mentioned, the reading is *ἐν ὁμοιότητι* in the likeness of any thing. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis *ἐν ὁμοιότητι* upon no pretence. Further, the *Author of the Apostolick Constitutions*, (book 5. chap. 16.) seems to allude to these words. Which any one will confess, who compares that place with these words of *Constantine*. Valef.

who, 'tis acknowledged, are distempered with a most grievous error? For we shall never endure the keeping of two Easters in one and the same year. But, although what I have said were not sufficient, nevertheless it behooveth your prudence, to make it your greatest care, and the constant matter of your Prayers, that the purity of your souls should not in any thing seem to have communion with the usages of most wicked men. Besides, this also is to be considered, that 'tis a most detestable thing, that there should any disagreement be found in a matter of so great concern, and in such a solemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Festival day of our Liberty, that is the day of His most Holy Passion; and 'twas his will, that His Catholick Church should be one. The members of which Church (although for the most part they are dispersed into many and various places, nevertheless) are cherished by one spirit, that is by the Divine Will. Let the prudence of Your Sanctity consider, how grievous and indecent a thing it is, that on the self-same days some should keep <sup>h</sup> strict Fasts, and others celebrate Feasts: and that after the days of Easter, some should be conversant in the days of Feasting and a relaxation [of their minds;] and the Fast, others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore, which by 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing should be redressed by a convenient emendation, and reduced to one and the same form, as I suppose you are all sensible.

<sup>h</sup> He means the head [or beginning] of Feasting and a relaxation [of their minds;] and the Fast, which by 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing should be redressed by a convenient emendation, and reduced to one and the same form, as I suppose you are all sensible.

time; by the other Christians, at another. Indeed, the following words concerning the days after Easter, do inform us that these words are to be understood concerning the head of the Fast. Otherwise it would be a superfluous Repetition. But if any one had rather understand these words concerning the end of the Lent fast, I shall not gainsay him. See *Chrysostom* in his *Homily against those who fasted the first day of Easter*, pag. 714. Valef.

### CHAP. XIX.

An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greatest part of the world.

Since therefore it was expedient to make such an amendment in this matter, as that we might have nothing in common with the \* usage of those Parricides and Murderers of Our Lord, and since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the world, and also some of the Eastern parts, do observe: <sup>a</sup> on this account all persons have at present judged it good and expedient, (and I my self have promised that it would please your prudence,) that that which with one and a concordant mind is observed in the City of Rome, and over all Italy, Africa, Egypt, Spain, the Gallia's, the Britania's, the <sup>b</sup> Libya's, thoroughout all Achaia, the Asian and Pontick Diocesis, and Cilicia; Your prudence also would most willingly embrace and receive.

<sup>a</sup> In the Greek 'tis *ὁμοιότητι*, in no likeness. <sup>b</sup> In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, on this account, and so 'tis in *Turnebus's Copy*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Of *Constantine*. In *Socrates's* *History*, *lib. 1. c. 25.* *Constantine* and *Nicephorus* the read- ing is *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, for these rea- sons. But it would be better thus, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, or *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, as 'tis above. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ*, on this account, and so 'tis in *Turnebus's Copy*. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Every one sees, that the words are misplac'd here. 'Tis righter therefore in *Gelasius*, thus, *The Britannia's, Egypt, and the Libya's*. *Socrates* has *Libya*; which reading I like best. Valef.

Which [wisdom of yours] will consider, that not only the number of the Churches in the fore-mentioned places is far the greater; but that 'tis most just and equal, that all men should in common desire that, which <sup>c</sup> strict reason seems to require, <sup>e</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* and should have no communion with the <sup>d</sup> perjury of *Ἀρεσκῆ*. In the Jews. But that I may speak more summarily and briefly, it has pleased the judgment of all in <sup>f</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* the common, that the most holy Feast of Easter should be celebrated on one and the same day. For 'tis in <sup>g</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* decent, that there should be any difference in so which dis- great a sanctity: and 'tis better to follow that Opi- pleases me- nion, <sup>h</sup> wherein there is no mixture of strange er- not, provi- rour and impiety. <sup>i</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>j</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>k</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>l</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>m</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>n</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>o</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>p</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>q</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>r</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>s</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>t</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>u</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>v</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>w</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>x</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>y</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>z</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>aa</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ab</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ac</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ad</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ae</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>af</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ag</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ah</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ai</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>aj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ak</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>al</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>am</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>an</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ao</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* 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<sup>kr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ks</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>kt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ku</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>kv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>kw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>kx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ky</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>kz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>la</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ld</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>le</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>li</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ll</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ln</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lo</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ls</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lu</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ly</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>lz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ma</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>md</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>me</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mi</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ml</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mo</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ms</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mu</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>my</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>mz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>na</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nd</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ne</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ng</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ni</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nl</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>no</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>np</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ns</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nu</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ny</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>nz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oa</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ob</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>od</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oe</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>of</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>og</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oi</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ok</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ol</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>om</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>on</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oo</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>op</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>or</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>os</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ot</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ou</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ov</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ow</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ox</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oy</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>oz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pa</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pd</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pe</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ph</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pi</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pl</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>po</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ps</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pu</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>px</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>py</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>pz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qa</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qd</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qe</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qi</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ql</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qo</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qs</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qu</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qy</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>qz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ra</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rd</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>re</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ri</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rl</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ro</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rs</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rt</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ru</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ry</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>rz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sa</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sd</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>se</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sf</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sg</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sh</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>si</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sj</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sk</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sl</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sm</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sn</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>so</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sp</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sq</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sr</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ss</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>st</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>su</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sv</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sw</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sx</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sy</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>sz</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>ta</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>tb</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>tc</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>td</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ* <sup>te</sup> *Ἀρεσκῆ*



*ladius, and Nicephorus.* 'Tis certain, *Constantine* in his Letters is wont to boast, that the Divine Majesty by his Labour had destroyed the Tyrants who persecuted the Church, and had freed the whole world from the superstitious worship of Demons. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ταύτης <sup>e</sup> A Copy of his very Letter was by the Empe-  
 ρου transmitted into every Province; whereby,  
 as in a glass, he gives those that read it, the  
 clearest view of his own mind, and of his piety  
 towards God.

stood not this place, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders it thus; *Edictum, quod idem pondus habebat & auctoritatem cum hac Epistola, Imperator in singulas misit Provincias: An Edict, which had the same weight and authority with this Letter, the Emperour sent into each Province.* But *Eusebius* mentions no Edict, but only a Letter sent to the Bishops. *Christophorson* thought that *γερφὴ* signified an Edict, which was a great mistake. For *ισοδυναμῶσα γερφὴ* τῆς ἐπιστολῆς is nothing else but a Transcript of a Letter; which *Gracians* do likewise term *ἴσον* or *ἰσότητον*; and we in the vulgar Idiom call it *Copiam*, a Copy. *Eusebius* says therefore, that *Constantine* sent a Copy of his Letter into all the Provinces, or, (which is the same thing,) that he sent this Letter written from the same Copy to all the Provinces. Further, the Reader is to be advertised, that the Title of this chapter was put in wrong place, in regard it belongs to the conclusion of the foregoing Letter, as any one may see. This Title therefore must be placed above, before these words, *Since therefore these things, &c.* as 'tis in the *Fuketian* Copy. And there we have set it. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

[His] advice to the Bishops now ready to go away, \* that they would preserve Unity.

\* Or,  
 C. nec n.  
 ing. Con-  
 cord.

<sup>a</sup> Συμπαι-  
 νῶν πα-  
 ρεχέει δὲ  
 μιλίαν.

Transla-  
 tions un-  
 derstood  
 not this  
 expressi-

on. For  
 Porteus  
 renders it  
 thus, ex  
 composito  
 verba fe-

cit ad E-  
 piscopos.

*Christo-*  
*phorson*  
 in worth.

the man-  
 ner. *Sermonem*  
*apud Episcopos*  
*de rebus ordine*  
*dispensandis*  
*instituit.*

But *συμπαι-  
 νῶν* πα-  
 ρεχέει  
 δὲ μιλίαν  
 imports no more than, *Valedixit, he*  
*bid farewell, or took his leave of.*

*Menander, or rather Alexander Rhetor,* (in the chapter περὶ λαλιάς pag. 624,) writes, that *συμπαι-  
 νῶν* λαλιά was by the Sophists termed an Oration, wherein the Scho-

lastics (when the course of their studies was compleated,) departing from Athens, and about to return into their own Country, attested their grief in reference to their going away: or when any one going from home, resolved upon a journey to Athens.

The same Author in his chapter περὶ συμπαινήων λόγων gives us the method of such Orations: ὁ συμπαινήων, δὴλός ἐστι ἀνιῶντων ἐπὶ τῷ χωρίῳ, he that bids farewell, pretends himself grieved on account of his departure.

Moreover, throughout the whole chapter he every where uses *συμπαινήων* for valedicere, to bid farewell. And he says, that this sort of Oration was first invented by *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* bids farewell to the *Phaeacians*.

But *Natalis Comes* who translated *Menander Rhetor* into *Latine*, renders *συμπαινήων λόγον* *adjunctivam Orationem, an*  
*adjunctive Speech*, and translates those words I have cited, ὁ συμπαινήων, &c. *adjungens, &c. adjorning, &c.* Than which nothing can be more foolish.

But with *Gracians* *συμπαινήων* is valedicere to bid farewell. *Hesychius*, *συμπαινήων*, ἀσπάζεσθαι. So *Eusebius* uses it in the end of this chapter, and in the First Book, chap. 21. where he speaks concerning the death of *Constantinus Chlorus*. There is an Oration of this sort extant, made by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the convention of the 150 Bishops; which Oration has this Title, *συμπαινήων* λόγος, which is the same with *συμπαινήων*. For in this Oration *Gregorius* bids farewell to the *Constantinopolitane* Church. *Suidas* therefore is right in saying *συμπαινήων*. *συμπαινήων*. But, as to what the same *Suidas* adds, that *Origen* was called *συμπαινήων*, in that he is much out: for *Origen* was termed *συτάκης*, as *Epiphanius* attests not *συμπαινήων*. Valef.

more eminent] should yield and condescend to the Weaker, with an indulgence and Lenity; especially, in regard 'twas very difficult to find any thing every way perfect. Wherefore, that it behoved them to grant one another pardon for small offences, and to forgive and remit whatever has been committed through humane frailty; <sup>b</sup> having always an high regard to, and honour for mutual Concord; least whilst they raise Seditions and Factions one amongst another, an occasion of derision might be given to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. <sup>c</sup> Of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard they <sup>d</sup> might easily be saved, if those things performed amongst us could seem to them desirable and worthy of imitation. <sup>e</sup> And, that they [ought] not to doubt, that the advantage [arising] from discourses does not profit all men. For some rejoyce, that conveniences are <sup>f</sup> allowed them as 'twere in order to their maintenance: others

perfect in many places, as we have already noted diverse times. Now, this place may not unfitly be made good thus; ὡς μάλιστα δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ποιῆν τὰ πάντα δεῖν, of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard, &c. For these words are spoken concerning the Pagans, of whom *Constantine* had made mention just before, when he said τῶν τὸν θεὸν βλασφημεῖν νόμον παρεσκευασμένων, to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. *Constantine* says therefore to the Bishops, that their chiefest care ought to be, lest by their dissensions the Pagans should be provoked to contemn and deride the Christian Religion. For, that it behoves us, to take the greatest care imaginable of them, and to do all things, whereby they might be recalled to the true faith and salvation. But, that they might easily be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, if our matters might seem blessed and admirable to them. Wherefore, that every one of them ought to be allured to our side by various ways and arts. Then he makes use of an instance of Physicians, who that they may restore health to the sick, devise all things which they believe may be of advantage to them. These words, 'tis certain, the Translatours understood not, in whose Versions the Reader will find all things contrary. To this place is to be referred a passage of *Eusebius* in chap. 58. of this book, where he says that the Emperour *Constantine* gave a great quantity of Gold to the Churches for the maintenance of the poor, in regard he was desirous, that all men should be invited, even this way also, to embrace the doctrine of the saving faith; according to the example of the Apostle, who in his Epistle to the Philippians says these words, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is Preached. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian* Copies, and *Turnebus's* Book, the whole place is written thus; ὡς καὶ μάλιστα δεῖ σωθῆναι. ἐκ ἀδυνατοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἡμᾶς ἀνὰ τὸ ζῆλον φαίνοντο. Which questionless is the true reading. This only I would have mended, that instead of ἐκ ἀδυνατοῦ καὶ it should be written ἐκ ἀδυνατοῦ; and afterwards, instead of καὶ ἀσφοδῶν that the reading be καὶ ἀσφοδῶν καὶ. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Σωθῆναι δωραμένον. At this place σωθῆναι signifies to partake of the doctrine of the salutary Faith; in which sense 'tis taken by *St. Paul*, where he says, that God would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth. This verb is in this sense proper to the Christian Religion. In which signification nevertheless, the Philosophers of the latter age used it, as I remember I have read in the Commentaries of *Proclus* on *Timæus*. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Μὴ ἀμφοισφῶν. It is rather to be written καὶ ἀμφοισφῶν, by understanding δεῖ which was made use of a little before; and we have rendred it accordingly. But the *Fuketian* Copy has opened to us the true reading, wherein 'tis thus worded, καὶ ἀσφοδῶν δ' ἡμᾶς διμαίω, &c. But I suppose you are not ignorant, that, &c. And so *Turnebus* had mended it at the margin of his Book, from a Manuscript Copy. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐπιμαρμένον. A new and unusual word; instead whereof it ought, as I think, to be ἐπιμαρμένον, allowed. The meaning of this passage is the same with that we have set in our Version. For *Constantine* says, that the Pagans are wont to be converted to our Religion on various accounts and occasions. That some are drawn by the hope of food, namely because of the Alms of the Christians. Others, by the hope of Patronage; to wit, on account of the authority of the Bishops, who could do much with the Emperour and Grandees at Court. Πεσυσία signifies Patronage, Protection, or Favour, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus*; which term *John Chrysostome* makes frequent use of. In the excellent *Fuketian* Copy the word ἐπιμαρμένον is wanting, and this whole place is thus worded; οἱ μὲν καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὴν εὐχὴν χαίρουσιν. οἱ δὲ τὸ πρὸς πεσυσίας ἐπειλημμένοι ὡς πρὸς ἐλπίδα. For some rejoyce as 'twere on account of food: others are wont to run under those who are possessed of [or, have procured] Patronage. Valef.



are wont to flie to Patronage. Some love those from whom they have had a kind reception : and others being honoured with Gifts, are thereby induced to enter into a friendship. But their number is small who are true Lovers of discourses, and 'tis a rare thing to find a friend of Truth. For which reason they ought all to fit and conform themselves [to all men,] and (like a Physician) administer to each person those things which are profitable for salvation ; to the end that the saving Doctrine may be honoured by all men. These were the admonitions [given them by the Emperour] in the first place. But in the close he added, that with all diligence and earnestness they would put up their prayers to God in behalf of him. Having in this manner taken leave of them, he permitted them all to return into their own Countries. They therefore went home with all the cheerfulness imaginable; and in future one Opinion, which had been agreed on in the Emperours presence, prevailed amongst all men; in regard those who for a long time had been disunited, closed again in one Body as 'twere.

me best, by reason of those words which immediately follow, to the end a tautology might be avoided. A little after, the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* have it written *ὅφ' ἐνὶ σώματι, in one Body*; not *ἐφ' ἐνὶ* as 'tis in the common Editions. In the *same Copy* I found it written *διότις πάντες ἀρμότουν δέ, For which reason they ought to fit and conform themselves to all men*; not as 'tis commonly Printed, *διὸ πρὸς πάντας. Valef.*

CHAP. XXII.

In what manner he sent to some, and wrote to others ; and [concerning] the distributions of money.

**T**HE Emperour therefore, rejoycing at this \* great success, by his Letters imparted most plentiful and pleasing fruit to those who had not been present at the Synod. Moreover, he ordered liberal distributions of money to be made amongst all the people, as well those in the Countries as them in the Cities; in this manner honouring the publick Festivals [celebrated] on account of the twentieth year of his Empire.

CHAP. XXIII.

How he wrote to the Egyptians, and exhorted them \* to Peace.

**B**UT when other persons were at Peace one with another, amongst the *Egyptians* only the mutual contention was fierce and implacable: in so much that they did again disturb the Emperour; nevertheless they excited him not to anger. For he 'treated them with all the honour imaginable, as if they had been Fathers, or rather Prophets of God ; and called them to him a second time ; and did again with great patience mediate between them; and honoured them with Gifts again, and declared to them his determination by a Letter : wherein he confirmed and established the Decrees of the Synod ; and befought them that they would be studious to pre-

serve Concord, that they should not distract nor tear in sunder the Church ; but that they should take into their consideration the memory of the judgment of God. And these things the Emperour suggested to them by † a peculiar Letter.

† Or, His own writing.

CHAP. XXIV.

That he frequently wrote \* Pious Letters to the Bishops and People.

\* Or, Piously.

**M**OREOVER, he wrote infinite other things of the same sort with these, and penn'd a vast number of Letters ; † sometimes to the Bishops, wherein he commanded those things which were of advantage to the Churches of God ; at others, he address'd himself by Letters even to the || populacy themselves, [in which Letters] this thrice blessed person stiled the people of the Church, Brethren and his own Fellow-servants. But we will at another time get leisure <sup>a</sup> to make a Collection of these [Letters and Sanctions] in a peculiar Volume, to the end the || Series of this our History may not be interrupted at present.

† Or, Partly.

|| Or, Multitudes.

<sup>a</sup> Indeed, Eusebius did afterwards perform what

he here promises ; and in a peculiar volume comprized all the Letters and Sanctions of the Emperour *Constantine*, which bore a reference to the Catholick Faith. This I am informed of from the *Medicean Copy* ; wherein, at the close of his *Ecclef. Hist. Constantine's Letter to the Palestinians* is written out, which *Eusebius* hath recorded in the foregoing book, and after the foresaid Letter these words occur ; *ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ᾧ δέ μοι κείμενα, φέρε ὃ λοιπόν. τὰ δὲ νόμιμα καὶ τὰς ὑποτάχας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας τὰ θεοφιλέα ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ τὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολάς, ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ὅμα πάσας συναρτάωμεν ;* that is, *Let these things therefore be here placed by me. But come on now ; let us from another hand [or, beginning] gather the Laws, and all the Letters of our Pious and most mild Emperour [written] in defence of the true Religion. Valef.*

CHAP. XXV.

That he ordered a Church to be built at Jerusalem, in the holy place of our Saviour's Resurrection.

**T**HESE matters having been in this manner performed, this pious [Emperour] effected <sup>a</sup> another vast work highly memorable, <sup>a</sup> *Μνημὸς* in the Province of the *Palestinians*. But what <sup>a</sup> *ἄλλο τι μέγα* was that ? He look'd upon it as his duty, to render that most blessed place of the Salutary Resurrection, which is at *Jerusalem*, illustrious and venerable in the sight of all men. He gave orders therefore, that an Oratory should forthwith be erected there : which he was induced to do, not without God's appointment ; but had his mind incited thereto by our Saviour himself.

<sup>a</sup> *Μνημὸς* The first word ought, I think, to be expunged, as being superfluous ; unless it should be made *μνημ.*

*μνημ. ἕνεκα, on account of its memorableness. It may also be worded thus, εἰς μνημὸν. Turnebus at the margin of his Copy hath made it ἀξίον instead of μέγα. Valef.*



## C H A P. XXVI.

*That the Impious had covered our Lord's Sepulchre with Rubbish and Idols.*

**F**OR impious men, or rather the whole Tribe of *Dæmons* by the assistance of such men, had heretofore made it their business, wholly to involve that admirable monument of Immortality in darkness and oblivion. [The Monument I say] to which an Angel, shining with light, descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone from their minds who were really stony, and who supposed that the living [Christ] as yet lay amongst the dead: [which Angel] brought glad tidings to the women, and removed the stone

<sup>a</sup> I supposed the word *their* was to be referred to the women which came early to the Sepulchre of our Lord. But *Christophorson* referred it to those stony and incredulous persons, concerning whom *Eusebius* hath spoken a little before; which I approve not of. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ἐξ ὧθεν ποθεν.* I would rather read *ὅθεν ὅθεν ποθεν*, that is, from what place soever they could get it. *Valef.*

\* Or, Cover'd

they \* filled that whole place. And after this they raised it to an height, and paved it with stone; under which great heap of earth they hid the divine Cave which was below. Then, as if nothing else remained to [be done by] them, upon this [heap of] earth they prepare a truly horrid Sepulchre of Souls; erecting a dark Cavern of dead Idols, in honour of that Lascivious *Dæmon* [whom they term]

<sup>c</sup> *Θυσιὰς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ὁμοπένδους.* *Christophorson* has rendered this place very ill, in this manner; *cum delectabiles ibi victimas super immundas aras immolare, also to offer delectable victims there upon impure Altars.* But the term *ὁμοπένδους* does sufficiently shew, that *Eusebius* speaks not here concerning *Victims* or *Beasts* killed in Sacrifice, but concerning *Libations*; to wit, *Wine, Milk*, and the like, which the Heathens offered to their Gods. Besides, 'tis wholly absurd, that *Victims* should be killed upon the Altars. For Sacrifices were killed by, not upon the Altars. This is a known Verse of *Ovid*;

*Rode caper vitem. Tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras, &c. Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ὁυδὲ τὴν σύμπαυσιν ἢ ἀνθρώπων λαθεῖν.* This place is imperfect, of which sort very many occur in these Books of *Eusebius*. It may, as I think, not unfitly be made good in this manner; *ὡς ἐστὶ τὴν σύμπαυσιν ἢ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν δύνασθαι λαθεῖν, &c. in the like manner as 'tis impossible, &c.* Indeed, *Eusebius's* following words do most plainly confirm this our emendation. But *Christophorson* has confounded all things here, as 'tis apparent from his *Version.* *Valef.*

of Infidelity from <sup>a</sup> their minds, to the end he might assert an opinion concerning his Life, who was sought for by them. This salutary Cave therefore some impious and profane persons took a resolution wholly to render invisible; being so foolish as to think, that by this means they should conceal the truth. Wherefore, having by much labour brought together a vast quantity of earth, <sup>b</sup> from what place soever they could get it, and heaping it up,

[as the Sun does,] but the souls of men,) had now filled the whole world with its own Raies of Light. Nevertheless, the Machinations of these impious and prophane men against the Truth, had continued for a long space of time. Nor was there any person to be found, either of the *Presidents*, or \* *Duces*, or of the Emperours themselves, who <sup>\* Military Commanders.</sup> could be fit to destroy this so audacious an impiety; save only this one [Prince,] the Friend to the supream God. Who, inspired with the divine Spirit, and not enduring that that forementioned place, which by the Enemies frauds had been hid under all manner of impure † filth, should † Or, be delivered up to oblivion and ignorance; nor <sup>Matters.</sup> thinking it fit to yield to their malice, who had been the occasioners hereof: having called upon that God who was his Assistant, gives order that it should be cleansed. It being his Sentiment, that that part especially of the Ground, which had been defiled by the Enemy, ought by his means to enjoy the Divine Magnificence. As soon therefore as this Order was issued out from the Emperour, those engines of fraud were thrown down from their vast height to the very ground; and the Buildings erected to lead men into error, were ruined and demolish'd, together with the very Statues themselves and the *Dæmons*.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*In what manner Constantine gave order, that the Materials wherewith the Idol-Temple had been built, and the Rubbish should be removed and thrown at a great distance.*

**N**OR did the Emperour's earnestness and diligence stop here. But he issued forth another Order, that the Materials of the Buildings demolished, which consisted of Stone and Timber, should be removed, and thrown at a vast distance without the confines of that Region. Which Order of his likewise was forthwith put in execution. Nor was he satisfied in proceeding thus far only. But, incited again by a divine warmth and zeal, he commanded, that they should dig up the very ground it self of that place, to a vast depth, and carry away the earth which was thrown out a far off, in regard it had been defiled with the Gore of Sacrifices \* Or, offered to \* Devils. <sup>Dæmons.</sup>

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*The discovery \* of the most Holy Sepulchre.* <sup>\* Or, Of the Holy Sepulchre</sup>

**W**ithout delay therefore this Command was likewise fulfilled. But after another ground † beneath the former, namely the place which was at the bottom, was discovered; then the August and most Holy † Or, Monument of our Saviour's Resurrection, contrary to all expectation appeared. And then also that Cave, [which may truly be stiled] the Holy of Holies, exprest a certain likeness to our Saviour's Resurrection: in regard, after its being \* buried in darkness, it came forth into the light again, and gave a manifest History of those Miracles heretofore performed there, to be viewed with <sup>Evidence.</sup> <sup>\* Or, Overwhelmed with</sup>



viewed by them who flock't together to that sight; [an History] that attested the Resurrection of our Saviour<sup>a</sup> by the things themselves, which sound far more audibly and clearly than any voice.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐγγύς ἐκείνων γε γινώσκουσιν. It mult doubtless be made γινώσκουσιν, which Christopherson perceived not. The meaning of the place is this, *that that restitution of the Lord's Sepulchre after so many ages, did really confirm the Resurrection of our Lord.* In the Fuketian Copy the reading is γινώσκουσιν, in which manner Turnebus had likewise mended it at the margin of his Book, from a Manuscript Copy. In the Kings Sheets 'tis γινώσκουσιν. Sir Henry Savil had noted at the margin of his Book, that perhaps it should be γινώσκουσιν. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*In what manner he wrote to the Presidents, and to Macarius the Bishop, concerning the Building [of a Church.]*

**T**Hese things having been thus performed, immediately the Emperour, by issuing forth pious Laws and constitutions, and by plentiful allowances for expences, orders a Church befitting God to be built about the Salutary Cave, with a magnificence that was rich and royal. For he had laid this design within himself long before, and with a divine alacrity had foreseen that which in future would be. [He gave command] therefore to the Governours of the Provinces in the East, that by allowing liberal and plentiful supplies, they should make that Work Stately, large, and Magnificent. But to the Bishop who at that time presided over the Church at Jerusalem, he sent this Letter, wherein by manifest expressions he has asserted \* the Doctrine of the saving Faith, writing in this manner.

\* Or, The saving Doctrine of the Faith.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Constantine's [Letter] to Macarius, concerning the Building of the Martyrium of our Saviour.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Macarius.

<sup>a</sup> Μὴ δὲ μὴ λόγων διεγερταῖαν. In Socrates, Theodoret and Nicephorus, the reading is λόγων διανοίας, which I think to be truer. Valef.

**S**O great is Our Saviour's Love and Favour, that<sup>a</sup> no Rhetorick seems sufficient to set forth a Declaration of the present Miracle. For, that the Monument of his most Holy Passion, long since hid underneath the earth, should lie concealed for so many periods of years, till such time as, by the<sup>b</sup> slaughter of that common Enemy, it should gloriously appear to his servants now set at Liberty, [is a matter which] does really surmount all admiration.

<sup>b</sup> Constantine here terms Licinius the publick Enemy; after whose destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of Our Lord, which before had been concealed, was brought to the light and sight of Men. Licinius was slain on the year of Christ 326, as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti. And on that very year, when Helena was come to Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of Our Lord was found. By the name of Publick Enemy, the Devil might also be meant here, were not this contradicted by the following Words. For the Devil was not then finally vanquished and overcome, when the Sepulchre of the Lord was cleared from the filth and rubbish which covered it. Besides, *διανοίας*, that is, slaughter, is more appositely spoken of Licinius, than concerning the Devil. Valef.

For, if all those Persons who throughout the whole World are accounted wise, should be convened in one and the same Place, with a design to speak something agreeable to the worthiness of this Matter; they would not be able after their utmost Endeavours, to attain to [an explication of] the least part of it. For \* the

authority of this Miracle doth as far transcend every Nature capable of Humane Reason, as things that are Celestial do exceed those which are Humane. Wherefore, this is always my chief and only

aim, that as the authority of the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new Miracles, so the minds of us all should with all modesty and unanimous alacrity, become more careful and diligent about [an observation of] the Holy Law. Which<sup>a</sup> thing in regard I judge to be manifestly apparent to all Men, my desire is you should most especially be persuaded of this, that there is nothing which I have a greater care about and concern for, than that we should adorn that Sacred Place (which by Gods Command I have unburthened of that most detestable accession of the Idol, as 'twere of some ponderous and heavy weight; [which place] by God's determination was made holy from the beginning, but was afterwards demonstrated to be more Holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Truth and Certainty of Our Saviour's Passion;) with Magnificent and Stately Structures.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν τοῦτον πᾶσαν. I think it mult be ἐν τῷ ποσῷ πᾶσαν, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

\* The term *πίστις*, faith, authority, or credit, is wanting here; which we have inserted from Socrates, Book I. Chap. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐν. This place is to be mended from Socrates and Theodoret. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*That he would have this Church built so, as to exceed all the Churches in the World, for beauty of Walls, Columns, and Marbles.*

**T**herefore, it does well become Your Prudence, so to dispose and make provision of all materials necessary for the Work, that not only the Church it self may in Stateliness excell all others in what Place soever, but also that the other parts of it may be made such, as that all the beautifullest Structures in whatever City may be outdone by this Fabrick. And as concerning the raising and exquisite Workmanship of the Walls, We would have you know, that the care thereof hath by Us been committed to Our Friend<sup>a</sup> Dracilianus Deputy to the most Famous the Præfetti Prætorio, and to the President of the Province.

<sup>a</sup> Δρακιλιανῷ τῷ ἐπαρχῇ. This place must likewise be mended from Socrates, Theodoret, and Nicephorus, in this manner, τὰ τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπαρχῶν, Deputy to the most Famous the Præfetti Prætorio. There are indeed two Laws of Constantine extant in the Theodosian Code, the one in the Title de Usuris, the other in that de Hereticis, written to this Dracilianus. The former has this Inscription; Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum Prætor. It was published at Cesarea in Palestine on the fiftenth of the Calend of May, in the Consulate of Paulinus and Julianus. But the second is said to have been published on the Calends of September, at Genesium, Constantinus Augustus the seventh time and Constantinus Cæsar being Coss. That is, on the year of Christ 326. On which year also Constantine wrote this Letter to Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem. Further, 'tis to be noted, that the Præfetti Prætorio are here termed Clarissimi, most famous. For they had not yet received the dignity of the Illustrissimi, [or, the title of most Illustrious.] Moreover, in other of Constantine's Laws, the Præfetti Prætorio are stiled clarissimi, as it occurs in these Books. But, as the Præfetti Prætorio had only the Title of Clarissimi in Constantine's age, so the Vicarii [Deputies] of the Prætorion Præfecture were stiled only perfectissimi [most perfect] in the times of the same Constantine; as a Letter to Probianus Proconsul of Africk informs us. See Athanasius's Apologitick to Constantine, pag. 194. Valef.



For it has been ordered by Our Piety, that Artificers and Workmen, and whatever else they may be informed of from Your Prudence as necessary for the Structure, shall by their care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Columns or Marbles,

<sup>b</sup> Σωβόρως—whatever You Your Self, <sup>b</sup> on sight of the Model, <sup>as</sup> ὡς—shall judge to be more sumptuous and usefuller, <sup>ῥώμης</sup> ῥώμης. At this place make it Your business to inform Us by Letter; <sup>συνόψιν</sup> σύνοψιν that when we shall understand from Your Letter, signifies how many and what manner of Materials You the form stand in need of, they may be conveyed to you from and delineation of all parts. [<sup>c</sup> For 'tis but reasonable, that that the future most admirable place of the whole World, should be work. In beautified according to its dignity and worth.]

which sense 'tis taken also in the Letter of Himerius the Rationalis of Alexandria to the P. of Marcotus, which Athanasius records in his Apology, pag. 803. For, after he had said, that Augustus and the Cæsars had permitted Ischyra to build a Church in his own Village, he commands the Præpositus of that Village forthwith to draw a Model of the future Building, and send it to his Office. See Socras. Book 1. Chap. 9. note (x.) Valef.

<sup>c</sup> This whole sentence is wanting here in the Greek Text of Eusebius. It occurs in Socrates, Book 1. Chap. 9. in Theodoret, Book 1. Chap. 17. and in Robert Stephens's Edition also at the said place of Socrates and Theodoret: but at this place 'tis left out in Robert Stephens's Edition. 'Tis inserted here in Valesius's Version; from whom, and the aforementioned Authorities, we have put it into our Translation.

### CHAP. XXXII.

That [Macarius] should write to the Presidents concerning the beautifying of the \* Concha, and concerning Workmen, and Materials.

\* Or, Inside of the Roof.

Further, I desire to know of You, whether You think good to have the inner Roof of the Church <sup>a</sup> Arched, or <sup>†</sup> Embowed, or <sup>‡</sup> Fretted, made of any other sort of Work. For, <sup>||</sup> Or, if it be Embowed, it may also be <sup>||</sup> gilded with Gold. <sup>b</sup> It remains therefore, that as soon as may be, Your Holiness should inform the forementioned Judges, how many Workmen and Artificers, and what Money for Expences there will be need of: and that [Your Holiness] don't take care to give Me a speedy account, not only ways. For concerning the Marbles and Columns, but in reference also to the Embowed Roofs, if You shall beautified judge that to be the more beautiful Work. God with Lac-

<sup>a</sup> τὴν δὲ πρὸς βασιλικῆς καμάρου, ποτερον λακωνιστικῶν. The Roofs of Churches were usually adorned two ways. For either they were either beautified with Lacunaria Em-

bowled or Fretted-Roofs, or else wrought with Mosaick Work. As to the Lacunaria, this place of Constantine is an evidence. Concerning the Mosaick-Work Procopius is to be consulted, in his first Book de Fabricis Justiniani, where he describes the Church of Saint Sophia. Now the Lacunaria were usually adorned two ways. For either they were gilded; or painted, which Pausias was the first Inventer of, concerning whom Pliney (Book 35. Chap. 11) writes thus: Idem & Lacunaria primus pingere instituit: nec cameras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit. Isidorus (Book 19. of his Origines) writes thus; Lacunaria sunt quæ cameram subregunt & ornant: quæ & Lacunaria dicuntur: quod Lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeant pictos, cum signis intermicantibus. Which place of Isidorus, Salmasius does without cause find fault with, in his notes on Flavius Vossius, pag. 393. where he denies that Lacunaria were ever put under Roofs. But Pliney in express Words affirms that very thing, as also Constantine in this Letter. The Old Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, at Question 106, has these words; Sicut enim ad ornamentum domus pertinet, sic camera ejus habeat auro distincta Lacunaria, &c. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ ὁμοιωσιν τὸ λακωνιστικόν. At this place I followed the punctuation of Theodoret and Nicephorus, who after the verb καλλωπιστικῶν, gilded with Gold, set a point. All the Translators likewise before us did the same, saying Mosaick. But if any one had rather place the point after λακωνιστικόν, thus [what remains, or, the rest of the Building, may be also gilded with Gold.] Then it must be writ-

ten, πλὴν ἢ σὲ ἡσίοβης, &c. Besides, Your Holiness as soon as may be shall inform, &c. as the reading is in the Eusebian Manuscript and in Sir Henry Savil's Copy. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Church of [Our] Saviour was built, which the Prophets had termed New-Jerusalem.

These were the Contents of the Emperour's Letter: his \* order was immediately followed by the things themselves effectually put in execution. And <sup>a</sup> in the very Martyrium of Our Saviour, <sup>b</sup> the New-Jerusalem was built, over against that most celebrated Old [Jerusalem]; which having been reduced to the \* utmost degree of Ruin and Desolation after that nefarious Murder of Our Lord, underwent the punishment of its impious Inhabitants. Opposite to this [City] therefore, the Emperour erected <sup>†</sup> the Trophie of Victory which Our Saviour had gained over Death, <sup>||</sup> with a rich and gorgeous splendour. And this perhaps was that fresh and New Jerusalem, spoken of in the Oracles of the Prophets; concerning which there occurs so many, and such large Expressions uttered by the divine Spirit it self. In the first place therefore, he adorned the sacred Cave, in regard it was the Head of the whole Work; to wit, that divine Monument, at which an Angel shining with [a Celestial] Light, heretofore \* declared to all Men that Regeneration which was demonstrated by our Saviour.

\* Or, Word.

<sup>a</sup> Κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σπήριον.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ὡς μαρτυρίῳ.

<sup>c</sup> Εὐσεβίου ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>d</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>e</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>f</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>g</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>h</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>i</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>j</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>k</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>l</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>m</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

<sup>n</sup> ὡς τὴν ἴσην.

bove at Chap. 28. Eusebius terms the Sepulchre of our Lord τὸ σπήριον μαρτυρίου, the Martyrium or Monument of Our Saviour's Resurrection. Moreover, Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fourteenth Catechesis, writes that the place of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection is termed The Martyrium. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Νέα κατεσκευάσθη ἱερουσαλὴμ. These words of Eusebius, Socrates has written out at Chap. 17 Book 1. ἡ δὲ τῆς βασιλέως μητρί, ὅκον ὡς ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ τῷ μνήματι τῷ τῷ, πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευάσθη, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέα ἐπ' ὀνόμασιν, ἀντιπαραστήσαν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκτίσει καὶ καταλειμνίῃ ποιήσασα; But the Emperour's Mother erected in the place of the Sepulchre a most Magnificent Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite to that Old deserted [Jerusalem.] Which Words of Socrates are to be observed with more of attention. In the first place he attributes that to Helena, which Eusebius says was done by Constantine. Wherein he has followed the Authority of Rufinus, who (Book 1. Chap. 8. of his Ecclesiastical History) writes, that this Church was built at Jerusalem by Helena. Now, although it be of small moment, whether Helena at the charge of the Emperour Constantine, or Constantine himself by the care and diligence of his Mother Helena, be said to have built that Church: yet 'tis better to follow Eusebius's Opinion; in regard he was both present at the things themselves, and also produces Constantine's Letter concerning the building of that Church. 'Tis to be remarked also, that what Eusebius had worded thus, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σπήριον μαρτυρίου, in or at the Martyrium of Our Saviour; that is thus exprest by Socrates, ἐν τῷ τῷ μνήματι τῷ τῷ, in the place of the Sepulchre. But, what Eusebius had exprest in this manner, ἡ νέα κατεσκευάσθη ἱερουσαλὴμ, the New-Jerusalem was built; that Socrates words thus, ὅκον ἐκκλησίαν κατεσκεύασεν, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέα ἐπ' ὀνόμασιν, ἀντιπαραστήσαν, &c. erected—a—Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite, &c. where any one may see that the word ἐπ' ὀνόμασιν, called it, must be expunged. For that Church was not termed New-Jerusalem, as the Translators thought, and before him Nicephorus; but it was called The Martyrium, or The Basilica Constantiniana, and Anastasis. Eusebius therefore and Socrates do say only this, that Constantine or Helena, having erected that Church which was a great and stately Structure, built the New-Jerusalem over against that old one, which heretofore had been ruined by the Romans. Which is most true. For from that time, the City Aelia, its true and old name being by degrees abolished, began to be called Jerusalem by the Christians;



Christians; whereas notwithstanding, it really was not Jerusalem, in regard it had been erected in another soil, and was built by a Roman Emperor (who then was the bitterest Enemy to the Jews,) with that design and intent, that the Gentiles might inhabit it; but, that the Jews might be driven at the greatest distance from its entrance. Further, I doubt not but Eusebius alludes to that place which occurs in the Revelation, chap. 21. vers. 2. And I—saw the Holy City, New-Jerusalem coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXIV.

#### A Description of the Fabrick of The most Holy Sepulchre.

THIS [Monument I say,] in regard it was the Head of the whole work, the Emperor's Munificence in the first place \* adorned with Eximious Columns, and with all imaginable Beauty; and rendred it glorious and splendid by various sorts of Ornaments.

### CHAP. XXXV.

#### A Description of the Atrium, and of the Porticus's.

AFTER that he passed to a most spacious Place, open to the pure Air. The \* Ground whereof he beautified by paving it with a shining or bright Stone, and inclosed it b on three sides with Porticus's that † were extended to a vast length.

\* Floor, or, Bottom. † Or, Ran out. at least polish'd stone like to Marble. So in the following chapter Eusebius uses these words ξεσθ λίθω λαμπρυνομένη to signify the same. But Christopherson has rendred λαμπρὸν λίθον, Eximious Stone: Portesius translates it excellent Stone; not well, as I think. Valef.

b Εκ τεπλευρά. The Atria (Courts) of Churches consisted usually of four Porticus's, placed in form of a Quadrangle. In the midst there was an open place, such a one as we now a days see in the Cloysters of Monks. Eusebius informs us hereof, in the description of the Church at Tyre, which occurs in the Tenth Book of his Eccles. History. But in the Church at Jerusalem, the Frame or Compolure was different. For there were only three Porticus's there, placed at the three sides. But in the fourth side, which was directly opposite to the Sepulchre at the rising Sun, instead of a Porticus there was the Church it self, as Eusebius informs us in the following chapter. Which seems to have been done for this reason, that the Church it self might be enlightened with a larger light, no Porticus on the outside giving any hindrance to the lights. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXVI.

#### A Description of the Walls, Roof, Beauty, and Gilding \* of the Church it self.

FOR, to that side placed opposite to the Cave (which [side] look'd towards the rising Sun,) the † Basilica was joyned: a Work admirable and stately, raised to immense height, and extended to a vast length and breadth. The In-lides of which Structure a were covered with Crusts of Marble, that were of different colours:

a "Τλῆς μαρμάρου ποικίλης. The Ancients adorned walls with cut Crusts of Marble of a different colour, as I have noted at book 28. of Amm. Marcellinus, pag, 363. Such Crusts of Marble as these they termed πλάκας. See Gregor. Nazianz. in Orat. 31. and in his Carmen Anacreonticum ad animum suum. Valef.

but the outward surface of the Walls, being beautified with polish'd Stones cemented together by exact joyns, made a most glorious and beautiful shew, nothing inferiour to the appearance of Marble. \* As to the top of the Church, he covered the outward part of the Roof with Lead, in regard that was the strongest defence against winter showers. But the Inner Roof being † set with b Carv'd Lacunaria, and spread like some great Sea all over the Church by || Tables joyned one with another, || Or, continued joined. and covered all over with the \* purest Gold, made the whole Church shine, as 'twere, with Rayes of Light.

\* Or, As the Roofs themselves above. † Finished, or fitted. b Γλυφαῖς. Or, Continued joined. What are Hefychius and the Author of the Etymologicon do inform us; who interpret φεσφόματι, σκεπασμένη, σὺν διασφύρα, that is, Tabellæ; tecta laqueata, Tablets; Embowed Roofs. Eusebius uses the same word hereafter at chap. 49. Hence therefore it appears, that the Roof of the Church was on the inside covered and adorned with a Lacunar [or Embowed Roof,] according to Constantine's thoughts about it, as he attests in his Letter to Macarius. For on the outside it was covered with Lead, to keep off showers. Therefore the Roof must necessarily have been framed of Stone; which might bear up the Lead laid upon it, Valef.

### CHAP. XXXVII.

#### A Description of the double Porticus's on both Sides, and of the three Eastern Gates.

FURTHER, at both the Sides, a double b Porticus's as well beneath as above, in length equalled the whole Church; the Roofs of which [Porticus's] were likewise variously adorned with Gold. There were four Porticus's in the Jerusalem-Church; to wit, two at each side of the Church. For that's the meaning of these words ἡ δὲ σὺν δίδυμοι ὄψασθαι. Besides, the following words do manifestly evince this. For, of these Porticus's Eusebius says some were in the front of the Church, that is more outward; but others more inward. In the same manner there were four Porticus's in the Church of the Apostles which was in the City Rome as Prudentius attests in the Passion of the Apostles, in these Verses;

Subdidit & Parias fulvis laquearibus Columnas  
Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.

The same Prudentius in the Passion of Hippolytus, writes thus concerning the Church of Saint Hippolytus:

Ordo columnarum geminus laquearia tecti  
Sustinet, auratis suppositus trabibus.  
Adduntur graciles tecto brevior recessus,  
Qui laterum seriem jugiter exsinuunt.

The same Form may be seen in the greater Churches amongst us; where four Orders of Pillars do make two Porticus's on both sides. Further, such Porticus's as these seem to be termed gemellares in the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum. Interiori vero civitatis sunt piscinae gemellares quinque Porticus habentes. In which place nevertheless, 'tis doubtful, whether the pools themselves, or the Porticus's are to be termed gemellares. And 'tis better to understand the pools to be termed gemellares. For there were two Pools, as Jerome relates in his Book de Locis Hebraicis, where he treats of Bethesda. Valef.

b Παρεσθῆσαι. Christopherson has rendred it Xystos, which is ill done. For σὺν ὄψασθαι are by a Synecdoche made use of to signify Porticus's. Hefychius expounds ὄψασθαι, Pillars which are set against [or turned towards] a wall. But Christopherson referred those words ἡ δὲ σὺν to πλάκας in this manner, ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάπερ τὰ πλάκας ἡ δὲ σὺν, &c. at both the sides of the double Porticus's, &c: whereas, after the word sides, a comma is to be placed, as the reading is in the King's and Fuketian Manuscript; and those words ἡ δὲ σὺν ought to be referred to παρεσθῆσαι. For the sides of the Church are meant here; which is confirmed from the Tenth Book of his Eccles. History; where he describes the Church of Tyre in these words, ταῖς παρ' ἐκσπῆρας τῆς πύλης νεὸς σόας, to the Cloysters [or, Porticus's] on both sides of the whole Church. Valef.

c Ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων. Eusebius has treated above concerning the Porticus's of the Atrium. Now he speaks concerning the Porticus's of the Church. And in the first place he says, that at each side of the Church, there were two Porticus's. Then he tells us, that those Porticus's were partly ἀναγείων, partly καταγείων. Which I so render; as that those Porticus's had two Roofs; and that some of them were equal to the floor of the Church it self; but that the other Porticus's were



of *Saint Sophia*: whose description it will be pleasant to compare with this Narration of *Eusebius*. 'Εν ἄκρῃ may also be expounded in the upper end or top of the Church, that so the meaning may be, that the Altar was not placed in the middle of the Church, but at the upper end or top of it.

*A Description of the Area, Exhedræ, and* Ἐκδομαὶ  
Porches. *ἡ ἀγορὴ.*

**H**ence, at those passages which to them  
that go out lie before the Church, he  
interposed an *Area* [or *Court*.] In which place  
there were, <sup>c</sup> first the *Atrium*, then the *Porti-*  
*cus's* <sup>d</sup> on both sides, and last of all the Gates  
of the *Atrium*. After which, the Porches of the  
whole Structure [placed] <sup>e</sup> in the very middle  
of the Street (where there was a Market,) being  
most beautifully adorned, gave such as were  
making a journey abroad, a most ama-  
zing \* prospect <sup>f</sup> of the things seen  
within.

<sup>c</sup> 'Ա զ' ընթ լան Եւանջեւ. At the margin of the Morean Copy 'tis mended լան Եւանջեւեւ, the same with which is the reading in Gruter's Book. It might also be mended լան Էջեւեւ. But in regard the *Fuk. and Saul.* Copies have it լան Եւանջեւեւ, that reading is to be preferred. Valef.

red. *Valeſ.*  
 † *ῥῥοὶ πῶσις.* Christophorſon renders it *poſtes, poſts*; extremely ill: *Porteſius* translates better, *pilas, piles*. What *πῶσις* are, *Procopius* informs us in *Book 1. de Fabricis Juſtinian*, when he deſcribes the Church of *Saint Sophia*; to wit, *hills or heaps of ſtone*, which he compares to certain Rocks that underprop'd the *Apsis* [*Bowing of the Arch'd Roof.*] The latter *Grecians* have termed them *πῶσις*, as *Meuſius* has remarked in his *Gloſſary*. They were therefore ſtony piles, ſo called as I think from their figure, becauſe they were four-corner'd, like *peſſi* or *peſſuli*, *bars* or *bolts*. Now the inner *Porticus's*, which were next to the ſides of the Church, were therefore underprop'd with theſe *peſſi*, becauſe they bore up the Roof of the Church on each ſide: which Roof in height exceeded all the reſt. *Valeſ.*

*A Description of the Hemisphere, and of  
the twelve Columns with their Capitals.*

Hence 'tis that he terms it  $\alpha\varsigma$  παντὸς κεφαλῶν the Head of the whole Work. For Churches were therefore built, that upon the Altar an unbloody Sacrifice might be offered to God. A little above Eusebius has termed the Sepulchre of our Lord the Head of the whole work: but now he gives the Altar of the Church that name; which two differ widely one from the other. For the Sepulchre of our Lord is therefore called the Head of the whole Work, because it was the beginning and entrance [or, porch] as 'twere of the whole Fabrick, and because for the sake of that, Constantine built the whole work. But 'the Altar of the Church is termed the Sum of the whole Work, in regard the whole Work had a reference to that, and that was the Complement of the whole Structure, without which the Church was imperfect. Further, Eusebius has improperly titled it The Hemisphere, instead of the Hemicycle, or rather The Hemicycle; of which form the Altar of Saint Sophia was, as Procopius informs us Book 1. de Aedificiis. In Turnebus's Book at the margin 'tis mended  $\eta\mu\sigma\phi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ , but in a more modern hand. Vales.

<sup>b</sup> 'Ἐν ἄκρῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐκτεταμένον. 'Tis the same as if he had said ἐν ἄκρῃ, to the top. The Hemisphere was stretch'd from the bottom to the top of the Church. And in the bottom there were twelve pillars, placed in a semicircular form. *Procopius* (book 1. *de Edificiis*) confirms this explication, where he describes the Church

is *Area*, a Court or Court-yard. For that which in the Contents of this Chapter is termed *μεσάωλιον*, in the Text of the Chapter is by *Eusebius* called *αἶθερος*. He makes use of the same term in his description of the Church at Tyre, in the Tenth Book of his History, *μέσον αἶθρον ἡγίον*, the middle space he left open; see book 10. chap. 4. note (u.) *Chrysostom* renders it *aream*, which is not ill done. *Porresius* and *Musculus* translate it *subdivale spatium*, a space that is vacant or abroad in the Air, which is in my judgment better Latine. For the Larms called a clean place wherein Corn was threshed, *Aream*; but not those which now a days we term *Curties*: yet use has prevailed, that *Area* should be called *Curties*. *Gracians* likewise term *Curtis* (wherein Hens are fed and Oxen stalled,) *μέσωλιον* and *μέτωλιον*; as *Apolonius* informs us in book 3. *Argonautic*. pag. 134. and his Greek Scholast, and *Harpocration* in the word *μέτωλος*. The *Area* of Churches are mentioned in *Law 4 Cod. Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt*. *Ut inter templum quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, & Januas primas Ecclesie, quicquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, blaneis, areis atque porticibus, confugas interioris templi Vice tueatur*. The Greek Constitution there related runs thus: *ὡς τε μετὰ τὸ τῶ ναῦ, ὃν τῷ περιεργμῶν τρέπω περὶ τὸ ἐκκλησίαν διεσφάλαμεν, ἄχει τῶν πρώτων μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου τύπου ἐκκλησίας θυρῶν, πῶν τὸ παρεκκλήριον, εἴτε ἐν δικίαις, ἢ κήποις, ἢ αὐλαῖς, ἢ λύτεσις, ἢ ἐν σοαῖς τυγχάνει, &c.* You see that *αὐλαῖς* is rendered *Areas*. This Law of *Theodosius* is related in book 7. *Capitular. Caroli M. Tit. 125.* where nevertheless, instead of *area*, *atrium* is made use of. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> "Εἰδεν δὲ ἀπορίωντων. I had rather write ἀπορίων, as Musculus seems to have read; and then it must be rendered thus, *proceeding from hence to those passages which lie, &c.* Valef.

c. Ἀυλὴ πρῶτη. Christophorson and Musculus render it right, *Atrium*. Indeed, the Old Translator of the Gospel, where ever the word *αὐλὴ* occurs, renders it *Atrium*: Besides in the Old Glosses *αὐλὴ* is expounded *Atrium*. *Victorinus Petabionensis* on the Revelation of Saint John, says, *Aula atrium dicitur, vacua inter parietes area, Aula is termed Atrium, an empty Space between Walls*. Yet *Isidorus* (book 5. Origin.) distinguishes *Aula* from *Atrium*: But I agree rather with *Victorinus*. In the *Itinerarie* of *Antoninus the Martyr*, there is mention of the *Atrium* of the *Constantinian Church*. Further, notice is to be taken, that in the Contents of this Chapter, *Exhedra* is made use of instead of *Aula*. Valel.

Exheara is made use of instead of *Aula*. Valel.  
 a Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνταυτῇ παρ' ἐξέτερον. The words, seem to be  
 transposed here; which I would rather read thus; ἵσαν δὲ ἐνταυτῇ  
 καὶ ἀλλὰ πρῶτον, σοὶ τ' ὅτι ταύτῃ παρ' ἐξέτερον, *In which place*  
*there were first the Atrium, then the Porticus's on both sides.* For to  
 those who went out of the Church, first of all occurred the *Aula*, then  
 the *Porticus's* on the right and left hand of the *Atrium*, and after that  
 the *Porch*. Valel.

the Porch. Valef.  
 ° Επ' αὐσίς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορῆς. Before the greater Churches, for the most part there were streets, wherein was kept a Market of things vendible, on the Festival of that Martyr to whom the Church was dedicated. Which things the Ancients therefore observed, that the sight of the Porches might be fairer, and that there should be nothing which might hinder their lights. So at *Rome*, before the *Church of the Apostles* there was a Street, as *Prudentius* attests. At *Alexandria* also, there was a Church at the great Street, as *Athanasius* informs us in his *Epistle ad Solitar*. Εκαυσαν τῶ πυλῶν ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῇ μερᾷ. Further, the word ἀγορῆς seems to be a *Scholion* added to explain the term πλατείας; unless you had rather write ἀγυῶς; and then it must be rendred thus, *in the very midst of the broad Street, being most &c. Valef.*

<sup>f</sup> Ταῦν ἐνδοῦ ὁραμάτων δέσιν. It must be ὁραμάτων, of the things seen within, as 'tis mended at the margin of Turnebus's Copy. Valef.



CHAP. XL.

\* Sacred Presents, or, Gifts. Concerning the Number of the \* Donaria.

† Or, Rich. || Or, Beauties.

THIS Church therefore, which was a manifest evidence of the salutary Resurrection, the Emperour erected; and beautified it throughout with a furniture that was † magnificent and truly Imperial. He adorned it likewise in a various manner with inexpressible || ornaments of innumerable consecrated Gifts, consisting of Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones. The Composure of which [ornaments,] being wrought with the most curious workmanship, and [eminent] for greatness, number, and variety, we are not now at leisure to describe particularly.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the Building of the Churches at Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives.

Τέλειμας, cut. It must be written τε πνεύμας, ennobled, or, Honoured; as the reading is in his Panegyrick concerning Constantine's Tricennalia, chap. 9. where the same words are repeated. Valef.

HAVING likewise in the same Country found other places <sup>a</sup> ennobled with two \* Sacred Caves, he beautified them also with \* Or. Mystlick † ornaments. To that † Or, Cave, wherein our Saviour first made Honours. his Divine appearance, where also he endured to be born in the flesh; he attributed a becoming Honour. But in the other Cave he honoured the Memory of our Lord's Ascent into the Heavens, which [had heretofore happened] on the top of a Mountain. And these places he adorned most magnificently; and [at the same time] eternized the Memory of His own Mother, who had procured so great a Good for Mankind.

CHAP. XLII.

That Helena Augusta, the Mother of Constantine, going [to Bethlehem] on account of Prayer, built these [Churches.]

Ἡμε δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. I had rather read ἡμε δὲ; as I found it written in the Fuke-tian Copy, and in the Kings Sheets. Valef. † Besides Eusebius's testimony, 132. v. 7. there are many things which perswade us to think, that Helena the Mother of Constantine was a Woman of a singular prudence For, whereas she had the Emperour Constantine always obedient to her, even to the

FOR, in regard she had resolved to pay the due debt of her pious affection to God the supream King, and had determined that she ought to give thanks with Supplications for her own Son so glorious an Emperour, and for his Sons the *Cæsars* most dear to God, her Grand-children; though now very aged, yet <sup>a</sup> she hastned and came with a youthful mind, (being a Woman of a <sup>b</sup> singular prudence,) that she might view that admirable Ground, and with a care and solicitude truly Royal, might make a Visit to the Eastern Provinces, \* Cities, and People. But, after she had given a due Veneration to the Footsteps of our Saviour, agreeable to that prophetick Expression which runs thus, † Let us worship at the place where his Feet have stood: immediately she left the fruit of her own piety even to posterity.

\* In the Greek 'tis Σίμυς, como nalty. † See the Sept. vers. of Psal. 132. v. 7.

very last day of her life; this very one thing is an argument of her singular prudence. This also was an evidence of her great wisdom, that she abused not the riches of her Son, and the height of the dignity of *Augusta*, to Luxury and Voluptuousness; but with her own liberality succoured the Provinces, Cities, and private Persons. And whereas she entirely loved her own Grand Children the Sons of *Constantine*, she took care of this above all, that no one of *Constantine's* Children Brethren to *Constantine*, should snatch the Empire from them. Wherefore, as long as she lived, she always detained them Exiles as <sup>c</sup>twere; sometimes at *Tolouse* in *France*, as *Ausonius* writes; otherwhiles, at *Corinth*, as *Julianus* relates in his *Letter to the Corinthians*. A fragment of which Letter is extant in *Libanius*, in His *Oration pro Aristophane Corinthio*, pag. 217. where *Libanius* terms *Helena* πανεργὴ μητέρα, a crafty Mother-in-Law, and attests, that by her advice and Step-Mother-hatred, *Constantine's* Father to *Julian* had been conveyed up and down this way and that way. Valef.

CHAP. XLIII.

Again Concerning the Church at Bethlehem.

FOR, she forthwith dedicated two Churches to that God whom she had adored: the one at the Cave \* wherein Christ was born: the other \* Or, Of on the Mountain † whence he had ascended into the Birth. Heaven. For || *Emanuel* endured to be born for † Or, Of us \* under the Earth: and the place of His Na- || Or, God tivity is by the *Hebrews* termed *Bethlehem*. And with us. therefore the Empress most dear to God, adorned the place where the *Theotocos* was delivered, † Or, Christ with admirable Monuments, and illustrated that † Or, Christ Sacred Cave with all manner of Ornaments. Not † Or, Christ long after which, the Emperour honoured it also † Or, Christ with Imperial sacred Gifts; increasing his Mo- † Or, Christ ther's \* Magnificence with Monu- † Or, Christ ments of Silver and Gold, and <sup>b</sup> with † Or, Christ various Curtains. Further, the Em- † Or, Christ perour's Mother, † in memory of his † Or, Christ Ascent into the Heavens who is the † Or, Christ Saviour of all, raised stately Edi- † Or, Christ fices in the *Mount of Olives*; erecting † Or, Christ a sacred House <sup>c</sup> together with an † Or, Christ holy Church upon the very top of the Mount. † Or, Christ

our sake would be born in a Cave under-ground. Saint *Jerom's* words in his *Epitaph of Paula* are these; *Bethlehem* & in *Specum Salvatoris introiens, entering into Bethlehem and into the Cave of our Saviour*. And a little after; *orare in Speluncâ, in quâ virgo puerpera dominum infantem fudit, &c. to pray in the Cave, wherein the Child-bed Virgin brought forth the infant Lord*. Whence by the by it appears, that where ever *Eusebius* has made use of ἀντηρ, it ought to be rendred *Specum* or *Speluncam*, a Cave. For so the Latines term it, not *antrum*, a den, as *Christophorson* renders it. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Παρεργασμασὶ τε ποικίλοις. I approve not of *Christophorson's* Translation, who renders it *aulæa*. For *aulæa* besit a Scene rather than agree with a Church. I chose therefore to translate it *Vela*, Curtains; for there were Curtains in Churches. And they were made use of both in the Doors of Churches; (concerning which see *Epiphanius* in his *Epistle to John Bishop of Jerusalem*, which Letter Saint *Jerome* has done into Latine;) and about the Altar also, of which sort some are to be seen even at this time amongst us. Further, the Curtains which hung before doors, were by *Grecians* termed ἀμφίδωρα, which word occurs in *Chosroes's* Letter recorded in *Theophilactus Simocatta*, Book 5. Chap. 14. — &c. — See *Evagr. Eccles. Histor.* Book 6. Chap. 21. Note (f.) Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Νεὴν τε. Some thing seems to be wanting here, or at least the words are transposed. Therefore I would have the place restored thus; ἵεσθαι οἶκον ἐκκλησίας νεὴν τε ἄγιον ἀναστήσειν, erecting a sacred, &c. But *Christophorson* understood these words so, as if *Eusebius* should say, that *Helena* built two Churches in the *Mount of Olives*; one on the top, the other in the Cave: which nevertheless I do not think to be true. For the Author of the *Jerusalem-Itinerary* tells us, that one Church was built there by *Constantine*. And *Eusebius* in his *Panegyrick* (chap. 9 towards the end;) speaking of that *Martyrium* which *Constantine* built at *Jerusalem*, expresses himself in the same manner as he does here; viz. οἶκον ἐκκλησίαν πανμεγέθη, νεὴν τε ἄγιον τῷ σώματι τοῦ σωτῆρος, &c. Where you see, that οἶκον ἐκκλησίαν and νεὴν are joined, and used concerning one and the same Church. And he terms the *Basilica*, οἶκον ἐκκλησίαν, because People came thither to pray; but the whole Sacred House (which being inclosed within one circuit, contains within it self the *Altium*, *Porticus's*, *Secretary*, *Baptistry*, &c.)



Baptistry, and the Church it self;) he testifies *ναδν*. Which Eusebius does most plainly declare below; at chap. 50. of this book, where he speaks concerning the *Dominicum Aureum* which Constantine built at Antioch. And thus the passage of Eusebius in the close of his Panegyrick concerning Constantine's Tricennalia is to be explained; as likewise a passage in his tenth book, and another in chap. 45. of this book; where he joins together *ναδν* and *ἐκκλησιον οἶκον*. 'Tis something otherwise in the fifth Law Code Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt. For there *ναδς ἐκκλησιον* is called the Basilica or Oratory inhere the Altar is. But the Church is termed that whole Building within the circumference whereof are contained the Atrium, Porticus's, Cells, Baths, and lastly the Oratory it self. *Valef.*

a *Καὶ ταῦτα*. a Moreover, here (as the true History attests) the *ἐκκλησιον* supream Saviour in the very Cave informed his *ἀλλήλους*. \* disciples in secret Mysteries. But The *Ἀν- \* Οἱ μυσ- thor of the \* τας, compa- Itinerary i- mons. um Hiero- nymus*. solymita- num has these words; [erected] at the two sacred Caves, *Helena Augusta* the Religious Mother of a Religious Emperour, dedicated to God Her Saviour, being the indications of a pious affection; Her Son reaching out to Her the right hand of His Imperial power. Not long after which, this aged Woman received a † reward worthy [of her Labours.] For, having passed the whole time of her Life, unto the very Threshold of old age, in all manner of felicity, and having as well in words as deeds brought forth plentiful fruits of the saving precepts; and having for that reason lead a Life void of trouble and grief, in the greatest healthiness both of body and mind; at length she obtained from God, both an end besitting her piety, and a reward also of her good [works,] even in this life present.

has this passage; *Tertia quoque ejusdem montis ad australem Bethaniam partem Ecclesia est.* So. There is a third Church also of the same Mount at the South part of Bethany, where the Lord before his Passion spoke to his Disciples concerning the day of Judgment. He means the place in Saint Matthew, chap. 24. This Sermon therefore Eusebius here terms *μυστήρια* *τελετάς*, secret Mysteries, because the Lord then spoke concerning secret things, viz. about the end of the World, concerning Christ's coming, and the last judgment. For even the Apostles came then to the Lord secretly, as St. Matthew says; in regard they were desirous to know Mysteries, and the Revelation of things future, as Jerome on Matthew writes. But that which Eusebius says (viz. that our Lord delivered these Mysteries to the Apostles in the Cave,) is not expressly recorded in the Gospel. Yea, the contrary seems possible to be made out from the Gospel. For 'tis related therein, that the City Jerusalem was in sight to the Disciples, when our Lord preach'd these things. They were not therefore in the Cave, but in an open place. Yet it may be answered, that that Cave, had several holes, of which sort there were many Caves in Palestine, as the Itineraries inform us. Indeed, whereas St. Matthew affirms, that the Disciples came to our Lord secretly, 'tis probable that that discourse in the Cave was made by Our Lord whilst he layed there. *Valef.*

\* *Τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀντικαταστάσεσι*. The first word is to be expunged, as being superfluous. Eusebius seems to allude to the usage of the Gentiles, who performed their *Misbriaca Sacra* [Sacrifices in honour of the Sun] in a Cave, as Porphyry, (in his book de Abstinencia,) Jerome, and others inform us. The Foketian Manuscript confirms our conjecture, in which the word *καὶ* is wanting. *Valef.*

#### CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Helena's greatness of Mind, and Beneficence.

\* Or, Magnificence of Imperial power, † Or, Right hand. **F**OR whilst she was taking her progress round the whole East with a \* Royal Magnificence, she heap'd innumerable benefits and favours, both on Cities, and on every private Person also who approach'd her: and with a liberal † hand she

distributed numerous [largesses] amongst the Military Forces. But, on the poor, naked, and on such as were destitute of all help and comfort, She bestowed very many Gifts: making distributions of Money to some; plentifully supplying others with clothes to cover their bodies. Other some She set at Liberty from bonds, as also them afflicted with the slavery of the Mines: She likewise freed some that were oppressed by the violence of Persons more powerful than themselves; and again, re-called others from banishment.

#### CHAP. XLV.

In what manner Helena was religiously conversant in the Churches.

**H**AVING rendered her self eminent by such actions as these, [in the interim] she in no wise neglected Her piety towards God. For \* She was seen to come constantly into the Church of God; and beautified the sacred Houses with splendid ornaments; not contemning the † Churches even in the smallest Cities. You might therefore have beheld this admirable Woman, in a † modest and decent garb associating her self with the rest of the multitude, and demonstrating her Reverence towards God, by all manner of pious actions.

\* Or, She gave her self to be seen coming, &c. † Nods. Valefius renders it Sacella, Chapels. † Or, Grave, and mean, or, frugal.

#### CHAP. XLVI.

How, being eighty years old, and having made her Will, she ended her Life.

**B**UT at length, when, after she had lived a sufficient space of time, she was called to a better allotment; having prolonged her life till about the eightieth year of her age, and being arrived at the very confines of death, she composed, ordained and declared her last Will and Testament, constituting her only Son (\* sole Emperour, and Lord of the World,) Her heir, together with his Sons the *Cæsars* Her Grandchildren; and distributing to each of Her Grandchildren, those her own Goods, whatever she was possesst of throughout the whole World. Having in this manner made Her Will, afterwards she closed her Life, Her † Great Son being present with and standing by her, † paying her all imaginable respect, and embracing her Hands. Infomuch that, to those whose Sentiments are good and true, this thrice-blessed Woman in no wise seemed to die, but in reality to \* make a change of this earthly life, for one that was celestial. Her Soul therefore was new-framed into an incorruptible and Angelick substance, and received up to her Saviour.

\* Or, Emperour, Monarch, and Lord, &c. † Or, So Great. † Or, Cherishing her with all, &c. \* Or, Undergoing. † Avesor. *χρῆσθαι τῷ σώματι*, Her soul there-

fore was reformed, or, new-framed. These words seem to favour of Origen's Doctrine, to which our Eusebius was too much addicted. For the Souls of the Blessed are not reformed into an Angelick substance. Indeed, Origen believed, that in the Resurrection, Bodies would be turned into Souls, and Souls would be changed into Angels, as Saint Jerome says some where. *Valef.*

#### CHAP.



## CHAP. XLVII.

*In what manner Constantine deposited his Mother; and how he honoured her whilst she was living.*

**B**UT the Body of this Blessed Woman was vouchsafed no trivial Honour. For it was conveyed into the <sup>a</sup> Imperial City [accompanied] with a numerous train of the [Imperial] Guards; where it was deposited in a Royal Monument. In this manner the Emperour's Mother closed her Life; a Woman worthy of an indelible Memory, both in respect of her pious Actions, and also on account of that most eminent and admirable Son born of her. Whom 'tis fit we should stile Blessed, besides all other things, even for this also, his piety towards her who brought him forth; whom he rendred so Religious, (she having before not been a worshipper of God), that she seemed from her tender years to have been discipled by <sup>b</sup> Him Himself who is the common Saviour of all: whom he honoured with Imperial Dignities in such a manner, that in all the Provinces, and by the very Companies of the Milice, she was stiled *Augusta* and *Empress*; and Golden Coins were stamp'd bearing her Image. Moreover, *Constantine* granted her a power over the Imperial Treasures, to make use of them according to her own arbitrement, and to dispose of them according to her own mind, in such manner as she thought good, and as every thing might seem well-pleasing to her. For even in <sup>\*</sup> this respect also, her Son rendred her conspicuous and <sup>†</sup> admirable. Wherefore, amongst those things belonging to the illustrating of his Memory, We have, not without reason, included these also, which out of his transcendency of piety the Emperour performed in honour of his Mother; whereby he fulfilled the Divine Laws, which do injoin due [Offices] of honour towards Parents. These forementioned beautiful structures therefore, the Emperour in this manner erected in the Province of *Palestine*. Moreover, in all the other Provinces also, he built new Churches, and made them far more stately than those that had been before.

therefore could not be called *the Imperial City*, whenas then it was only *old Byzantium*. Nevertheless *Cedrenus* has followed *Socrates*; who also adds this, that *Helena* died twelve years before *Constantine*. By this computation *Helena* must have died on the year of Christ 325, or 326. On which year nevertheless, she is said by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus* to have gone to *Jerusalem*. Besides, after the Death of *Crispus Caesar* and *Fausta Augusta*, *Helena* was for some time alive, as *Zosimus* attests, book 2. Further, *Crispus* was slain in the seventh Consulate of *Constantinus Augustus* which he bore with *Constantinus Caesar*, on the year of Christ 326. as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*. The death of *Helena* therefore may rightly be assigned to the year of our Lord 327, as *Severus* thinks, book 3. *de Imperio Occidentali*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *ὅτι αὐτὴ δόξαται*. It must be written *αὐτὴ*. For 'tis referred to *τῇ κοινῇ δόξῃ*, as we have rendred it. And so I found it mended in *Moravus's Book*, at the Margin. Nor is it otherwise written in the *Fuk* and *Savil* Copies, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

<sup>\*</sup> Churches. *In what manner he built <sup>\*</sup> Martyria at Constantinople, and abolished all manner of Idolatry.*

**B**UT when he had resolved upon raising that City to the highest honour which bore His own name, he beautified it with many Oratories,

with vast *Martyria*, and with most stately Houses; part whereof were erected in the Suburbs, and part within the City it self. And by this means, he both honoured the Memories of the Martyrs, and likewise consecrated his own City to the God of the Martyrs. In fine, being <sup>a</sup> wholly inspired with the wisdom of God, he thought it requisite, in such a manner to purifie that City, which he determined to dignifie with the appellation of his own name, from all sorts of Idolatry; that the Images of those reputed to be Gods, should no where be worshipped in Temples therein; neither should Altars defiled with the <sup>†</sup> Blood of <sup>†</sup> Victims be visible in it; nor Sacrifices wholly consumed by fire; nor should the Festivals of *Dæmons* [be celebrated there;] nor any other of those usages [commonly practised] amongst superstitious Persons.

<sup>a</sup> *ὅλας δ' ἐμπνέων*. I had rather make it *ὅλας*, which is far more elegant. So indeed it occurs written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets* Valef.

<sup>†</sup> *Δύβοις αἱμάτων*, with the gore of blood.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*The Sign of the Cross in the Palace, and [the <sup>\*</sup> Effigies of] Daniel in the <sup>†</sup> Conduits.*

**Y**OU might therefore have seen in the Conduits situate in the middle of the *Forum*, the <sup>†</sup> Representations of the Good Shepherd, well known to those skill'd in the Divine Oracles; [the *Effigies*] of *Daniel* likewise, together with the Lyons, <sup>a</sup> cast in Brasse, and shining with <sup>||</sup> plates of Gold. Further, so ardent a divine Love had <sup>||</sup> Or, posselt the mind of the Emperour, that in the statliest Room of all those within the Imperial Palace, at the very middle of the Embowed Roof which was gilded with Gold, a large Table was display'd, in the midst whereof was fix'd the Sign of our Lord's passion, consisting of a variety of pretious Stones, and wrought with a great quantity of Gold. And this [in my judgment] seemed to have been <sup>\*</sup> set up by that pious Emperour, as the preservative of the Empire it self.

<sup>\*</sup> Images <sup>†</sup> Or, Fountains

<sup>†</sup> Or, Symbols.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐν χαλκῷ πεπλασμένα*. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written *πεπλασμένα*; and 'tis referred to those words *τὸν δαυὶδ*, *Daniel* likewise.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Made. But the ordinary reading pleases me better, in regard it occurs both in the *Kings Copy* and in the *Old Sheets*. For *πεπλασμένα* is referred to the word *σύμβολα*, Representations. So that, it must be written, *τὰ τε δαυὶδ*, [the *Effigies*] of *Daniel* likewise. Valef.

## CHAP. L.

*That He built Churches at Nicomedia also, and in other Cities.*

**W**ITH these [ornaments] therefore He beautified his own City. He likewise honoured the <sup>a</sup> chief [City] of *Bithynia* with the Monument of a most <sup>\*</sup> stately and most magnificent Church; in which place also, <sup>†</sup> at his own charge, he erected the Trophies of Victory which he had gained over the Enemies and Opposers of God, in ho-

<sup>a</sup> Hemeant *Nicomedia*, which was the chief City of *Bithynia* In which City *Constantine*

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Large. <sup>†</sup> Or, One of his own Treasures.

had compelled *Licinius*, besieged therein, to a surrendry. In memory therefore of that Victory, *Constantine* built a Church at *Nicomedia*. See *Severus*, book 4. chap 3. Valef.



## CHAP. LI.

That He likewise gave order for the building of a Church in [the place called] Mamre.

These were the most eminent Structures, which the Emperour dedicated to God. But, having been informed, that that one and the same Saviour, who had lately made his appearance in the World, had heretofore exhibited the presence of His Divinity, to certain Men of Palestine that were lovers of God, near that called the Oak of Mamre; He ordered an Oratory to be erected therealso, to the God who had appeared. Therefore, the \* Emperour's Order was issued out to the Governours of Provinces, by the Letters transmitted to each of them, commanding them to bring to effect what they had been enjoined to perform. But to us who write this History, he sent an \* Exhortation full of Wisdom. A Copy whereof I judge fit to be inserted into this present work, to the end that the care and diligence of this most pious Emperour might be accurately known. Having blamed us therefore for those things, which, as he had been informed, were done in the forementioned place, he wrote word for word thus.

terr, because in those Letters Constantine seemed in a manner to Preach. Such is Constantine's Speech to the Convention of the Saints, and almost all his Letters, which are recorded partly by Eusebius, and partly by others. For in all these, Constantine, although as yet but a Catechumen, plays the Doctor. Indeed, it can't be denied, but Constantine was a Man full of God, and was sent by God in order to the propagation of the Christian Faith; to which single Person, next to the Apostles, we owe very much. Yet in Ecclesiastick affairs, he took something more upon himself, than might besit a Prince that was a Laick; the Bishops permitting him all things, and rejoycing greatly with themselves, because they saw an Emperour a Christian.

Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mamre.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS;  
To Macarius and the rest of the Bishops of Palestine.

Even this very one thing was a most eminent favour of my most Holy Mother-in-law. In the rendition of this place all the Translatours, Porcius, Musculus and Christophorus, have been mistaken; they rendering it *curam & sollicitudinem*, care and solicitude; as if the reading had been *καταμενοίας*. But Constantine speaks of his Mother-in-law, to wit, Eutropia Syra, to whom Fausta the Wife of Constantine was Daughter. For *καταμενοία* signifies in Greek a Mother-in-law, as the Old Glossis inform us, wherein 'tis thus read, *καταμενοία* a Father-in-law, *καταμενοία* a Mother-in-law. Indeed, the following words do plainly confirm our explication. For it follows, *ὡς ἡ μήτηρ ἡμετέρα γραμμάτων*, by her Letters to us she hath made known. He means the Letters which his Mother-in-law Eutropia had sent to him. Wherefore Christophorus's Emendation is to be rejected, who hath corrected it *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, to you. Moreover, these following words, *ἡ καταμενομένη διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐνυλάθειαν*, &c. do sufficiently shew the very same thing. For who would say concerning care and solicitude, *ἡ καταμενομένη*, the foresaid care and solicitude? That would have been altogether trifling and foolish. But in our Version all things are plain and clear. For *ἡ καταμενομένη* is rendered our foresaid Mother-in-law; who by reason of her Piety and Religion could not hide so great an impiety, but by Letter declared it to her Son-in-law Constantine, that at length he might remedy this mischief. Eutropia therefore was a Christian, as we learn from this place. Her Daughter Fausta also profest the Christian Faith, and together with her Husband Constantine was buried in the Church of The Apostles. Further, I must not omit what

nour of his own Saviour. Moreover, he also grac'd the chiefest Cities of the rest of the Provinces, with most beautiful Oratories: for instance, that City which was the Metropolis of the whole East, that took its name from Antiochus. In which [City,] as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Region, he dedicated [to

God] a Peerless Church, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he encompassed the whole

Temple with a large circuit on the outside: but within, he raised the Basilica to an immense height: it was built in an eight-square figure; and surrounded on all sides with many Lodging Rooms,

and Exedrae, and with apartments as well above as under [or, even with] the ground. Which Church [he beautified] with a vast quantity of Gold, and adorned it with Brass and other Materials of great value.

† Or, Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.

† Or, Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.

† Or, Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.

In the Kings Copy 'tis written, ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ, &c. Valef.

Εἰς τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐκκλησίαν δίκον. In his Panegyrick, chap. 9. whence these words are transcribed, Eusebius has termed it ἀνάκτορον. I have rendered it Basilica the Cathedral or Church it self; not the Sanctuary, as Christophorus translates it Valef.

Εἰς τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐκκλησίαν δίκον. Of the same figure was that Church, which Nonnus Father to Gregory Nazianzen built in the Town of Nazianzum, as Gregory himself attests in his Funeral Oration concerning the praises of his own Father, pag. 313. These Temples were termed οὐαχόρα. This old Inscription occurs in Gruter's Thesaurus, pag. 1166.

Ouachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus. Ouachorus fons est munere dignus eo. Now, that is a Templum Ouachorum, which hath eight sides rising from the bottom to the very top. From the same reason Altars are termed trichora, in Paulinus's Epistle; that is, trino sinuata recessu, bent or embowomed with a triple recess, as the same Paulinus expresses himself, in his Nacale of Saint Felix. Cedrenus (at the 26th year of Constantine,) terms that Church which had been built by Constantine at Antioch, Oulagonum Dominicum, the eight-cornered Church. Valef.

Εἰς τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐκκλησίαν δίκον. In Eusebius's Panegyrick, at the chapter just now cited, the reading is truer, thus, ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ. For so Eusebius terms them, in His description of the Church at Tyre, which you have in the Tenth Book of his Ecclesiastick History. What an Exedra is, Valafridus Strabo tells us, in his book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, chap. 6. Exedra est aedifica quedam, separata modicum quidem a templo vel palatio: dicta inde, quod extra haret. Graecè autem κώλον vocatur; An exedra is a certain outward building, separated a little from the Temple or Palace: thence so termed, because it sticks without. In Greek 'tis called κώλον. Strabo is indeed mistaken, because he understood not, that Exedra was a Greek word: but he is not at all mistaken in the origine of that word. For, 'tis truly termed ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ, Exedra, ὡς τῷ ἔξω ἔδρας, from its being without the seat. For so more outward Houses were termed, which were usually built within the circuit of a Church, wherein 'twas lawful to sit, and take rest, as Eusebius tells us. Concerning these Exedrae, St. Austin speaks in his book de Gestis cum Emerito Donatista. Caesarea in Ecclesia majori, &c. At Caesarea, in the greater Church, when Deuterius Metropolitane Bishop of Caesarea, together with Alipius, Augustinus, Pissidius, Rusticus and the other Bishops had gone forth into the Exedra, &c. In the Concilium Nannetense, Canon 6th, there is mention of an Exedra. Prohibendum etiam secundum maiorem instituta, ut in Ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio aut porticu, aut in Exedris Ecclesiae; it is to be forbidden also, according to the orders of our Ancestours, that they should in no wise bury [or be buried] in the Church, but in the Atrium, or Porticus, or in the Exedrae of the Church. So the reading is in the Manuscript Copy belonging to the Bibliotheca Puteana. See Jerome on the 40th chapter of Ezechiel. — Further, the Eusebian and Sallustian Copies have it written right here, ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ. Valef.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κατὰ γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ. See what we have noted at chap. 37. κατὰ γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ are Houses whereto we go up no stairs; to which are opposed ἀνάγεια or ὡς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ, that is, Chambers, or upper Rooms. Although by the term κατὰ γὰρ you may here understand Cryptae, Paulis or Rooms under ground. Valef.

For this reason that Church was termed Dominicum Aureum, the Golden Church. See in the Chronicon, at the 22d year of Constantine; Antiochie Dominicum quod vocant aureum, edificari coeptum; at Antioch the Dominicum which they term Aureum, was begun to be built. It was consecrated in the Reign of Constantine, on the fifth year after Constantine's death. Valef.



what I found noted at the margin of the *Kings Copy*. For there, over against the word *υπερβασις*, instead of a Scholion *υπερβασις* Mother was written; as if *Constantine* meant his own Mother *Helena*; which explication I don't approve of. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* says it was the Emperour *Constantine's* Mother-in-law, who, when She was come to the Oak *Mamre*, and had found there the detestable impieties of the Heathens, gave *Constantine* an account of that affair. See *Sozomen*, Book 2. chap. 4. *Valef*.

Εἰς ἡμᾶς *law* towards you, that by Her Letters to us She hath made known that nefarious boldness of certain impious persons, which hitherto hath lain concealed amongst you: to the end that, that long-neglected Crime might, (though late, nevertheless) necessarily obtain a besitting animadversion and cure from us. For, 'tis most certainly the greatest impiety, that holy places should be defiled by detestable impurities. What therefore is that (dearest Brethren!) which, when it had escap'd Your prudence, Our foresaid Mother-in-law, by reason of Her Reverence towards the Deity, was not able to keep concealed?

ther, by a small transposition of the words, I would have the beginning of this Letter read thus, *ἐν τῷ καὶ μέγιστον*, &c. This was one and the greatest favour, &c. The other reading is *ἐν καὶ τῷ μέγιστον*, &c. *Valef*.

## CHAP. LIII.

That our Saviour appeared there to Abraham.

THIS place termed at the Oak *Mamre*, wherein we are informed that Abraham had his habitation, is (She says) every way defiled by some superstitious persons. For, She has given us an account, that Idols which deserve an utter ruine and destruction, are erected near that Tree, City *Ferusalem* about thirty miles, as we are told by the Author of the *Ferusalem Itinerarie* who lived in the times of *Constantine the great*. His words are these. *Inde Terebintho millia 9. ubi Abraham habitavit*, &c. Thence to *Terebinthus* nine miles; where Abraham dwelt, and dug a well under a *Turpentine-tree*, and spake with the Angels, and took food. There a Church is built by *Constantine's* order, of a wonderful beauty. Then from *Terebinthus* to *Chebron*, two miles; where there is a Monument [or, Memory] built four-square [or, by a four-square-figure] of Stones, of a wonderful beauty, wherein are laid Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. *Sozomen* also, book 2. chap. 4. relates that that place was termed *Terebinthus*. Now, this place was so called from a *Turpentine-tree*, which was said to be the oldest Tree there, and to have stood from the very beginning of the world, as *Josephus* attests in his fifth Book of the *Jewish Wars*. Although others said it was the Staff of one of the Angels which appeared to Abraham, from which Staff thrust into the ground sprang up a *Turpentine-tree*. So *Georgius Syncellus* tells us in his *Chronicon*. But 'tis strange, (whereas there was an Oak there under which Abraham had pitch'd his Tent, as we read Gen. 18.) why that place should have taken its name from a *Turpentine-tree*, rather than from an Oak. *Valef*. In our English Bible, at *Genesis* 18. there is not the least mention of an Oak, but of a Tree only, at verse 8. Nor does *Saint Jerom*, in his Translation, term it an Oak. Indeed, in the Version of the 72, (at Gen. 18. 1.) we have these words, *μεγὰρ τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μαμρῆς*, at the Oak *Mamre*: but the expression in the original is *בְּאֵלֶיךָ בְּמַמְרֵי* in the Plains of *Mamre*. The Seventy Two were belike of opinion, that *מַמְרֵי* had the same import with *בְּאֵלֶיךָ*; the determination whereof is left to the Learned.

Μαμρῆς δὲ φανν. In the *Kings Copy*, the *Fuk. Manuscript*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, 'tis truer written thus, *μαμρῆς φανν*, is (She says) defiled: *υπερβασις*, Mother-in-law, is understood. *Valef*.

Ἐδίδασκε. You must again understand *υπερβασις*, Mother-in-law. Our Mother-in-law (says *Constantine*) has related to us, that there is an Altar there, whereon impure sacrifices are offered. *Valef*.

I suppose, that the Pictures of the Angels are meant, which had appeared there to Abraham. For the Heathens worshipped these Pictures. Moreover, the Heathens worshipped the *Turpentine-tree* itself, as *Eusebius* informs us in his fifth book *Demonstr. Evangel.* chap. 9. Which place *Scaliger* (in his *Animadversions on Eusebius*, pag. 192.) took in a wrong sense. For he thought, that that *Turpentine-tree* had had the highest honour imaginable paid to it by the Christians; and he cites *Eusebius* as the Relater of that thing. But *Eusebius* speaks of the Heathens there, not concerning the Christians. For after he had said; *ὁ δὲν εὐσὴν καὶ τὴν*, &c. wherefore, to this present time, this place is adored, as being Divine, by those that dwell near it; and the *Turpentine-tree* is visible, which as yet stands: He adds; *οἱ τε τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ*, &c; and the Angels, which were entertained by Abraham, are painted in a Table there, on each side one; but he in the middle is made better, and exceeds in honour: He is our forementioned

Lord himself, our Saviour, whom they ignorantly worship. You see *Eusebius* does here plainly speak of the Heathens, who were ignorant of Christ. For this cannot be spoken of the Christians. Our opinion is confirmed by *Sozomen*, book 2. chap. 4; where he discourses at large concerning that Market kept at *Terebinthus*. For he writes, that every year in Summer time, Jews, Christians, and Pagans came thither out of *Palestine*, *Phoenice*, and *Arabia*, partly on account of Trade, and partly for Religion; and, that all these celebrated a Festival after their own way. For the Heathens (he says) adored the Angels, offering to them Sacrifices, and meat and drink offerings. The Pictures therefore of the Angels were there, to which the Pagans offered Victims. *Saint Jerom de Locis Hebraicis*, where he treats concerning *Arboch*, writes to them in this manner. *Quercus Abraham quæ est Mamre*, &c. The Oak of Abraham, which is also called *Mamre*, was to be seen there until the times of the Emperour *Constantine*; and his Sepulchre is at present visible. And in regard a Church is now built there by us, *Terebinthus* [the *Turpentine-tree*] is superstitiously worshipped by all the Nations round, because under that Abraham heretofore entertained the Angels. *Saint Jerom* has added many things here of his own head. For *Eusebius* himself, in his book *de Locis Hebraicis*, has only these words, *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἁγίων καὶ τὴν καὶ τὴν*, &c. *Arbo*. This is *Chebron*, now a great Village, heretofore a Metropolis, the ancient Habitation of the strange Nations [or, *Philistines*,] and *Gyants*, and after that the Royal City of *David*. It was in the allotment of the Tribe *Judah*, and was one of the Cities set out to the *Levites*, one of the Cities of Refuge also, distant from *Jerusalem* at the North two and twenty miles. The Oak of Abraham and his Sepulchre are to be seen there, and the *Terebinthus* [Turpentine-tree] is manifestly worshipped by our Enemies, as likewise the Angels entertained by Abraham. Heretofore its name was *Arbo*, afterwards 'twas called *Chebron*, from *Chebron* one of the sons of *Caleb*, as 'tis in the *Chronicles*. A famous passage this; which totally overthrows *Scaliger's* opinion, and does egregiously confirm our explication. For *Eusebius* says, that the *Terebinthus* and the Angels were superstitiously worshipped there by our Enemies; which is the appellation he gives to the Heathens and Jews. This passage of *Eusebius* is also cited by *Damascenus*, Book 3. *De Imag.* *Valef*.

and that an Altar is built there by, and that impure Sacrifices are continually offered there. Wherefore, in regard this thing seems both disagreeable to Our Times, and an indignity also to the sanctity of that place; I would have Your Gravity know, that we have given order by Letter to the most Perfect *Acacius the Comes* and a Friend of ours; says was standing

in his time, as also the *Terebinthus* itself. Whence it appears, that this work of *Eusebius's* was written before *Constantine* had given order for the demolition of that Altar. In *Sozomen's* age, neither the Altar, nor the *Terebinthus* was standing. Nevertheless, the superstition of the Heathens continued in that place, as *Jerom* attests. So difficult a matter it is wholly to pluck up the roots of Superstition! We must not omit what *Antoninus the Martyr* hath written concerning this place, in his *Itinerarie*. *De Bethleem*, says he, *usque ad radicem Mambræ sunt millia viginti quatuor*: &c. From *Bethlehem* unto the root of *Mambre* there are twenty-four miles: in which place rest the bones of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, and Joseph. There is a Church built [per quadratum] in a four-square figure, and in the middle an uncovered Atrium: and thorow the midst of the Rails on one side the Christians enter, on the other the Jews, carrying in much incense. For, the interment of Jacob and David in that Ground, is most devoutly celebrated on the first day after our Lord's Nativity; in so much that, a multitude meets together from all parts of the Land of the Jews, carrying Incense and Lights. And they bestow Gifts, and worship there. See *Jerom* in *Epitaphio Paulæ*. *Valef*.

Τῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ, disagreeable to our times to our Empire. *Christophorus* expunged the four first Greek words, and they are wanting in the *King's*, *Fuketian*, and *Savil. Manuscripts*. But if the matters were to be determined by me, I would rather blot out the following words, *τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ*, to our Empire; which in my judgment, are added instead of a Scholion, in order to the explaining of the former words. *Græcians* do elegantly term the time of any one's Empire, *καὶ τῷ*. Further, the Emperours were mightily ambitious of this, that the felicity and clemency of their own times might be celebrated: Nothing occurs more frequently in the *Latine Historians*, and in the *Laws of the Emperours*. In *Philostatus* (book 2. *de Vitis Sophistarum*, where he speaks of *Heliodorus*;) this word is corrupted. For when *Heliodorus* had begun his Oration in the Emperour's presence, *Philostatus* says that the Emperour arose on a sudden, and cried out, *such a man, the like to whom I have not yet seen! The Glory and Ornament of my Times!* τῷ ἐμῶν καὶ τῷ ἐμῶν; for so the reading should be. *Constantine* makes use of this very term in his Letter to the *Hereticks*, which occurs at the end of this book. Wherefore, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained: and that these words *τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ* are transpos'd, and must be placed after the word *ἐπεὶ*, thus; Wherefore, in regard in this our Empire, this thing, &c. *Valef*.

καὶ φίλον ἡμῶν. In the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and the *King's Sheets* the reading is *φίλον ἡμῶν*, our friends. *Valef*.



that without any delay, not only all the Idols, which can be found in the fore-mentioned place, shall be committed to the flames; but that the Altar also shall be totally demolished: and, that

<sup>a</sup> Τιμωεῖας ἀξίον. I read τιμωεῖας ἀξίον ἥ. That is, it shall be capital for all those, &c. Wherefore, there is no need of Christopherson's emendation here, viz; τιμωεῖας ἀξίον κείνοισιν, we judge him worthy of punishment, who, &c. Nevertheless, there is another reading in the Fok. Savil. and Turneb. Copies; which 'tis better to follow here. A little after, from the Fok. Copy make it ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c. Which place moreover, &c. Valef. Though Valefius prefers the reading in the Fok. Savil. and Turneb. Copies here; yet he has not shown us what it is.

<sup>a</sup> a condigne punishment shall be inflicted on all those, who, after this Order of Ours, shall dare to perform any thing that is impious in that place. Which place moreover We have commanded to be beautified with the pure Edifice of a Church; to the end it may be made a fit Seat for holy men. But if any thing shall happen to be done contrary to Our Precept, 'tis fit it should without any delay be made known to Our Clemency, by Your Letters namely: to the

end We may Order the person detected to undergo the extreamest of punishments, as being a transgressor of the Law. For you are not ignorant, that the supream Lord and God appeared first to Abraham in that place, and talk'd with him. Moreover, the observance of the holy Law took its first beginning there. There Our Saviour himself, together with the two Angels, first gave Abraham a full sight of his own presence. There God first of all appeared unto men. There he made Abraham a promise concerning his future seed; and immediately fulfilled that promise. There he foretold, that he should be the Father of many Nations. Which things being so, 'tis fit, as to me it seems; that by Your care this place should be preserved from all manner of pollution, and restored to its Pristine Sanctity; that so in future, no other thing be done in that place, save the performance of a besitting worship to the Almighty and Our Saviour and to God the supream

<sup>b</sup> Περὶ οὗτον ὁ κύριος. I read περὶ οὗτον ὁ κύριος. I which I am confident) to accomplish my will, which is chiefly inclined to the worship of God. God preserve you, Beloved Brethren! 'tis fit, as Christopherson seems to have read. In the King's Sheets I found it written περὶ οὗτον, according as I had conjectured. Valef.

#### CHAP. LIV.

\* Or, Statues. The demolition of the Idol-Temples and Images in all places.

ALL these things the Emperour performed with all imaginable earnestness, to the Glory of [Christ's] salutary power. And in this manner he ceased not from giving honour to God his Saviour. But he endeavoured all man-

† Vanquish or, overthrow. \* Or, Made naked.

† Or, Images. The venerable Brazen Statues of other some, on account whereof the error of the Ancients had for a long time boasted, were exposed to

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Sozomen (book 2. chap. 5, where he has in a manner transcribed this whole passage of Eusebius) words it thus, καὶ τὰς ἀγίας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δαίμονι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία, in the Streets, and in the Cirque, and in the Palace. Valef.

perour's City. In so much that, for a reproachful sight to the Spectatours, there lay exposed to view, in one place Apollo Pythius, in another Sminthius; and in the very Cirque it self

The Delphick Tripods; and the <sup>b</sup> Heliconian Muses in the Palace. In fine, the City which bore the Emperour's name, was filled in all places with Images, which being made of Brass with great art and curiosity, had heretofore been consecrated in every Province. To whom, under the notion of Gods, when men

distempered with error had for many ages in vain offered numerous Hecatombs and Holocausts; at length, though late, they learn'd to be wise; after the Emperour had begun to make use of these very Images as objects of sport in order to the laughter and recreation of the Beholders. But, on those Images made of Gold <sup>c</sup> he was revenged another way. For, whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those \* Bugbears of error made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones cast before the feet of those who walk in the dark; and because a smooth and plain passage through the Kings-high-way was in future to be opened to all men. <sup>d</sup> Having therefore considered these things with himself, he was of opinion, that he stood not in need either of military Forces or a numerous army, in order to his giving check to these things, but, that one or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business; whom by one nod he dispatch'd a-

way into every Province. They, confiding in the Emperour's piety, and in their own Religiousness towards God, made their way thorow the thickest crowds and thorow infinite multitudes

of people, <sup>e</sup> and totally destroyed that ancient error [of Idolatry] in all Cities and through-

out every Country. And in the first place they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods out of certain

dark recesses. Then they devested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap'd off that matter which seemed to be useful, and † cast it into the fire, and melted it down; so much of it as by them was thought to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and put it up safe. But what was superfluous and wholly useless, that they left to the superstitious for a lasting monument of disgrace.

More-

<sup>b</sup> Themistius (in his fifth Oration to Theodosius,) is a witness, that the Statues of the Muses were in the Curia of Constantinople. The same Author, in his Oration to the Senate <sup>c</sup> ἐδελύκει, says that these Statues were placed on this and that side, in a double number; so that they were not now nine, but eighteen. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἄλλη μὲν μετέμεινον Constantine ordered the brazen Statues of the Gods to be brought to Byzantium, that he might beautify that City with these sort of Spoils. But whatever Statues were made of Gold or Silver, them he ordered to be melted down, and coined into money, as Sozomen relates, book 2. chap. 5, who explains this passage of Eusebius excellently well. Concerning this demolition of the Temples and destruction of the Statues, our Eusebius has a passage in his second Sermon de Resurrectione. Valef.

\* Μορμολύκεια, things made up so, as to affright the beholders.

<sup>d</sup> After these words [opened to all men,] those which follow, as far as [Moreover, this admirable Emperour, &c.] are wanting in the Kings Copy, and in Robert Stephens's Edition. But they are added by Gruter, Portesius, Christopherson, and others, from Eusebius's Panegyrick, and from Manuscript Copies. Indeed, we found them in the Foketian Copy; and Sir Henry Savil hath given us notice, that the same words are extant in his Copy. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> ἐπορεύθη. In the Panegyrick, chap. 8. whence these words are taken, the reading is ἐπορεύθη πορεύειν, made a discovery of; which reading in my judgment is truer. Valef.

† Or, Tried it in the furnace and in the fire.



Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing of this nature. For, at the same time that those Idols of the dead, made of pretious matter, were spoiled in that manner we have declared, \* He ordered the rest of the Images consisting of Brasse to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, celebrated in the doting Fables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound.

*οὐκ ἔστι βασιλεὺς ὁ δαυμάσιος, Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto. In Moreus's Copy I found it written, οὐκ ἔστι καὶ τὸτε δαυμάσιος βασιλεὺς, &c; moreover, at that time, &c. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is οὐκ ἔστι καὶ τὸτε εὐαγεῖ. So also 'tis in Sir Henry Savil's Copy, but without the Apocope. V. I.*

*ὁ δὲ λαὸς μετῆκε, &c. Johannes Portesius renders it, ad alia perrexit, He proceeded to others. Christophorson translates it, reliquias aggressus est statuas, He set upon the other Statues. In the same sense namely, with that Eusebius had said above, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μετῆκετο, he was revenged another way. Valef.*

## CHAP. LV.

*The demolishment of the Idol-Temple at Aphaca in Phœnice, and [the disannulling] those Acts of uncleanness [committed there.]*

AFTER this the Emperour having as 'twere lighted a most bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial eye, if peradventure he might any where find any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised her self to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth which are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he whilst he \* was resident in the Imperial Palace of <sup>a</sup> his own most beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower a certain pernicious snare of souls lying conceal'd in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which <sup>a</sup> sort many [are visible] in Cities, most gloriously built for ornament sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy *Dæmon* [termed] *Venus*, in part of the top of [Mount] *Libanus* which is at <sup>b</sup> *Aphaca*.

*about the close of it; to wit, on account of the Beauty and Magnificence of the publick Works, which Constantine had most gorgeously erected there. For he had spoiled all Cities, Towns, Places, and Temples, that he might beautifie that City which bore his own name. Therefore Jerome has with good reason affirmed in his Chronicle, that Constantine had been dedicated by the nakedness of almost all cities. Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Concerning this Temple of *Venus Aphacitis*, *Zosimus* is to be consulted in his first book; and the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word *ἀφάκη*; as also *Suidas* in the word *χεῖροδωκεῖν*, and Mr. *Selden* in *Synonym. 2. de Diss. Syris*. Further, in the *Eusebian Manuscript* the reading here is *τὸ λιβάριον τὸ ἐν ἀφάκῃς*, of [Mount] *Libanus* in *Aphaca*. But in the *King's Shewers* 'tis *ἐν ἀφάκῃς* μένει τὸ λιβάριον τὸ ἐν ἀφάκῃς, in part of the Top of *Libanus* which [Top] is in *Aphaca*. Valef.

This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all impure persons, and such as with all manner \* Sloth, or, of \* Intemperance had debauch'd their bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the † Gravity of their own Sex, appeased the *Dæmons* || by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawful \* mixtures with † Horrible women, and adulteries, and other † obscene and

infamous facts were committed in that Temple, as in a place that was lawless and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But the impieties committed there could not lie concealed from this great Emperour also. But when He Himself had look'd into them with the Eye of Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of [being enlightened] with the Rays of the Sun. Wherefore, he orders it to be totally demolished, together with its Statues and consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the \* Engines of this impudent and libidinous errour were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a company of Soldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, being scar'd by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned Modesty: as likewise did those superstitious Heathens, that in their own opinion seemed very wise; who even themselves truly and experimentally understood their own vanity and folly.

*it must be made ἀνεγέρῃ, without a Governour; as the reading is in his Panegyrick, chap. 8. where this whole passage occurs. Yet in the Eusebian Copy, 'tis ἀνεγέρῃ deserted, in the Panegyrick also. A little before it must be made ἀνεγέρῃ τε φθόγῃ, as the reading is in the Panegyrick. Valef.*

*\* Or, Instruments.*

## CHAP. LVI.

*The Demolishment of Æsculapius's Temple at Ægæ.*

FOR, whereas the [superstitious] errour of those thought to be wise, was great and much talk'd of, in reference to that *Dæmon* of *Cilicia*; almost infinite numbers of men highly admiring him as a Saviour and a Physician; in regard he sometimes appeared <sup>a</sup> to those who slept in his Temple, at others, healed the diseases of them that were infirm in their bodies: (nevertheless, he was a manifest Destroyer of souls, a Seducer of Men from the true Saviour, one that drew off such as could easily be imposed upon, to the errour of impiety: the Emperour <sup>b</sup> behaving himself according to his wonted manner, (for he had proposed the jealous God and true Saviour as the object of his adoration;) ordered this Temple also to be pulled down to the very ground. Presently therefore, at one nod of the Emperour's, [this Temple, which was] a wonder cryed up amongst the <sup>c</sup> noble Philosophers, lay flat on the ground, being ruin'd to sleep in a Temple.

This was an usage of the Heathens, to lodge all night in the Temple, expecting Dreams and Cures from their Gods. Of which thing innumerable instances occur in ancient Writers, but especially in *Aristides*, in his *Orationes Sacrae*. The Latines termed it *incubare*. *Plautus*' words in his *Curculio* are these; *Ideo fit, quia hic Leno egrotus incubat in Æsculapii fano*. *Solinus*, chap. 7. *Epidauro decus est Æsculapii sacellum, cui incubantes*, &c. See Saint *Jerom* on the 65th chap. of *Isaiah*, vers. 4. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Εἰκότα δὲ πείτῃων*. *Christophorson* was egregiously mistaken in referring these words to *Æsculapius*, whereas they are spoken of the Emperour *Constantine*, as I have express'd it in my Version. 'Tis certain, in the *Eusebian* and *Turnebian Copies* the reading is *εἰκότα δὲ βασιλεὺς πείτῃων*, the Emperour behaving, &c. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> He means *Apollonius Tyaneus*, concerning whom *Philostratus* relates in his first book, that he was a long time resident in the Temple of *Æsculapius* at *Ægæ*, as the Guest of that very God. Valef.



ned by a Company of Souldiers: and [together with the Temple] <sup>a</sup> He that lay lurking in the within it, who was not a *Dæmon*, nor a God, excellent but a Seducer of souls, one who for an exceeding long space of time had led men into error. Thus therefore he, who promised that place is far he would free others from their illnesses and calamities, was not able to find out a <sup>c</sup> remedy in order to his own preservation; no more than when he For, after was struck with thunder (as we are told in the <sup>f</sup> Fables.) But the Actions of <sup>\*</sup> Our Emperour, being such as were highly acceptable to God, were not in like manner fabulous: but by the manifest power of Our Saviour himself, this Temple in that place was so utterly ruined [together with others,] that not the least footstep of the forces a full mer madness was left remaining there.

Then, it has the following passage worded in this manner; *ὅτι ὁ ἐνδομυχῶν ἔσται δαίμων. ἔσθ' ἡ θεὸς· πλὴν δὲ πρὸς ψυχῶν, μακροῖς καὶ μικροῖς ἐξαπατῶντας χρόνους, δῆλον ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ γράμματος.* Because <sup>i</sup> was manifest from the facts, that no *Dæmon* lay lurking within it; nor a God; but a deceiver of souls, who for an exceeding long, &c. The four last words [*δῆλον ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ γράμματος*] which are wanting in the ordinary Editions, Turnebus had likewise added at the margin of his book, from a Manuscript Copy. Presently, where the reading in the common Editions is, *εἴθ' ὁ κακῶν ἐτέρους ἀπαλλάξεν*, &c. Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses, &c. the *Fuketian* Copy has it thus written, *ὁ γὰρ κακῶν ἐτέρους ἀπαλλάξεν καὶ συμφορὰς ἀποτρέψας*, *ἔσθ' αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμυναν εὐεχέον*, &c. For he who had promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamity, himself found nothing for his own defence. Which reading seems to me fitter and better. In the *Kings* Sheets also I found it written *εὐχέον*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Φάρμακον μάλλον.* The last word is wanting in the *Kings* Copy, and may perhaps be understood. But the other Copies acknowledge it. In the close of this chapter, instead of *ἀνετίετο*, the *Fuketian* Copy has *ἀνετίετο*. *Valef.*

<sup>f</sup> The story is this, this *Æsculapius*, by the entreaty of *Diana*, restored to Life *Hippolytus* who had been torn in pieces by horses; whereat *Jupiter* being angry, killed him with Thunder.

## CHAP. LVII.

*How the Heathens having rejected their Idols, returned to the knowledge of God.*

Whatever persons therefore had heretofore been addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, when with their own eyes they saw their own error confuted, and actually beheld the Ruine of the Temples and Images in all places, some of them came over to the salutary Doctrine of Christ: but others, although they refused to do that, yet condemned the vanity of their fore fathers, and laught at and derided those which by them had heretofore been accounted Gods. And indeed, how could they forbear having such thoughts as these, when under an external beauty and splendour of the Images, they saw so much filth and impurity lie concealed within? For either the Bones of dead Bodies, and dry skulls <sup>a</sup> stoll by the frauds of Conjurers, were within them: or else, nasty rags and clouts stuff with abominable filth; or lastly a bundle of hay and straw. Which after they beheld heapt together within their soulless images, they blamed both their own and their fathers extream folly of

<sup>a</sup> *Γοίστῶν ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.* In the *Kings* *Fuketian*, and *Savilian* Copies their own and their fathers extream folly of <sup>i</sup> is truer written *ἐκκατεσκευασμένα*. Which word *Christophorus* renders thus, *calvæ præstigiatorum dolis callidè obiecta*, skulls craftily covered by the frauds of Conjurers. Which translation I approve not of; and had rather render it *subreptæ stoll*, or else *adornatæ & ad maleficia comparatæ*, trimmed and made ready for mischievous Facts. For Bones and Skulls are the instruments of Conjurers, whereof they made use in order to their mischievous acts. *Valef.*

mind; especially when they perceived, that within those their <sup>\*</sup> *Adyta*, and within the Images <sup>\*</sup> Or, In themselves, there was no Inhabitant, <sup>b</sup> no *Dæmon*, <sup>c</sup> no Utterer of Oracles, no God, no Prophet, as <sup>d</sup> In his they had before perswaded themselves; no not <sup>e</sup> Panegy. so much as an impotent or obscure *phantome*, <sup>f</sup> rick con. And therefore every dark Cavern, and every secret Recess was readily opened to those sent by the Emperour: the *Adyta* also, and places before inaccessible, as likewise the inmost parts of the Temples, were trodden by the feet of the Souldiers. So that, hereby was discovered and exposed to publick view that blindness of mind, wherein all the Heathens had for so long a time been kept involved.

*Χρησμοῦδες, ἔσθ' ἡ μάντις, no Dæmon, no God, no Utterer of Oracles, no Prophet: which I do indeed like better. Valef.*

## CHAP. LVIII.

*That having demolished Venus's Temple at Heliopolis, He was the first who built [a Church there.]*

AND these things may deservedly be recounted amongst the Emperour's famous whole <sup>a</sup> Actions; as likewise those matters particularly sage, as far constituted by him in several Provinces. Of <sup>b</sup> as the Heathens who which sort is that [which we have seen performed by him] at *Heliopolis* a City of *Phœnice*, &c. <sup>c</sup> a wanting in the *Kings* Copy and in *Robert Stephens's* Edition. But it has been added by Learned men, from the authority of Manuscripts. *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil* found it in their Copies; and we also saw it written in the *Fuketian* Copy, at the margin. But the reading in the *Fuketian* Manuscript is larger by one word, thus, *πρὸς βασιλέως εὐχέοντος ἀναθεῖν*, &c. *Valef.*

In which City the Heathens who honoured obscene Lust with the appellation [of the Goddess *Venus*,] permitted their wives and daughters to commit whoredom with impunity. But now a new and modest Law is issued out from the Emperour, whereby 'tis cautioned, that no one of those usages heretofore common amongst them, shall in future be in any wise audaciously practised. And to these persons he again transmitted instructions in writing; for he <sup>b</sup> was <sup>\*</sup> appointed by God for this reason chiefly, that he might instruct all men in the Laws of Temperance. Wherefore, he accounted it not a thing below himself, to Preach even to these persons by his own Letters, and to exhort them to hasten to the knowledge of God. And in that place <sup>c</sup> Copy and he added works consonant to his words, erecting even amongst them a <sup>d</sup> most spacious Church with the Edifices belonging thereto. In so much that, <sup>e</sup> what had no where been heard of by any preceding age whatever, whether

<sup>i</sup> better read *προσμεμνημένος*, in the first place. But, whereas the *Turnebian*, *Savilian*, and *Fuketian* Manuscripts do defend the writing of the *Geneva* Edition, I am of opinion, that it is to be retained. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ὀίκον ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίας ἢ μέγιστον.* I doubt not but it should be written *Ὀίκον ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίας, νεώτερον μέγιστον*. For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself, as I have remarked above. And by *Ὀίκον ἐκκλησίαν* he means *Basilicum*, a Church; but by *νεώτερον* he means the whole compass or inclosure of the Church, that is, the Porch, *Atrium* or Court, *Porticus's*, *Exhedrae*, *Baptisteries*, and the other Edifices which are wont to be annexed to Churches. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is *Ὀίκον ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίας μέγιστον*. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> Any one may, not without reason, wonder, why *Eusebius* should say it was a thing unheard-of by all ages, that a City addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, should receive a Church and a Bishop. For that had hapned to other Cities also at that time. But perhaps *Eusebius* means, that this was a thing new and unheard-of, that a Church



Church of God had been built in that City, wherein as yet there was no Christians, but all persons equally adored Idols. This Church therefore was built by Constantine at Heliopolis, in hope rather than for necessity; to wit, that he might invite all the Citizens to the profession of the Christian Religion. A little after, the reading in the Eusebian Manuscript is ἐργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, truer than in the ordinary Editions, were 'tis ἐργον. Valef.

was then first of all really compleated; and a City of Men addicted to the superstitious worship of Demons, was vouchsafed a Church of God, and Presbyters and Deacons; and a Bishop consecrated to the supream God, presided over the inhabitants of that place. Moreover, the Emperor taking great care that many persons might come over to the Faith of Christ, made large distributions there, in order to the relief of the poor: and in this wise he perswaded and invited men to the salutary Doctrine, in a manner uttering those very words spoken by Saint Paul; \* whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached.

\* Philip. 1. 18.

CHAP. LIX.

Concerning the disturbance raised at Antioch on Eustathius's account.

BUT, whilst all persons passed their lives in the greatest joy imaginable on account of these [Blessings,] and the Church of God was all manner of ways exalted amongst all Nations every where; the envy [of the Devil,] who is always contriving Plots against the Good, began again to make an insurrection against this so great a prosperity of our affairs: supposing, that the Emperor, † exasperated at our disturbances and indecencies, would in future have his affection towards us alienated. Having therefore kindled a great fire, he ‖ filled the Church of Antioch with Tragical Calamities: in so much that, there wanted but little of the whole

† Or, Wearied out with.

‖ Or, Em-compassioned

<sup>a</sup> Διαμαρτυρία. I read διαμαρτυρίαν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαῶν, from Socrates book 1. chap. 24. But this whole place is thus to be restored from the Eusebian, Savil. and Turnebian Copies: εἰς δύο μὲν γὰρ τμήματα διήκοντο ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαὸς τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ἀνίσταί ἀρχαῖον καὶ σεραπιδίον. πολέμιον τρέπον ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἀνακεκίνησεν; For the people, &c. as we have rendered it. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ σεραπιδίον. Christopherson renders it ill, Milites praesidiarios, the Souldiers in Garrison. For the Milites Praesidiarii were in Castles, not in Cities. I suppose therefore that those Souldiers are meant, who had performed their service in the wars; as likewise the Officials of the Comes of the East, and of the Consulars of Syria. Valef.

City's being utterly subverted. <sup>a</sup> For the people of the Church were divided into two Factions; and the Commonalty of the City in an hostile manner were so highly enraged, against the Magistrates themselves, and the <sup>b</sup> Milice: that, they were just upon the point of drawing their Swords, had not the providence of God, and the fear of the Emperor, repress the violence of the multitude. And here the clemency of the Emperor, like a Saviour and Physician of Souls, did again by discourse administer a Cure to those distempered. For he dispatch'd away thither one

of those about him, whom he had had tryal of, a person honoured with the dignity of a Comes, a Man eminently trusty and faithful; [by whom he spake] to those people in a most gracious manner. And by Letter after Letter he exhorted them to entertain thoughts of Peace; and taught them to practise such things as were agreeable to the divine Religion. And at length he prevailed with them; and excused them

in those Letters he wrote to them, affirming that he himself had publickly heard him who had been the occasioner of that Tumult. And means Eustathius Bishop of Antioch; at this place, had they not set a Brand of infamy on the persons † guilty. Wherefore I will at present omit them, being † Or, accused. resolved not to renew the memory of mischiefs: and will only annex those Letters to this Work, which he wrote to express the joy and satisfaction of his own mind in reference to the Peace and agreement of others. In which Letters he entreats them that they would not in any wise challenge to themselves the Prelate of another place, by whose intervention they had made up a Peace amongst themselves; but that, agreeable to the Canon of the Church, they should rather choose him Bishop, whom [our Lord] himself, the Common Saviour of all, should design [for that office.] He writes therefore both to the People, and also to the Bishops, severally, these following [Letters.]

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Antioch. This hapned on the year of Christ 329; (as may apparently be gathered from Philostorgius's second Book;) or on the year 330, as Theodoret seems to assert; book 2. chap. 31. For he writes, that Meletius was translated to the See of Antioch thirty years after Eustathius's Deposition. Now 'tis manifest that Meletius was translated to Antioch on the year of Christ 360. Wherefore, I can't assent to the most illustrious Cardinal Baronius, who being always angry with our Eusebius, whilst he refuses to follow his account, hath confounded all things. For he says that this Tumult hapned at Antioch on the year of Christ 324. that is on the very year before the Nicene Synod; then, when Eustathius was created Bishop of Antioch: whereas Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret do attest, that this Tumult had hapned at the deposition of this Eustathius. But Baronius proves by most evident arguments, as he himself supposes, that Eustathius was ejected out of the See of Antioch, not under the Reign of the Emperor Constantine, but in that of Constantius. Let us see therefore, with what arguments he endeavours to make this out. In the first place he cites a passage out of Athanasius's Epistle ad solitarios, about the beginning. Fuit, says he, quidam Eustathius Episcopus Antiochiæ, &c. There was one Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, a person famous for confession, &c. whom the men of the Arian Opinion had accused to Constantius by a forged calumny in such a manner, as if he had been contumelious towards the Emperor's Mother. But I affirm, that in this passage of Athanasius instead of Constantius, Constantine is to be written. Which emendation is confirmed by those words immediately added concerning the Emperor's Mother. For he means Helena, who about this time had come into the East. For these words can't in any wise be meant of Fausta, who had been put to death above twenty years before, if we follow Baronius's computation. But the passage of Saint Jerom, out of his book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, makes little for Baronius, in regard in the Old Editions, as also in that of Lyons which I have, 'tis plainly written, sub Constantino Principe missus est in exilium, was sent into Exile under the Emperor Constantine. Wherefore, I had rather follow Eusebius here, than Baronius. Nor do I see, how so great stirs could have been made at the Creation of Eustathius, (of which stirs there is mention in the Emperor Constantine's Letter,) that to appease them a Comes was to be sent, and so many Letters written by the Emperor. Besides, Constantine says in his Letter, that he had publickly heard him who had been the Author of that whole Sedition; to wit, Eustathius, whom he had ordered to come to Court, and had banish'd him into Thracia. And this Athanasius in his before-mentioned Letter, accounts as the first Exploit of the Arians; which thing is to be remarked. For this was done before the Synod of Tyre, which was convened against Athanasius, that is before the year of Christ 334. Athanasius therefore does the right in beginning the History of the War which the Arians brought upon the Catholick Church, from Eustathius's deposition, as from the first Exploit of the Arians: which having succeeded according to their wish, they thought that all other matters would in future be ready and easie. Further, Baronius's Opinion is refuted as well from what we have said above, as from this, because Flaccillus (who after Paulinus and Eulalius succeeded Eustathius,) is mentioned amongst those Bishops present at the Synod at Tyre, by Athanasius in his Apology to the Emperor Constantius; as Jacobus Gothofredus has well observed in his Dissertations on the second book of Philostorgius. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδυμένῳ. It must be ἐνδυμένῳ, as Christopherson seems to have read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.



## CHAP. LX.

Constantine's Letter to the Antiochians, that they should not draw away Eusebius from Caesarea; but should seek another [Bishop.]

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To the People of Antioch.

**H**OW grateful and pleasing is the Concord amongst You \* to all the prudent and wise men of this Age! Even I my Self, Brethren, have determined to embrace You with an Everlasting Affection; being invited thereto both † by the Rule of Religion, and by your way of Life, and also by your Love and Favour. This is most certainly the genuine product of Blessings, to † all with an understanding that is right and sound. For what can so much become you? <sup>a</sup> Wonder not therefore, if I shall affirm the Truth to have been to you \* a cause of safety, rather than of hatred. Indeed, amongst Brethren (to whom one and the same affection of Mind, and a progress in the way that is right and just, doth by God's Assistance promise an enrollment into the pure and holy family;) what <sup>b</sup> can be more goodly and valuable, than with a joy and unanimity of mind to rest contented at their beholding the Blessings of all first place, Men? Especially, in regard the instruction of the Divine Law incites <sup>c</sup> your purpose of mind to † a greater perfection, and because 'tis our desire that your judgment should be confirmed by the best determinations. This will perhaps seem strange to you; what namely this preface of our † Letter should mean. Truly, I will neither avoid, nor refuse to declare the reason of this matter. For I confess that I have perused the Acts, wherein both from your honourable Commendations and Testimonies in reference to Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea, (whom I my Self also have long since very well known, on account as well of his Learning as his Modesty;) <sup>d</sup> to whom one, &c. as the reading is in the excellent Fukeian Copy, whereto Sir Henry Savil's, and Turnebus's book do in part agree. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Τις δὲ πρῶτες ἡσίοιο. After these words Scaliger and others have inserted these, τὸ δὲ εὐτυχίας, which I found written also in Merens's book. But I can't approve of this their conjecture. For, what should the meaning of δὲ εὐτυχίας be? I had much rather read thus, ἡ τῆς πάντων καλῶς χαλεπῶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν, than with a joy, &c. For, Constantine says that it does not become Christians to grieve at the Bleddings of others, and to draw away the Bishops of neighbouring Cities from their own Churches, because they may be eminent for knowledge and virtue. For the Antiochians would have done that; who after they had deposed Eustathius, requested, that Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea might be made their Prelate. In the Fukeian Copy, after the word ἡσίοιο, there is a point set at the top. Then the reading is, ὅτι δὲ εὐτυχίας τοῖς, &c. Nor is it otherwise in Turnebus's Copy. Sir Henry Savil had mended it thus at the margin of his Copy; τὸ δὲ εὐτυχίας τῆς πάντων καλῶς, &c. Which reading, whether it proceeded from conjecture, or was taken out of some Manuscript Copy, I can't approve of. Indeed I had rather read thus; τὸ δὲ πρῶτες ἡσίοιο τὸ διδύχαυτας τοῖς πάντων καλῶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν; that the meaning may be the same with that which I have set above. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Τὴν ἐξέτασιν ὑμῶν. Christopherson did not rightly understand this place. For Constantine means that earnestness or vehemency of their minds, wherewith the Antiochians had purposed to procure Eusebius to be their Bishop. As a little afterwards by the term κείνου he means the Fragment wherewith they had elected the same person. I read therefore, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν κείνῳ βεβαιωθεὶς τοῖς ἀγαθῶς, &c. and because 'tis our desire that your judgment, &c. as the reading is in the Fukeian and Turneb. Copies. Valef.

I perceive you have an <sup>a</sup> Inclination towards him, and are desirous of making him your own. <sup>b</sup> What, think you, came into my mind, who am earnestly hastning to an accurate disquisition of \* what is right and true? What a care and solicitude [do you believe me] to have taken on account of that your desire? O Holy Faith, which by the Words and Precepts of our Saviour dost exhibit to us as 'twere an express † representation of Life; with what trouble wouldst even Thou thy self resist † Sinners, unless Thou shouldest wholly refuse to serve in order to gain and favour! Indeed Fuke to Me, he seems to have conquered even Victory her self, who \* makes Peace his more earnest study and endeavour. <sup>c</sup> For where that which is decent, is law-ful to any one, no body can be found who is not highly pleased with it. I beseech you therefore, Brethren, on what account should we so determine, as thereby to procure others an injury? For what reason do we follow those things, which will certainly overthrow the Faith of Our Opinion? Indeed, I do highly praise that Person, who by you also is approved of as worthy of Honour and Affection. Nevertheless, that (which amongst all should remain firm and ratified,) ought not in such a manner to have been \* enervated, as that all Persons should not be contented \* with their own Limits, nor all enjoy their domestick Blessings; and that in a search after those who might equally seem worthy of the Bishoprick, not only one, but many Persons should not be † produced comparatively of equal worth with † this Person. For when neither \* Terror nor Roughness gives any disturbance to Ecclesiastick Honours, it happens that those [Honours] are alike in themselves, and † are in all things equally desirable. Nor is it agreeable to reason, that a deliberation concerning this matter should be made <sup>d</sup> to the Injury of others: in regard the minds of all men, whether they may seem to be <sup>e</sup> meaner or more illustrious do equally ad-

Indeed to me, says Constantine, he seems to have conquered Victory her self, who is earnestly studious of Peace. Therefore, after the word ἀντιπαύω [or, endeavour, in our Version] a point must be placed; as 'tis in the Kings and Fukeian Copy, and in the Old Sheets. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Ταῖς ἰδίαις γράμμασι ἐκαστοῦ ἀρκεῖν. That is, every one should be contented with their own Limits. For γράμμα is a Boundary or Limit of Grounds; whence those Writers are termed Gnomatichi, who have written concerning the Boundaries of fields. After the same way ὁρῶ is promiscuously taken amongst Grecians, as well for a Sentence, as a Limit. For as a Limit does bound Fields, so does a Sentence terminate strifes and controversies. Further, in my judgment it should be written, ἐκαστος ἀρκεῖσθαι. For it follows, καὶ τῶν οὐκίων πάντας ἀπολαύειν. Although in the Fukeian and Turneb. Copies the reading is, πάντων ἀπολαύειν, nor enjoy all their domestick, &c. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Εἰς ἑτέρον πλεονέκτημα, to another injury. It must be written εἰς ἑτέρω πλεονέκτημα, to the injury of others. 'Tis not becoming, says Constantine, that a deliberation of this nature about the choosing a Bishop into Eustathius's place should bring an injury upon others. Nor ought ye to spoil other Churches. A little after, I am of the same opinion with Scaliger and Christopherson who have mended it thus, τῆς πάντων διαβολίας. And so I found it written in the Fuke. and Savil. Copies, and in the Old Sheets. Valef. In Robert Stephens's 'tis πάντων.

<sup>h</sup> Ἄν τ' ἐλάττω, ὅν τε μέζω. That is, whether they be inhabitants of a lesser City, such as is Caesarea; or of a greater City, of which sort is Antioch. All, says he, as well the Citizens of smaller, as of greater Cities, are equal with God. Wherefore lesser Towns are not to be deprived of their Bishops. Constantine had said the same a little before; namely, That Ecclesiastick Honours are all equal, and are to be accounted of equal value. Valef.



\* Decrees mit of and keep the divine \* Dogmata; so that, † Or, Law. as to what relates to the Common † Faith, one sort of Persons are in nothing inferiour to another.

\* These words may be referred to the preceeding period. And so after the verb *συναίνουσα* a full point is to be set, and the place rendred thus: So that some persons (as to what relates to the Common Faith,) are in no wise inferiour to others, if we should plainly speak the truth. Wherefore this is not to detain a man, but to take him away by force, &c. And thus this place is pointed in the Old Sheets. Valef.

\* Or, Multitudes.

gives Occasion for an Accusation, and does raise the disturbance of no small tumult. For, even Lambs do shew the † force and strength of their Teeth, as often as (the usual care and Concern of their Shepherd for them growing more remiss,) they perceive themselves deprived of their former guidance and looking to. Now, if these things be thus, and if we are not mistaken; in the first place, Brethren, consider this. (For many, and those great advantages will offer themselves to you even at the very beginning.) First of all [I say consider this;] whether the † affection and love you have one towards another will not be sensible of some abatement of it self. Then [weigh this also,] that that person who

† From these words it may be gathered, that our Eusebius had come to Antioch together with the rest of the Bishops, who in a Synod had condemned Eustathius Bishop of Antioch: and that the Antiochians, after Eustathius's deposition, had a mind to keep him with them. This is what Constantine has said above, & *καὶ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπαίρειν μάλλον*, this is not a detention, but rather the taking away of a Man by violence. Theodoret tells us the same, book 1. chap. 22. Valef.

\* Or, Probiety.

\* O τῆς ὑμετέρας συνουσίας. I think it must be written *ἐν τῆς ὑμετέρας*, &c. For the verb *δέδοται*, consider, is to be understood in common. But if any one has a mind to defend the common reading, I shall not much resist him. Valef.

\* καὶ τῆς τῶν διαφορῶν συστάσεως, or, beating together, and from the compa-

\* Knocking, or, beating together. It would doubtless your Ship] the firm Flag [of the Cross;] be better to read thus, τῆς τῶν διαφορῶν συστάσεως; that is, from the collision of many Men, sparks and flames are usually raised. The Fukeian Copy hath at length confirmed our conjecture to us; wherein I found it plainly written *συστάσεως*. Valef.

\* Εἰς τὸν ῥῶπον ἐκείνου προαίματοι. Christopherson renders this place thus: *Ex quo portu jordanis seditionis praterita ejectionis, pacato mentis statu concordiam in eorum locum inducite*: Out of which port having ejected the filth of your past Sedition, in place thereof do you bring in Concord with a calm temper of mind. But in this Version, there are many things which I can't approve of. For first, I am not pleased with his making *ῥῶπον ἐκείνου* to mean the filth of Sedition. In my judgment Constantine seems to hint at that cause, on account whereof Eustathius had been deposed; to wit, the debauching of a certain

woman; concerning which whoredome consult Theodoret, book 1. chap. 21. The same thing is likewise intimated by Constantine a little after this, where he says, *πάν γὰρ τὸν ναῦν λυμαινόμενον ὁ πάρος ἐξ ἀνελίας ἀνάλωται*. That is, For, whatever could any way defile the vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. At which place nevertheless Christopherson does again render it the filth of Sedition. But, how filth can be a term properly used in reference to Sedition I can't indeed perceive. But no body can doubt, but it may be very properly spoken in reference to that incontinency wherewith Eustathius was charged. There is a Metaphor here, taken from Ports, which are wont to be cleansed, as often as they are stopp'd up with sand, mud, or such like filth. Now, those words *ἐξ* & *ἐν* may be rendred adverbially; and to the reading must be *ἀνελίως* which displeases me not: May I so please God, says Constantine, as I Love you, and the port of your Lent, after having cast out that filth you have brought in Concord with good Morals. Indeed, this meaning pleases me much better than the common reading. For now the Antiochians were quiet, and the Sedition was appeased, at such time as Constantine wrote this Letter, as 'tis apparent from its beginning. Valef.

\* Steering a prosperous course to the Light it self, with Rudders of Iron, as one may say. Wherefore, convey on Board your Ship the incorruptible Cargo. For whatever could anyway defile the Vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. Now therefore, use your utmost endeavours, that your enjoyment of all these Blessings may be such, as you may not a second time seem, either to have determined any thing at all, with an inconsiderate and unprofitable desire, or from the beginning to have attempted what is disagreeable. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!

For 'tis a Metaphor taken from Navigation. In Sophocles, is used to signify a happy Voyage by Sea; and a Ship which Sails with a prosperous gale of Wind, is by Grecians termed *εὐροδρόμος ναῦς*. Valef.

\* Τὸν ἀφάρτον φάρτον ἡγείσθαι. This whole Letter is in many places faulty; but especially this clause does abound with mistakes. For, what is the meaning of these words? I doubt not but it must be read thus, *ἀφάρτον φάρτον ἡγείσθαι*, convey on Board, &c. Constantine does here make use of a continued Metaphor taken from Navigation, and compares Christians to Merchants who make Voyages on account of Trade. Sail on, says he, with a prosperous Course to the eternal Light, having erected the Flag of the Cross in your Ships, and carry on Board your Vessel the incorruptible Goods. For now, whatever could have endamaged the Ship, is Pump'd out. Thus by making a small, and in a manner no alteration, the meaning does now appear elegant and plain. Valef.

\* Τὴν ἡμῶν ἀπάντων. It must, I think, be written in one word, *τῶν*; as Sir Henry Savil had mended it in his Copy. In the Fukeian Copy the reading is *ἀπάντων* ἡμῶν ἀπάντων. The close of this Letter, is in my judgment thus to be restored; *ἢ καὶ δόξα π πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιχειρήσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοῖσιν*. Which reading I have followed in my Version. Constantine terms the desire which the Antiochians had manifested towards Eusebius, when they coveted him to be their Bishop, *ἀκαλον σπένδιν*, an inconsiderate desire. The affection of the Antiochians towards Eustathius may also be meant; at whose deposition they were vext, and had raised a Sedition. In the Fuke. Sav. and Turneb. Copies, this place is written thus, *ἐπιχειρήσαι ὃ μὴ συμφέρον ἔστι ἡμῶν δοκοῖσιν*. But the reading is plainer which we found in the Old Sheets, *ἐπιχειρήσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοῖσιν*. Valef.



## CHAP. LXI.

Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, wherein he commends Him for His Refusal of [the See of] Antioch.

<sup>a</sup> This Title was written by The Emperour's Letter <sup>a</sup> to Us, after our Refusal of the Bishoprick of Antioch.

Eusebius himself, as 'tis apparent. For He himself says concerning himself, *ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, to us.* Wherefore, there was no need of any other Title. Further, hence it may be plainly gathered, that these Books were written by Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea. Which, notwithstanding it may be proved by innumerable arguments and testimonies; yet I wonder at James Gothofred, who has been so bold as to deny it. In the Fokettian Copy, which has the Contents or Titles prefixed before every Chapter, these words are wanting. But in the Kings Sheets they are written at the margin. Valef.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

I Have perused your Letter very often; and have found that you do most exactly observe the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline. For, to persist in those Sentiments which appear both acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolick Tradition, is an eminent degree of Piety. You may account your self blessed even in this very thing, because by the testimony of the whole World, as I may say, you

<sup>b</sup> *πῶς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπῶν* Barenus (at the year of our Lord 324, Number 145,) expounds these words thus, Constantine, says he, terms the care of the Antiochian Church the Bishoprick of the whole Church; because Antioch was the Metropolis of all the East. But, with the favour of that great person be it spoken, there seems to be another sense of these words. For whereas all Cities were desirous of having Eusebius their Bishop, as Constantine attests a little after, Eusebius was by the consent of all worthy of the Episcopate of the whole World. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἦγεν τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας.* In the Fokettian Copy and that of Sir Henry Savil. the reading is *ἐπὶ τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας.* I should choose to write *ὑπὲρ τὰς τε, &c.* which hath, &c. A little before, where the reading is *ἐν παντὶ φαίνεται,* the Fokettian and Savilian Copies add *ἐν παντὶ, is an eminent degree of piety.* Valef.

\* Or, Letters when Your Holiness shall have perused, it will easily understand, that, because Justice seemed to Resist them, I have written unto them by the impulse of the Dicty. It will bebove Your Prudence also to be present at their Council to the end this very thing may be constituted in the Church of Antioch. God keep you, Beloved Brother.

## CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod, that Eusebius should not be drawn away from Caesarea.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To <sup>a</sup> Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, <sup>a</sup> This Theodorus was Bishop of Laodicea in Syria; Aetius, Alpheus, and to the rest of the Bishops which are at Antioch.

Narcissus was Bishop of Neronades in Cilicia; Aetius was Bishop of Lydda in Palestine: all Favourers of the Arian Party. Who, when they were come to Antioch, together with Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, and Eusebius Caesariensis, deposed Eustathius, as Theodoret relates Ecclef. Hist. book 1. chap. 21. But Aetius betook himself afterwards to the side of the Orthodox, as Philestorgius attests, book 3. chap. 12. and also Athanasius. Now, Alpheus Bishop of Apamea in Syria, and lastly Theodorus Prelate of Sydon in Phœnice are named amongst the Bishops who subscribed to the Nicene Synod. Concerning Theodorus, Athanasius speaks also, in his book de Synodis Arimini & Seleucie. Valef.

I Have read the Letter written by Your Prudence, and do highly commend the wise resolution of Your Colleague Eusebius. And when I had perfectly understood all transactions, partly from Your Letter, and partly from that of the Most Perfect <sup>b</sup> Acacius and Strategius [the <sup>b</sup> Concerning Acacius Comes of the East, if I mistake not, Constantine speaks of him in his Letter to Macarius the Bishop of Jerusalem, chap. 53. But Strategius is he, who by another name was called Mithrianus; concerning whom I have made several remarks in my Notes on the 15th Book of Amm. Marcellinus, pag. 99. He had been sent to Antioch by the Emperor Constantine, to appease the tumult there, as Eusebius has said above; see chap. 59. Valef.] in as much as this was contained in Your Letter, that according to the suffrage of the People and <sup>a</sup> the desire of Your Prudence, Eusebius the Most Holy Bishop of the Church of Caesarea might preside over the Antiochian Church, and undertake the care thereof. Indeed, Eusebius's Letter appeared highly ob-servant of the Ecclesiastick Canon: but 'tis meet, that Our Sentiment also should be made known to Your Prudence. For, it has been related to me, that Euphronius a Presbyter, who is a Citizen of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and <sup>c</sup> Georgius

marks in my Notes on the 15th Book of Amm. Marcellinus, pag. 99. He had been sent to Antioch by the Emperor Constantine, to appease the tumult there, as Eusebius has said above; see chap. 59. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Προσκληθείς, I had rather write προσκληθείς.* Valef. <sup>d</sup> *Προσέειπεν οὕτως, the prudence of your desire.* I would more willingly read *συναίσεις προαίσεις, the desire of your prudence.* Further, from these words (which are ill understood by Christopherson) it appears, that the Bishops who had been convened at Antioch, had by their Letter requested of Constantine, that according to the desire of the Antiochian People, and themselves, Eusebius might be translated to the See of Antioch. Therefore those words, *ὡς τε κατὰ τε τὴν τὴν λαὸν καὶ τὴν τὴν ὑμετέρων συναίσεις προαίσεις,* are taken out of the Letter of the Bishops convened at Antioch, which they sent to the Emperor Constantine. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Τὴν γὰρ μὴν τὴν τὴν βίβλιν γεγραμμένην.* I am not displeased with the conjecture of Learned Men, who have mended it *τὰ γὰρ μὴν τὴν βίβλιν γεγραμμένην, &c.* Indeed Eusebius's, &c. The place might likewise have been restored thus, *ἀπὸ τῆς γὰρ ὑμῶν τὴν τὴν βίβλιν, &c.* But the former reading is confirmed by the authority of the Fokettian and Savilian Copies. Only the postpositive Article *ἡ* is to be expunged, which occurs not in the Fokettian Copy. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> *Ἀφίκεται γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ.* In the Fokettian and Sir Henry Savil's Copy, the reading of this place runs thus; *ἀφίκεται γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ οὐδέτις, For it hapned that there have come to me Euphronius, &c.* which reading Christopherson has followed. But the common reading is far better *ἀφίκεται γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ, that is, I have been given to understand, as Musculus renders it; or, It has been told me.* Valef.

<sup>g</sup> *Γεωργίου ἢ ἀρετουσίαν.* Understand *πολίτην, a Citizen;* which word Christopherson perceived not was to be repeated in common. Now, *πολίτης* does not only signify a person born in some City, but rather such a one as has his residence in a City, and is enrolled amongst the Citizens, whether he may have been born there, or elsewhere. Valef.

[a Citi-



[a Citizen] of Arethusa, a Presbyter also whom Alexander preferred to this dignity in the City Alexandria, are most approved Persons in reference to the Faith. It seemed good therefore, to give Your Prudence notice of these Men, that having proposed them, and Seleucia; some others, whom You shall judge fit for the dignity of the Episcopate, You may determine such things as may be agreeable to the Tradition of the Apostles. For such matters as these having been well prepared and ordered, Your Prudence will be able so to direct this Election according to Laodicea, the Canon of the Church and Apostolick Tradition, as the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline does require. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!

by Alexander Bishop of Alexandria; but was afterwards deposed by the same Alexander because of his impiety. In his Apologetick also against Constantius, pag. 728; he writes that the same Person was deposed by Alexander, which very thing is plainly confirmed by the Fathers of the Sardican Council in their Synodick Letter. The same Athanasius, in the same Book de Synodis pag. 886, attests that this George resided at Antioch. Further, from the Kings Sheets I have pointed this place thus; *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλεξάνδρειας ἐν ἀλεξάνδρῃ κατεστήσατο, ἐν τῷ πύλιν δωματίῳ, ὃν ὁ ἀλέξανδρος, &c.* and so Musculus points the place. Valef.

This place seems to me to be imperfect, which is in my judgment thus to be made good: *καλῶς ἐν εἰχῇ δηλοῦται τῇ συνέσει ὁ μὲν τέρας, ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ χειροτονίας τέρας τε καὶ ἐτέρας, &c.* which reading I have followed in my Version. By τέρας, these Men, he means the foresaid Euphronius and Georgius. Of whom Euphronius was afterwards Bishop of Antioch, and immediate successor to Eustathius; as Socrates and Sozomen do relate, and also Theodorus Mopsuestenus in Nicetas's *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fides*. But this Georgius was, as I have said, afterwards Bishop of Laodicea. In the Fukeian C. p. the reading is *τὰς τε περὶ χειροτονίας*. Further, 'tis to be noted, that Men who were Arians, are here by Constantine commended for Persons that were Orthodox; either because as yet they concealed their Heresie, or else in regard the Arians had possessed themselves of the Emperour's ear and mind. Valef.

\*Περὶ χειροτονίας. Christophorson perceived nothing here. The term *περὶ χειροτονίας* in elections imports thus much, to propose or publicly to produce the name of some Person, that it may be inquired whether he be worthy of that Office, the debate about which is in agitation. Which very thing Constantine in his Letter to the People of Antioch expresses by the verb *ἐκφώνου*. The *περὶ χειροτονίας* was followed by an Examination, then the Election, and last of all the Ordination or Consecration. See Socrates's *Eccles. Hist.* book I. chap. 9. note (f.) Valef.

## CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner He endeavoured to destroy Heresies.

Such were the admonitions [which the Emperour gave] to the [Prelates] of the Churches, [advising them to do all things] in order to the glory and commendation of the Divine Religion. But after he had made a riddance of all dissensions, and had reduced the Church of God to an agreement and Harmony of Doctrine; He past from thence, and was of opinion, that another sort of impious Persons were to be suppressed and destroyed, in regard they were the Poison of Mankind. These were a sort of pernicious Men, who under the specious disguise of Modesty and Gravity ruined the Cities. Whom our Saviour somewhere terms false Prophets or ravenous Wolves, in these words: \* Beware of false Prophets which come to you in sheeps clothing; but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. By the transmission of a precept therefore to the Presidents of Provinces, He put to flight the whole Tribe of these sort of Persons.

But besides this Law, the Emperour composed an enlivening \* Exhortation, directed to them by name; wherein he incited those Men to hasten their repentance: For [he told them] that the Church of God would be to them a Port of safety. But, hear in what manner He discoursed even to these Persons, in his Letter to them.

\* Or, Instruction.  
† Or, Salvation.  
‡ Or, Safety.  
§ Valefius renders it, he Preaches.

## CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Constitution against the Hereticks.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To the Hereticks.

Acknowledge now by the benefit of this Law, (O ye Novatianists, Valentinians, Marcionists, Paulianis; and you who are termed Cataphrygæ; in a word, all of you, who by your private Meetings, breed and \* compleat Heresies!) in how many Lyes the † vanity of your Opinions is wrapt up; and in what manner your Doctrine is ‡ compounded of certain pernicious Poisons: in so much that, by you the healthy are reduced to weakness, and the living to a perpetual death: Ye Enemies of Truth, ye Adversaries of Life, and ye Councillours of destruction! All things amongst you are contrary to Truth; agreeable to filthy impieties; a stuff with absurdities and fictions: whereby you compose Lyes, afflict the Innocent, and deny Believers the light. And, sinning continually under a Mask of Divinity, you defile all things! Ye wound the innocent and pure consciences

[of Men] with blows that are mortal and deadly; and ye ravish even the day it self (I had almost said,) from the eyes of Men. But what necessity is there of recounting every particular? Especially, since neither the shortness of the time, nor the urgency of Our Affairs will suffer Us to speak concerning your \* Crimes according as they deserve. For, your impieties are chiefly so large and immense, so filthy and full of all manner of outrageousness, that a whole day would not be sufficient for a description of them. And besides, 'tis fit we should remove our ears and turn away our eyes from things of this nature, least by a particular declaration of them, the pure and sincere † alacrity of Our Faith should be defiled. What reason is there then that We should any longer tolerate such Mischiefs? Especially since Our long ‡ forbearance is the cause, that even those who are sound, become infected with this pestilential distemper as 'twere. Why therefore do we not immediately cut off the roots (as we may so term them) of such a mischief by a publick animadversion?

In the Fuke, Savil. and Turneb. Copies, the reading is *ὀργισμός*, delay. A little after, from the Fukeian Copy I write *διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστολάς*, by a publick animadversion. Valef. In Robert Stephens's *τίς ἐπιστολῶν*. Valef.



## CHAP. LXV.

## Concerning the taking away the Meeting-places of Hereticks.

Wherefore, in as much as this perniciousness of your improbity is not any longer to be born with, We declare by this Law, that no one of you shall in future dare to hold Assemblies. And therefore We have given order, that all those your houses, wherein you hold such Assemblies, shall be taken away: and this Care [of Our Majesty] does extend so far, as that the congregations of your superstitious madness shall not meet together, not only in publick, but neither in a private house, nor in any places, whereto the Right or Title is peculiar. Therefore, what ever persons amongst you are studious of the true and pure Religion, (which is a thing far more commendable and better,) let them come over to the Catholick Church, and hold communion with its sanctity, by the assistance whereof they may arrive at the Truth. But, let the Errour of your perverted minds, I mean the execrable and pernicious dissent of Hereticks and Schismatics, be wholly separated from the felicity of Our Times. For it becomes Our Blessedness, which by God's assistance We enjoy, that they who lead their lives [buoy'd up] with good hopes, should be reduced from all manner of \* Extravagant Disorderly Errour to the right way; from darkness to the light; from Vanity to the Truth; Lastly, from Death to Salvation. And, to the end that the force and power of this Remedy may be effectual and prevalent, We have given order, that <sup>a</sup> all the Conventicles of your Superstition, as We have said above, I mean the Oratories of all sorts of Hereticks, (if it be fit to term them Oratories,) shall without any contradiction <sup>b</sup> be taken away, and without any delay delivered to the Catholick Church: but, that the rest of the places shall be adjudged to the publick: and, that no Licence shall be left to you <sup>c</sup> of holding Meetings there in future. So that, from this present day, your illegal Congregations shall not dare to meet, either in any publick or private place. <sup>d</sup> Let it be publishing, the <sup>e</sup> *lisped*.

<sup>a</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίαις*. The first word must be expunged, as superfluous. In the *Fuketian*, *Savil*, and *Turnebian* Copies, the reading is *lisped*.

<sup>b</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίαις*. perhaps it should be, *ἐπίπαι τὰ, &c.* that the Conventicles—shall wholly be taken away. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίαις*. *Christophorson* did ill in rendring it *diruta*, pull'd down. For *Constantine* does not order the Churches of Hereticks to be pull'd down, but to be taken from them, and given to the Catholick Church. There are the like Constitutions of the Emperours in the *Theodosian Code*, in the Title de Hereticks. Further, from this Law of *Constantine* the *Novatianists* had before been excepted, as 'tis apparent from the second Law in the same Title. But in this last Sanction of *Constantine*, they are included, together with the other Hereticks and Schismatics. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίαις*. The reading in the *Fuketian* Copy is truer, thus, *τὴν συνάγειν*. For *συνάγειν* is the proper term to denote this thing. The *Latines* in one word call it *colligere*, as may be proved by many instances. Whence they term that *Collēgia*, which in Greek is *συνάξις*. *Optatus* (in his Second Book, where he speaks concerning the Bishops of the Donatists in the City Rome,) has this passage. *Sed quia quibusdam Afris urbana placuerat commoratio, & hinc a vobis profecti videbantur, ipsi petierunt, ut aliquis hinc qui illos colligeret mitteretur.* And a little after. *Non enim Grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui intra quadragesima & quod excurrat, basilicas, locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant.* Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίαις*. *Christophorson* understood not this word; it was usually added to the Laws and Constitutions of Princes, and sometimes in their own hand. So in *Theodosius's Novel de reddito Jure armorum*, it occurs; *Et Manu divina. Proponatur amantissimo nostri populo Rom.* And at the side, *Data 8. Calend. Julias Romae Valentiniano & Anatolio Coss.* See book 2. chap. 42. note (b.) After the word *τολμῶς* therefore in the Greek, a point is placed in the *Kings* Copy, which is well done. In the *Fuketian* Copy, the verb *περιτρίπτω* is wanting. Valef.

## CHAP. LXVI.

## That impious and prohibited Books having been found amongst the Hereticks, very many of them returned to the Catholick Church.

In this manner therefore the \* Dens of the \* *ἑσπερίαις* *Heterodox* were by the Imperial Order laid *ματὰ*; it open; and the wild Beasts themselves, that is properly the Ring-leaders of their impiety, were put to flight. Now, some of those Persons who had been deceived by them, being put into a *company of Soldiers* place, in order to their attacking the Enemy at unawares.

<sup>a</sup> *Καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο.* In the *King's* Copy, this term is thus explained in the Margin, *καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποκριτῇ.* Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Therefore besides the above said Letter of *Constantine* to the Hereticks, there was another Law, which ordered the Books of Hereticks to be found out and burnt; or else this Letter produced by *Eusebius* is not entire. Further, the reading should be *ἐπὶ τῇ συνάξει, &c.* and a little after, *ἡλίσσοντο τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγίον, &c.* not *ἡλίσσοντο* τὸ πνεῦμα, which is the reading in the *Fuketian* Copy, and must be rejected; though, by what chance I know not, it has crept into our Edition.

of the Churches made an accurate † inspection † Or, In- into both these sorts of Persons, and such as *quisque* they found coming over [to the Church] \* under a disguise, who were hid under the \* Or, *Feig-* skins of Sheep, them they drove away a far off. *nedly*. But they who did this with † sincerity, were tried † Or, *A* for some time; and after a sufficient proof, *pure mind*. [the Bishops] enrolled them amongst their number who are <sup>c</sup> admitted to the sacred Af- <sup>c</sup> *τῷ πλή-* sembles. And in this manner they treated those <sup>c</sup> *θῷ ἐκείνῳ* \* Hereticks that were infamous and \* Or, *He-* abominable. But such as maintain- *terodox* ed nothing that was impious in *persons.* † their Opinions and Doctrines, † Or, *The* but by the fault of Schismatical Men *Doctrina* had been rashly severed from the *of their* common society, them they ad- *Opinions.* mitted [into the Church] <sup>d</sup> without any delay. *γεν, who* holds a re- *ligious as-*

*sembly.* The *συναγωγή* are the Laicks who come together into the Church. Whence *συναξις* imports an Ecclesiastick Assembly. *Dionysius Alexandrinus's* words in his fifth Epistle to Pope *Xystus*, are these; *τῶν συναγμένων ἀδελφῶν πρὸς νομίζοντι ἀρχαῖ, &c.* Therefore *Scaliger*, *Christophorson*, and *Gruterus* have mended it ill, thus, *συνεσπόμενοι*. *Christophorson* has rendred it *adscititios*, counterfeit; which can no wise be born with. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil.* Copies, the reading likewise is *συνεσπόμενοι*. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἀμελήτως, without care.* It must doubtless be *ἀμελήτως*, without any delay. For he says, that Schismatics were without delay received into the Church; but, that Hereticks were admitted after a long penitency. For the Church is always wont to give Schismatics a more favourable and kinder reception, than Hereticks. Of which matter we have an eminent instance in the *Nicene Synod*; which, when it had Anathematized the Arians, received the *Meletians* into Communion, after they had been gently chastized. Now, what the difference is between Hereticks and Schismatics, *Basilius* informs us in his first Canonical Epistle to *Amphilochius*; where he distinguishes these three, *ἁρεσις, ἡσμία, & ἡσσωματισμός*. Nevertheless *Chrysostome*, in his eleventh Homily on the Ephesians, proves Schismatics to be worse than Hereticks. Valef.

These



These therefore, returning in Troops from some Foreign Region as 'twere, recovered their own Country again, and acknowledged their Mother the Church. From which having strayed, after a long interval of time they made their return to \* Her with a gladness and joy.

\* The Church.

Thus the members of the whole Body were united one with another by one common Band, and grew together into one Frame. And the one and only Catholick Church of God, † fitly cohering with it self, darted forth its Rays of Light; no congregation either of Hereticks or Schismatics being left remaining in any part of the Earth. To the performance

of which singular and great Action, Our Emperour (the only Person car'd for and respected by God, amongst all those that had ever sway'd the Imperial Sceptre,) entitled Himself.

out, because it disturbs the sense; unless you take it to signify singular, or *Eximious*. Further Christopherson has translated this place otherwise. For thus he renders it: *cujus præclari facinoris causam Imperator Deo acceptam plane retulit, the cause of which famous Action the Emperour plainly ascribed to God as acceptable to him* Nor does Musculus render it otherwise. But I have interpreted these words [*τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπετίμητο*, or rather, *ἐπετίμητο*] concerning Constantine Himself; that is, The Emperour was the Author of this glorious action. Johannes Portesius also, the first Translatour of these Books, renders this place in the same manner. For thus his Version runs; *Id verò unicum ab orbe condito factum, hominì de tutelâ præclaro, tum acceptum etiam relatum est.* Valef.

† Καὶ τὴν  
τὴν δὲ μὲν.  
The word  
μὲν must  
be blotted

*The End of the Third Book.*



THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS  
CONCERNING  
THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
BLESSED EMPEROR  
CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

*In what manner he honoured very many Persons  
with gifts and promotions.*

**A**lthough the Emperour accomplished so many and such signal performances in order to the Edification and Glory of God's Church; and administered all matters so, as that Our Saviour's Doctrine might every where find a glorious \* Reception: nevertheless, in the interim he neglected not the † Civil affairs. But even in this respect he never desisted from bestowing various favours, which were successive and continued, on all the Inhabitants of each Province: sometimes demonstrating in publick a paternal care towards all Persons; at other times, honouring in private each of His Favourites with different dignities; and bestowing all things upon all Persons with a true greatness of mind. Nor did it ever happen, that he mist of his design, who beg'd a Favour of the Emperour: neither was there ever any Person who hop'd to obtain a Boon from him, that went away frustrated of his expectation. But some got Money; others Estates: some were grac'd with the † dignity of the *Prætorian Præfecture*; others with the *Senatorial*.

\* *Υπαρχων*, with Consular dignities. Doubtless it ought to be written *ἐπαρχικῶν* *ὀξυαρχικῶν*, with *Prætorian* dignities, or, with the dignity of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, from the Copies of *Christophorus* and *Sir Henry Savile*: or at least, *ὕπαρχων*; as the reading is in the *Latin*

tian and *Turnebian* Copies. *Ἐπαρχοι* or *ὑπαρχοι* are the *Præfecti Prætorio*. They are termed *ὑπαρχοι*, because they excel the other Governors and Judges. And they are stiled *ὑπαρχοι*, in regard being placed under the immediate power of the Prince, they are above all others. It matters not much therefore, whether you term them *ἐπαρχος* or *ὑπαρχος*. But the ordinary reading, *ὕπαρχων*, consular, can no wise be born with. For, whereas he speaks afterwards concerning the Consular and Senatorial dignity, it would have been superfluous to make mention of the Consulate here. Nor can it be said, that below are meant the *Consulares* who governed Provinces. For first, it ought then to be mended there *τῶν ὑπαρχικῶν*, which term occurs a little before. Secondly, under the term *ἡγεμόνες*, the *Consulares* are also comprehended: so that, there can be no necessity of mentioning the *Consulares* by themselves. Lastly, in regard all the dignities are here reckoned up, 'tis not at all likely, that the *Præfecti prætorio* were omitted, whose number *Constantine* increased, as *Zosimus* attests. Now, at that time the *Præfecti Prætorio* had only the title of *Clarissimi*, as *Constantine's* Letter informs us, which *Eusebius* has recorded above; See book 3. chap. 31. and what we have noted there. Also, under the Emperour *Constantinus*, the *Præfecti Prætorio* were only termed *Clarissimi*, as the *Protestation of the People of Alexandria* informs us, which *Athanasius* has recorded at the close of his *Epistle ad Solitarios*. Valef.

torian: some were created *Consuls*; many were designed *Presidents*. Some were made *Comites* of the first rank; others, of the second; others, of the third. Innumerable other Persons had the \* *Perfectissimus* bestowed on them, as likewise very many other such like dignities. For, to the end he might honour the more, the Emperour devised various dignities.

scriptions, and in *The Code*. Some of these were within the Palace; others in the *Consistory*, who were afterwards termed *Comites Consistorii*; others were *Comites Domestici*. In *Gruter's* *Inscriptions*, pag.



pag. 406, this old Inscription occurs; F. L. EUGENIO V. C. EXPRÆFECTO PRÆT. CONSULI ORDINARIO DESIGNATO. MAGISTRO OFFICIORUM OMNIUM. COMITI DOMESTICO ORDINIS PRIMI, &c. Concerning the same *Comites Domestici*, there is another Old Inscription extant in the House of the Barberini, worth the setting down here. M. NUMMIO. ALBINO. V. C. QUÆSTORI CANDIDATO, PRÆTORI. URB. COMITI DOMESTICO. ORDINIS. PRIMI. ET CONSULI. ORDINARIO. ITERUM NUMMIUS. SECUNDUS. EJUS. This Nummius Albinus was Consul the second time and Præfect of the City in the times of Gallienus, as 'tis manifest from the *Fasti*, and from the Old Book de Præfectis Urbi. Whence it may be concluded, that this dignity of the Comes of the first and second Order or Rank, was not first instituted by Constantine, as Cujacius thought in his Notes on Justinian's Code; but that it was in use long before Constantine's time. Valef.

CHAP. II.

\* Or, Tributes. A Remission of the fourth part of the \* Censur.

BUT, with what earnestness he endeavoured, that all mankind in general might lead joyful and pleasant Lives, may be perceived even from this one instance, which being highly advantageous to the Life of men, and extended to all persons in general, is even at this very present highly celebrated in the mouths of all. Having abated a fourth part of those annual Tributes which were paid for Land, he bestowed it upon the Owners of the Grounds: so that, if you compute the sum of this annual abatement, it will † appear, that every fourth year the \* Occupiers of the Fruits are free from the payment of Tribute. Which thing being † Or, Happen. a τὰς ἡμετέρας καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης, the Occupiers of the fruits. This expression can't be born with. † Tis my Sentiment that the words are transposed here; and that at this place we should read, τὰς τῶν ἀγρῶν δικαιοσύνας, the Occupiers of the Grounds: and above, τοῖς τῶν καρπῶν δεσπόταις, upon the Owners of the Fruits. Turnebus at the margin of his Copy, instead of δικαιοσύνας Occupiers, has made it κτήσορας, Possessours. Or at least it must (says he) be written, τῶν χωρῶν δικαιοσύνας, the Occupiers of the places or Farms. Valef.

CHAP. III.

\* Equal-ling, or, making even. The \* Peræquation of those Censur that were too heavy and burthensome.

BUT, whereas some persons found fault with those Surveys of Land, which had been made by the former Emperours, and complained that their own Grounds were too much oppressed; here also [the Emperour in obedience] to the Laws of justice, dispatch'd away <sup>a</sup> Εξισω. a Peræquatores, who might free the Complainers. These Bants from wrong. the La- times term Peræquatores; of whom there is mention in the fourteenth Book of the Theodosian Code, in the Title de Censitoribus, Peraquatoribus, & Inspectoribus. Most commonly Senators were by the Prince elected to that Office; it was the business of these Officers, to make equal the Censur in those Provinces which complained that they

were oppressed with the Burthen of the Tributes. In Gruter, pag. 361; this Old Inscription occurs: L. A. RADIO VAL. PRO- CULO V. C. PRÆTORI TUTELARI LEGATO PRO PRÆTORE PROV. NUMIDIÆ PERÆQUATORI CENSUS PROV. GALLICIÆ. There is also extant a ninth Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, εἰς ἐξισωτὴν ἰσλαβόν, to Julianus the Peraquator. Valef.

CHAP. IV.

That on those who were overthrown in Pecuniary Causes, he himself bestowed money out of his own [Income.]

MOREOVER, as often as the Emperour had pronounc'd Sentence between two who were at Suit; to the end the party that had lost his cause, might not go away sadder <sup>a</sup> than him in favour of whom Sentence had pass'd; out of his own [Revenues] he bestowed on those who had been cast in their Suits, sometimes Farms, and sometimes Money: by which means he managed the matter so, as that the party worsted did no less rejoyce than he who had carried the Cause; in regard [the person overthrown] had been vouchsafed to come into <sup>\* The Em- perour's.</sup> his presence. For he judg'd it altogether unfit, that any one who had stood before so great a Prince, should be dismiss'd sad and sorrowful. By this means therefore, both parties that were at Law returned from Sentence with countenances full of joy and chearfulness: and the Emperour's Greatness of mind was the admiration of all men. <sup>a</sup> Εἰς τὸν ἐνίκητον, &c. to the end the party that had, &c. In the Fukeian Copy the words τὸν ἐνίκητον, than him in favour of whom Sentence had pass'd, are wanting. But Turnebus and Sir Henry Savil place those words after the verb ἀπαλλακτοῖς, might not go away. The said Sir Henry Savil hath noted at the margin of his Copy, that perhaps it should be χαίρων, and that the comma after the word ἀπαλλακτοῖς should be blotted out. Which when I had read, I was extremely glad, that my conjecture was confirmed by the judgment of that most learned person. But, whereas Sir Henry Savil adds there, that Christopherson seems to have read thus, in this I can't assent to him. For Christopherson read χαίρων, and renders it Libenter, willingly. Further, Turnebus does here mend it τὸ λειψόν, which pleases me. Valef.

CHAP. V.

The conquest of the Scythæ, who were subdued by the Standard of Our Saviour's [Cross.]

WHAT need have I here of making mention by the by as 'twere, how he reduced the Barbarous Nations under the Empire of the Romans? In what manner he first brought under the Yoak, the Nations of the <sup>b</sup> Scythæ and Sarmatæ, who before had never learn'd to obey any one; and forc'd them even against their wills, to acknowledge the Romans their Lords? <sup>a</sup> Τὸ δὲ ὡς χαίρειν, I doubt not but it should be written thus, τὸ δὲ μετὰ χαίρειν. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the Kings Sheets the reading is, τὸ δὲ μετὰ χαίρειν. Sir Henry Savil at the margin of his Copy mends it, τὸ δὲ μετὰ πάρεργα λόγῳ ποιῆσαι. In the Fukeian and Turnebian Copies, the reading of this place is this, τὸ δὲ μετὰ χαίρειν λόγῳ τὸ πάρεργα ποιῆσαι. Valef. <sup>b</sup> Instead of the Scythæ, Socrates (book 1. chap. 18.) and Sozomen (book 1. chap. 8.) terms them The Goths. Indeed Greek Writers do usually term them Scythæ, whom the Latins call Goths. So Libanius, Themistius, Eunapius, and many others. Further, the Goths were vanquish'd by the Roman Army in the Country of the Sarmatæ; on the twelfth of the Calends of May, in the Consulate of Pacatianus and Hilarianus, (as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti,) that is on the year of Christ 332. Valef.



<sup>c</sup> Socrates says the same at the place before cited. Indeed For-danes (in his book de Rebus Germanicis, speaking concerning the Emperour Philippus,) says the Romans paid an annual tribute to the Goths. And

For the preceding Emperours had paid <sup>c</sup> Tribute to the *Scythæ*: and the *Romans* were Servants to the *Barbarians*, allowing them a sum of money yearly. <sup>d</sup> But this indignity was insupportable to the Emperour: nor did he judge it a thing befitting a Victorious Prince, to pay what had been paid by the former Emperours. Putting his confidence therefore in his Saviour, he raised the Victorious Trophee against them also, and in a small time subdued them. Such of them as were contumacious and made a resistance, he vanquished by his Arms; but the rest he appeased by prudent Embassies, and from a Lawless and Salvage life, reduced them to a way of living that was agreeable to reason and Law. Thus the *Scythæ* at length learn'd to obey the *Romans*.

*Petrus Patricius* (in his *Excerpta Legationum*) attests the same concerning *Tullus Menophilus*, where he writes concerning the *Carpi*. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Οὐκ ἔν δ' ἄρ'. I read ἐκ ἑν δ' ἄρ' ἔρθ', &c. from the *Fukessan* and *Turnebian* Copies, and from the *Kings* Sheets. Valef.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Subduing of the Sarmatæ, occasioned by the Rebellion of the Servants against their Masters.*

\* Or, Drove under.

† Or, Took up.

<sup>a</sup> Τῆς δι-κίας From the *Fukessan* Copy it must be made δι-κίας. Further, this Conspiracy of the *Sarmatæ* against their Masters hapned on the year of Christ 334. In those Fasti

which *Ja-*

*cobus Sirmundus* terms *Idatius's*, these words occur; *Optato & Paulino* His *Coff. Sarmatæ servi universa Gens Dominos suos in Romanam expulerunt.* *Jerome* agrees also in the *Chronicon*, who terms those Slaves of the *Sarmatæ*, *Limigantes*. And so does *Amm. Marcellinus*. See the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*. Valef. For a further account of these *Limigantes*, The Reader may consult *Dr. Howell's History*, second part, pag. 11, and 127, 128.

|| Or, All sorts of.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Embassies of several Barbarous Nations and the Gifts [bestowed on them] by the Emperour.*

FOR, from all places Embassies arrived continually [at his Court,] and brought him such presents as were of greatest value amongst

themselves. In so much that, even We our selves hapned one time to see <sup>a</sup> various shapes of *Barbarians*, standing in order before the <sup>a</sup> Court-Gate of the Imperial Palace. Whose garb and manner of dress was different and changeable; and the hair both of their head and beard much unlike. Their aspect grim, barbarous, and terrible; and their Bodily Stature of an immense greatness. Some of them had ruddy countenances; the faces of others were whiter than snow. In other some of them there was a middle temperature of colour. For the *Blemmyæ*, *Indi*, and *Æthiopes* (who [as <sup>b</sup> *Homer* says,] are divided two ways, and live in the out-skirts of the earth;) were to be seen amongst those forementioned *Barbarians*. Each of these persons (<sup>c</sup> in such manner as we see it commonly painted in Tables) brought severally to the Emperour such presents as were of greatest value amongst themselves. Some [presented him with] Crowns of Gold; others, with Diadems beset with precious Stones; others, with yellow-hair'd boyes; others, with Barbarick Garments <sup>d</sup> interwoven with Gold and Flowers; others, with Horses; others, with Bucklers, long Spears, Arrows, and Bows. By which presents they demonstrated, that they made an offer of their Service and confederacy of Arms to the Emperour, if he pleased. The Emperour received and <sup>e</sup> kept the presents brought by each of them, and remunerated <sup>\* Or, Laid in order.</sup> them with so many and such great Favours, that in an instant of time the persons who had brought these presents were extraordinarily enrich'd. Moreover, he <sup>e</sup> grac'd the eminent persons amongst them with *Roman* dignities: in so much that, very many of them forgot to return into their own Country, and <sup>†</sup> chose to make their Residence here amongst us.

† Or, Fell in love with.

*περιοιμῶναι. τελείαις ὃ ἦν γυνάξει τῷ αὐλίῳ.* Without doubt *Philo* alludes to these Verses of *Menander*, which *Stobæus* records, chap. 163.

Τὴς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄρας ὑπερβαίνεις γυναῖ  
Διὰ τὴν αὐλὴν. πέρας γὰρ αὐλείῳ θύρα·  
Ἐλθέτω γυναῖκὶ νεύομαις<sup>†</sup> δικίας  
Τὸ δ' ἐπιδιώκειν, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τρέχειν  
Ἐπὶ λοιδορμένῃ, κινδὺς ἔσ' ἔργον ῥοδῆ.

These very verses of *Menander*, *Harpocration* does tacitly mean, in the word αὐλείῳ. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Homer's* words (*Odyss.* 1. near the beginning) are these;

Ἀιθιοπᾶς τοὶ διχρᾶ δαδαίεσσιν, ἔρασι ἀνδρῶν,  
Οἱ μὲν δυσμένεσσι<sup>†</sup> ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντων<sup>†</sup>:

Which *Mr. Hobbs* has thus Englished;

The Blackmoors are the utmost of mankind,  
As far as East and West asunder stand,  
So far the Blackmoors Borders are disjoyn'd.

<sup>c</sup> Ὡστερ ἐν πίνακι γραφῇ. These words seem to be superfluous; unless *Eusebius* had a mind to express the matter it self more clearly in this manner, in favour to those who had not been present and seen it. For the pictures of the Emperours were usually so drawn, as that they might represent the Embassadors of the *Barbarians* making them presents, or the Provinces paying them Gold, as may be seen in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> He means the Barbarick manner of weaving; of which sort is that in *Virgil*, in the first Book of his *Æneid*.

*Et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho.* Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Amm. Marcellinus* says the same in his 21 Book, pag. 190, and 195 of our Edition. Valef.



*That he wrote to the Persian Emperour (who had sent an Embassie to him,) in favour of the Christians there.*

other Translatours render these words so, as if they were all spoken concerning *Constantine*, supposing the import of them to be this, *that Constantine entred into a League with the Persian King*. But *Valesius* (whom we have followed,) takes the former part of this clause as meant concerning the *Persian King*; and therefore has plac'd a semicolon after his rendition of these words, *ἔπεσθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Περσῆς*.

*Constantinus Augustus's* Letter to Sapor King  
of the *Persians*, wherein he makes a most  
pious Confession of God and Christ.

A Copy [of the Letter] to the King of the  
*Persians.*

BY keeping the Divine Faith, I am a partaker of the Light of Truth: being leada by the guidance of the light of Truth, I \* arrive at the knowledge of the Divine Faith. By this means therefore, as 'tis confirmed by the things themselves, I acknowledge the most Holy Religion: this very worship I declare to be the Tea-

† *Ἀξιολύτῃ*; so the reading is in *Theodoret, book 1. chap. 25.* where a more perfect Copy of this Letter occurs, and therefore we have taken our Version of it from thence.

<sup>a</sup> to a firm hope of safety. In so much that, all

<sup>a</sup> BeGaious the Provinces (which being enslaved under so  
σωθεious many Tyrants, and involved in daily Cala-  
ελισσι.

It must doubly left be σωτηρίας, of safety: although in *Theodore*, book 1. chap. 25. *Edic. Scappon.* the word σωτηρίας is wanting. But *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* acknowledges that word, as his *Version* informs us in the 3d book of the *Tripartite History*. Vol. 6.

mities, <sup>b</sup> were in a manner totally ruined; ) <sup>b</sup> *FEIGN-*  
<sup>c</sup> having at length gotten a \* Restorer <sup>\*</sup> Or, *AN EYE-*  
 of the Republick, are raised to life <sup>\*</sup> Or, *VER.* *TIS*  
 again by some sovereign medicine as *Avenger.* *evident*  
 'twere. This God I assert: whose Standard my *that this*  
 Forces which are dedicated to God, do carry on *imperfect.*  
 their Shoulders, and are directed to what place *In Mo-*  
 soever the Rule of Equity invites them; and on *us's Copy*  
 these very accounts I immediately obtain most *I found it*  
 Glorious Victories as my Reward. This God I *supplied in*  
 profess my Self to honour with an immortal me- *the same*  
 mory. Him I contemplate with a pure and sin- *manner as*  
 cere mind, whose Seat is in the highest [*'tis in the*  
*Heavens.*] *Geneva*  
*Edition;*  
*namely*

thus, ταύ-  
τη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον δ' ἐμὲ βελήσων δέξαδ'.

But whoever mended this place thus, was certainly an ill and unskilful conjecturer. With how much more of ease and safety might this imperfection have been supplied from *Theodore*, in which Writer this Letter of *Constantine* to *Sapor* occurs much perfecter, and more correct. Nevertheless, the *Eukerian*, and Sir *Henry Savil's* Copy make up this defect in the same manner with the *Geneva-Edition*. Nor ought it to trouble us, because this expression is barbarous. For this Letter of *Constantine* had at first been written in *Latine* by him: then it was done into *Greek* by some unskilful Translatour. The same thing hath hapned to *Constantine's* other Letters and Orations. Vale.

<sup>c</sup> All these words, from, *Having at length, to This God I profess,* are wanting in *this Copy of Constantine's Letter to Sapor.* They occur in *Theodoret*; from the Greek Text of which Author we have inserted them into our *English Version.*

*That [He speaks] against Idols, and concerning the Glorification of God.*

**H**IM I invoke upon my bended knees; and I have an aversion for all manner of abominable Bloud, and unpleasant and detestable Odours; and lastly I do avoid all sorts of <sup>a</sup> terrene Fire: <sup>a</sup> Γέννησις of all which the impious and execrable Error <sup>λατρίαν</sup> [of superstition] has made use, and has <sup>b</sup> thrust <sup>καὶ Χριστιανισμὸς</sup> stopher down many of the Heathens, yea almost whole Na- renders it

rum flammam, the flame of sacrifices; Camerarius, incantationum igniculos, the fires of incantations; which is a truer Version. For, certain kinds of fires [were made use of] in the Mysteries of the Pagans, and a sort of light shined after darkness. Which thing the Priests of Demons performed by magick Art, and I know not what impostures, to the end they might gain an Authority and Reverence to their sacred Rites. Apuleius's words in his 11th Book are these; Accessum confinium Mortis; Et calcato, &c; I approach'd the confines of death; and having trod the path of Proserpine, I went back, convey'd through all the Elements. At midnight I saw the Sun glistening with bright Light, &c. Concerning this Rite there is an elegant passage of Themistius, in Stobæus, chap. 274; which deserves to be set down here: τὸ ὃ παθεῖν πᾶσι οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις καθορμαζόμενοι. Διὸ καὶ ῥήματα τῶ ῥήματι καὶ ἔργον τῶ ἔργῳ τῶ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελευτῶν περὶ σέβας πρὸς Πλάταια τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περὶ εὐμαί, καὶ κοπιᾶσαι καὶ διὰ σῴτας πῶς ὑποποιοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ὁτέλεσσι εἴτα πρὸ τῶ τέλους ὧν τε δεινὰ πάντα φείκη καὶ τῶμα καὶ ἰδρὼς καὶ δάμνηται ἐν ὃ τέτα φῶς π θωμάσιον ἀπᾶνισεν, ἢ τόποι καὶ δαρεσι καὶ λειψῶτες ἐδέξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ χρῆσαι καὶ σεμνότητις ἀκυσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ὁρίων ἔχοντες ἐν αἷς ὁ παῖς τοῦ ἡδὴ καὶ μεμνημένον ἐλάττωται γενοῦς, καὶ ἀρετῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐσερανομένη ὁρμαζέται, &c. This passage of Themistius is taken out of his Book concerning the Immortality of the Soul; wherein Themistius asserted that the soul was immortal, as well by several other arguments, as by this, that Græcians do term death τελευτῶν, as if it were τελετῶν, that is, a Mystery. And, as these two terms are exceeding like one to the other, so the things themselves, signified by these terms, have a wonderful similitude. For, in the Mysteries there are first unconstant and restless wandrings, and troublesome circuits, and fearful passages thorow dark places, and most tedious journeys accompanied with weariness. Then, before an arrival at the end, all things are terrible; Horrour, trembling, sweat, and amazement. But at last, a certain admirable Light occurs, and pleasant places and Meadows, where inlaced voices are heard, and holy apparitions seen, &c. To the same Rite belong these words of Origen, in his 4th Book against Celsus; Ἐξομοεῖ ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς βυβλικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ περὶ σέβας. Valef.

ἢ Ὅλα ἡνὶ κατ᾽ ἥρως. In the Eusebian Copy I found it written, κατ᾽ ἥρως, which pleases me better. In the same Copy the reading πολλὰ ὅς ἐθῶν, many of the Nations. Valef.

10115.



\* Or.  
Parts.

† Or.  
Drawn.

\* Or.  
Wherein.

† Or. And  
in this  
manner.

tions, to the lowest \* Hell. For, the supream God can in no wise endure, that those things which by His providence over men, and out of his own benignity [towards them] he has produced for common use, should be † perverted to any one's Lust. But, He requires of men a pure mind only, and an immaculate soul; \* wherewith, as in a Balance, he weighs the Actions of Vertue and Piety. For he is pleased with the works of Modesty and Lenity, loves the Meek, hates the Turbulent; loves Faith, punishes Infidelity: destroys all power joyned with arrogancy, punishes the contempt of the proud. He utterly ruins those who are puffed up with insolency, but distributes agreeable Rewards amongst them that are humble and patient of injuries. † Hence 'tis, that he puts an high Value upon that Empire which is just; confirms it by his own assistances, and always keeps Imperial Prudence in a Calm of Peace.

### CHAP. XI.

Against Tyrants and Persecutors; and concerning Valerian who was taken Prisoner.

† Or, Far  
and wide.  
The reading  
of this place  
is far other-  
wise in  
Theodoret,  
namely in  
this man-  
ner; ἐπε-  
αυξήσας τὴν  
τῶν θύρα.

NOR do I seem to my self to be mistaken (My Brother!) by my professing this one God to be the Author and Parent of all things. Whom many of those who have been possessors of the Empire here, induced thereto by mad Errours, have attempted to deny. But, all these [Emperours] have been destroyed by such a dreadful and avenging end, that since their times, all Mankind doth usually wish their Calamities may fall as a Curse and punishment on those, who shall study to imitate them. One of which persons I judge him to have been, (Him [I mean] whom divine vengeance, like some thunder, drove out of our Regions, and conveyed into your Country; ) † who by his own disgrace and ignominy erected that Trophie so \* much boasted of amongst you.

\* Or, Famous.

Ἰνὸς ἀποστολῆς διόχου. Incomparably well, in my judgment. Nor had Constantine written otherwise. All the preceeding Emperours, says he, who persecuted the Faith of Christ, have been crush'd by such a lamentable end, that now all mankind are wont to imprecate or wish for the Calamities of those Princes as the sum total of punishment on them, who shall study to imitate them. What can be plainer and more elegant than this meaning of the words? Παράδειγμα therefore does in this place signifie punishment, in which sense that term is frequently used amongst Græcians, as Azellius has remarked. Further ἐπαυξήσας τὴν τῶν θύρα is an elegant phrase to signifie that which the Latines term imprecari, to wish for as a Curse. So ἐξουθενήσας is an usual expression with Græcians, as I have noted above. Epiphanius Scholasticus translates this passage thus; Sed illos omnes finis comprehendit exitiosus, id est ut omne genus hominum post eos exurgens, clades illorum pro malefactorum exemplo proponere videatur: But so destructive an end has befallen them all, that all mankind who have lived since them, seem to propose their Ruine as the pattern of a Curse. Valef.

† Or, Far and wide. In the History of Theodoret the reading is true, thus, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν πολυθρόνων τὸ παρ' ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς σπαράσσεται, who by his own, &c. He means Valerian, who having been taken prisoner by the Persians, ended his days amongst them in a dishonourable slavery, and by his own private disgrace ennobled the Triumph of the Persians. That is, by his own ignominy he made the Victory of the Persians over the Romans most signal and famous. This is the meaning of this place, which was not hit, either by Epiphanius, or any of the other Translators. In the Eusebian and Theodosian Copies it is σπαράσσεται, which is no ill reading. Valef.

### CHAP. XII.

That He saw the Fall of the Persecutors, and does now rejoice because of the Peace of the Christians.

INDEED, this thing has succeeded well, namely, that in Our age also the punishment of such persons have most evidently been demonstrated. For even I my self have been a spectator [of their disastrous End,] who lately disquieted the people dedicated to God, by their most impious Edicts. Therefore, I give God great thanks, because by his signal Providence, all mankind who are observant of the divine Law, having Peace and Repose restored to them, are exceeding joyful and glad. From whence I do persuade my self, that all affairs are in an excellent and most safe posture, in regard God vouchsafes to gather all persons to himself, by their pure and approved Religion, and by their unanimous Sentiment in reference to the Deity.

### CHAP. XIII.

An Exhortation, that he should love the Christians, who live in his \* Country. \* That is, in Persia.

HOW great a pleasure and delight was it to Me (think you) when I heard, (what is my most earnest desire,) that even the richest and best places of Persia were † plentifully adorned with a † multitude of these men, I mean Christians? For my whole discourse at present is concerning them. I wish therefore, both that your affairs may continue in a most flourishing posture, and in like manner that their affairs may be so too; that is, the affairs of both of you equally. For by this means you will have God the supream Lord and Father, merciful and propitious towards you. These persons therefore, because you are so great [a Prince,] I commit to Your Care: these very persons, in regard You are eminent for piety, I deliver into your hands. Love these men in a manner befitting Your own benignity and good nature. For, by this Your Faith, You will do an immense kindness both to Your Self and Us.

† Or, Far and wide. In Theodoret and Nicephorus the reading is ὅτι οὐ καὶ καὶ οὐ καὶ. In Syrmundus's Edition 'tis ὅτι οὐ καὶ, &c. Which words Epiphanius Scholasticus renders into Latine thus; Tu ergo optime gubernaveris, si fueris sicut illi, & habueris commune quod illi. Joachimus Camerarius who rendered Theodoret's History into Latine, translates it in this manner: Optime igitur tecum, similiterque cum illis optime agitur, quia communiter cum utrisque. And Langus's Version is in a manner the same. But this meaning does not satisfy me. Formerly I thought it was to be written thus, ὅτι οὐ καὶ καὶ οὐ καὶ, that as you to them, so they to you. Which reading I had followed in my Version. But having now examined the matter more attentively, I am of opinion that the reading of Theodoret and Nicephorus is to be retained, and thus I render this whole place. Opto igitur, ut & tua res quam florentissime, & illorum perinde sint florentissime; hoc est utriusque vestrum ex aequo: I wish therefore, &c. Thus the sense is most plain, and the following words will agree. Only it must be made ὁπάρχοι in the optative mood. 'Tis certain Musculus read ὁπάρχοι: For thus he renders it: Cedat igitur id tibi optime & illis similiter: & tibi inquam & illis. In the Eusebian Copy, the reading is ὅτι οὐ καὶ, without that word καὶ οὐ καὶ. Valef. Valefius (in his notes on Theodoret's History, book 1. chap. 25.) tells us, that in Leo Allatius's Copy the reading of this place is, ὅτι οὐ καὶ καὶ οὐ καὶ, For even they are yours: which he concludes to be the truest reading of all.



## CHAP. XVI.

*That He issued forth a Law, forbidding his  
own \* Statues to be placed in Idol-Temples.*

**I**N this manner therefore he represented himself praying, even in his Pictures drawn in Colours. But by <sup>a</sup> Law he forbade, that his own Statues should be dedicated in Idol-Temples: least they should be <sup>b</sup> polluted, even as far as the <sup>†</sup> outward Form only, with the error of prohibited Superstition.

words; *ἔπειτα μὲν τὰ μνημεῖα, εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπαίδετο;* And first, he abolished the Combates of the Gladiators; then, he placed his own Statues in the Temples: But any one might with good reason conjecture, that this place of *Socrates* is corrupted. For, *Socrates* does there reckon up all things, which were invented by *Constantine* in order to the abolition of the Superstition of the Heathens: Amongst which he says, that *Constantine* placed his own Pictures and Statues in the Temples of the Gods. But by doing of that, the superstition of the Heathens was not extinguished, but rather increased, or changed. For the Heathens would adore the Emperor in place of a God. Wherefore that passage of *Socrates* must be mended from *Eusebius*, in this manner; *εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπαίτητο ἀνατίθεαι* But he forbade, that his own Statues should be dedicated in the Temples. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Μολύνατο η γερσφ. The two last words must in my judgment be expunged; in regard they disturb the sense. For if you blot out them, the sense is plain. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XVII.

*His praying in the Palace, and his reading of the Divine Scriptures.*

**B**UT whosoever has a mind to give attention, will perceive far nobler [instances of his piety] than these; how he constituted <sup>a</sup> a Church <sup>a</sup> Ἐκκλησί-  
of God as 'twere, within the Imperial Palace; <sup>σίας Θεῆ</sup>  
and with diligence and chearfulness lead the <sup>τετρόπον.</sup>  
way himself, to those who assembled within that <sup>Σοφισμὸν</sup>  
Church. Moreover, he took the Bible into his <sup>(book 1.</sup>  
hands, and with an attentive mind meditated up- <sup>chap. 8. )</sup>  
on those divinely-inspired Oracles. After which <sup>has these</sup>  
he recited the \* usual prayers, to- <sup>words : καὶ</sup>  
gether with <sup>b</sup> the whole assembly of <sup>ἐν τοῖς βασι-</sup>  
his Courtiers. <sup>σλευίοις</sup>  
<sup>ἐκπλήθειον</sup>  
<sup>οἶκον κα-</sup>

and he erected an Oratory within the Imperial Palace. 'Tis plain that Sozomen (as he usually does,) borrowed this out of our Eusebius. But Eusebius does not say, that Constantine built a Church in the Palace. He says only this, that he constituted a kind of a Church in the Palace. See Eusebius's *Panegyrick on Constantine's Tricennalia*, chap. 9. where he does plainly confirm our Opinion. *Valf.*

<sup>b</sup> Τοῖς τὸν βασιλεῖον οἶκον πληρῶσαν, with *those that filled the Imperial Palace*, or, *the Church*. Βασίλειον οἶκον is an ambiguous expression, which signifies a *Church*, and a *Palace*. And *Eusebius* seems designedly to have play'd with the ambiguity of this phrase, because *Constantine's Palace* was like a *Church*. And those whom at this place he calls τὰς τὴν βασιλεῖον οἶκον πληρῶντας, he has termed above in this chapter, τὰς ἐνθον ἐκκλησιαζομένους. *Vales.*

*That by a Law He commanded Sunday and Friday to be honoured.*

**B**UT He ordained, that a day should be esteemed of, as convenient and fit for prayers; that day namely, which really is the Chief and First of the other days, and which is truly the Lord's, and the Salutary day. Moverover, he appointed



pointed Deacons and Ministers consecrated to God, who were grac'd with integrity of Life and all other Vertues, to be the <sup>a</sup> Keepers of his whole House. Lastly, the *Protectors* and trusty *Guards*, furnished with the arms of good Affection and Faith, <sup>b</sup> acknowledged the Emperour himself as their Instructor in the Practice of Piety; and they themselves in the same manner honoured the Salutary and the Lord's day, whereon they poured forth [to God] prayers that were grateful to the Emperour. And this Blessed [Emperour] incited all other Men to practise the same Thing; in regard this was his chiefest desire, that by degrees he might make all Persons worshippers of God. And for this reason, he issued out a Precept to all those who lived under the *Roman Empire*, that they should keep Holy-day on those days which had their denomination from our Saviour; as likewise, that they should honour <sup>c</sup> the day before the Sabbath: in Memory (as I think) of those things said to have been performed on those days by the common Saviour. Further, where- as he instructed his whole Army diligently to honour the Salutary day, which happens to derive its name from the light and from the Sun; to those who had embraced the Divinely-inspiring Faith, he allowed time and leisure for a free exercise of themselves according to the usage and order of God's Church, to the end they might without any impediment be present at the performance of the Prayers.

Care and Custody of his whole Palace to the Ministers and Servants of God, and to the Prelates: so that, the Prelates were certain *Controulers* as 'twere of his House, or such Officers as the *Romans* termed *Cura Palatii*. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Διδοσκαλον εὐσεβῶν ἐδιδασκοντο. It must I think, be written ἐπαγγελοντο, acknowledged: and so 'tis in the *Panegyrick* at the place now cited. The *Printed-reading* is not to be born with. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ τὰς τῆς σαββάτου πρῶτον. Doubtless it must be written, τῷ πρὶν τῆς σαββάτου, the day before the Sabbath. And thus, as 'tis evident, he read, who composed the Contents of these Chapters. Moreover, *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 8) confirms this very thing in these words; τῷ δὲ κυριακῇ καλεμένῃ ἡμέρῃ, &c. But, he made a Law that on that day called Sunday, (which day the Jews term the first of the Sabbath, but the Gentiles give it the name of Sunday;) and on that day before the Sabbath, all persons should cease from doing business in the Courts of Judicature, and abstain from all other employments, and should worship God with Prayers and Supplications. In these words of *Sozomen*, something of difficulty occurs, as to what respects Friday. For I can scarce persuade my self, that *Constantine* should have commanded, that on that day People should abstain from doing business in the Courts of Judicature. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* affirms no such thing concerning Friday, but concerning Sunday only. There is a Law of *Constantine's* extant in the *Theodosian Code*, Tit. de Feriis, in which Law Sunday only is excepted. Therefore *Sozomen* added this of his own. Who seeing this observed in his own Times at *Constantinople* (for he was an Advocate in that City, together with one *Aquilinus*, as he himself relates in his second Book chap. 3.) believed *Constantine* to have been the Author of this thing. Valef.

## CHAP. XIX.

<sup>a</sup> Or, Heathen. How He ordered the \* Ethnick-Soldiers to pray on Sundays.

**B**UT to them who as yet had not embraced the Doctrine of the divine Faith, He issued out a Precept in a Second Law, that <sup>a</sup> on Sundays they should go out into a <sup>b</sup> pure field in

<sup>a</sup> Τὰς κυριακὰς ἡμέρας. It must be written τῆς κυριακῆς, &c. or at least κατὰ τὰς κυριακὰς, &c. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> He terms that a pure field, wherein there were no Altars, no Sepulchres. Valef.

the Suburbs; where, after a Signal given, they should all together pour forth a Prayer to God, which they had <sup>\*</sup> learnt before. For, <sup>c</sup> that they ought not to place their confidence in their Spears, nor in their Armour, nor in their strength of Body: but were to acknowledge the supream God, the giver of every good thing, and of Victory it self; and, that to him the solemn prayers were to be performed; lifting up their hands on high towards Heaven; but raising the eyes of their mind higher, as far as the celestial King himself: and that in their Prayers they ought to call upon Him as the giver of Victory, the Saviour, the Preserver, and the Assistant. Further, he himself gave all His Soldiers a form of Prayer, ordering all of them to recite these words in the Latine Tongue.

written χεῖρας, that they ought not to place, &c. which the translator perceived not. Valef.

## CHAP. XX.

The form of Prayer which *Constantine* gave to His Soldiers.

**T**HEE we acknowledge [to be] the only God: Thee we declare [to be] King: Thee we invoke as Our Assistant. 'Tis thy Gift, that we have gotten Victories: By Thee we have vanquished Our Enemies: To Thee we pay our thanks for past <sup>\*</sup> Blessings: and from Thee expect [more] <sup>\*</sup> Goods in future. We are all Thy humble Suppliants: Keep Our Emperor *Constantine* (together with His most pious Children,) in safety amongst us, and continue Him a Victor during the longest space of time, we humbly beseech Thee. These things He ordered his Military Companies to do on Sundays, and taught them to utter these expressions in their prayers to God.

## CHAP. XXI.

[He orders] the Representation of our Saviour's Cross [to be drawn] upon the Arms of his Soldiers.

**M**OREOVER, he caused the Symbol of the Salutary Trophie to be exprest <sup>a</sup> upon the very Arms [of His Soldiers:] and [commanded,] that before his <sup>b</sup> Armed Forces, none <sup>a</sup> *Sozomen* says the same, book 1. chap. 8. τὰς δὲ στρατιώτας προσεδίξων ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἢ δεῖν εἶλεν, &c. Further, that he might accustom His Soldiers to worship God in the same manner with himself, he mark'd their Arms with the Symbol of the Cross. Which words of *Sozomen*, as any one may see, are taken out of *Eusebius*. Further, by the term ὅπλων Arms, I understand the Bucklers or Shields, whereon *Constantine* ordered the Salutary sign of the Cross to be painted. In the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*, such kind of Shields as these are to be seen, whereon the sign of the Cross is divers ways exprest. Moreover, *Prudentius* (in his Book against *Symmachus*) attests the same in these verses:

Christus purpureum Stellam i pictus in auro  
Signabat Labarum: Chpeorum insignia Christus  
Pinxerat. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐνώπλις σωεῖς, before the Armed Cross. I read ἐνώπλις σωεῖς, before his Armed Forces; as the Translator seems to have read. The occasion of the mistake seems to have been given by the contracted Form of writing. For whereas the *Librarian* [Book writer] had written σπῆ, some unskillful Transcriber thought that the meaning of that abbreviation was σωεῖς, Cross. Valef.



of the Golden Images should be carried in Pomp, (as the usage had hertofore been;) but the Salutary Trophie only.

*Χρυσῶν μὲν ἁγίων. Be. fore these words in the Greek, the Fuk. and Turneb. Copies add two words in this manner, τὰ τοῦ χρυσῶν, &c. And in the following line, after the word τὸ μὲν, the same Copies and Sr. Hen. Savil's insert the verb ἡγείσθαι. But the common reading, which we have followed, is far better. Valef.*

## CHAP. XXII.

*Ὁπρὸς δὲ εὐσεβίου. I have, as I think, very happily mended the Title of this chapter, in this manner, σπουδῇ εὐσεβίῳ, his fervency and earnestness in praying. For in this chapter Eusebius treats concerning that fervency in praying wherewith Constantine was inflamed. The cause of the mistake arose from the usage of the Antiquarii [persons that wrote Books fair;] who in their writing out the Titles of chapters, were wont to omit the first letter, that afterwards at their leisure they might paint it with Vermilion. In the Kings Sheets the first letter of the Title is always left out. But in the Fuk. Copy 'tis sometimes added, sometimes omitted. For instance the Title of this chapter, both in the Fuketian Copy and in the Kings Sheets, is thus worded, πρὸς δὲ εὐσεβίῳ, the first letter being omitted; which the Fuketian Manuscript, in the body of the Book, does make good in this manner, ὅπρὸς δὲ, &c. very ill, and without any sense, as it is apparent. Valef.*

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Torches likewise were kindled, which enlightened all places; in so much that this Mystick Vigil was rendred brighter than any the most glorious day. But as soon as the day light appeared; in imitation of our Saviour's Beneficence, He reach'd out a bountiful hand to all Nations, Provinces, and People, and bestowed on all Persons the richest sort of Gifts.

an exposition of the foregoing words, *καὶ πύλας, pillars of wax.* But Christopherson distinguishes *λαμπάδας* from *those pillars of wax*; whom we have also followed. Grecians do properly term those *λαμπάδας*, which the Latines call *Tede, Torches*; as Pollux informs us Book 10 Chap. 26. In which place of Pollux the reading must be *ἐν ξανταῖς*, not *ἐξανταῖς*, as 'tis commonly printed. Hence a Game amongst the Greeks was termed *λαμπάδουδρομία*, so called from these Torches. Grecians do likewise use *λάμπας* to signify a Lamp, in which sense it occurs in the 25th Chap. of St. Matthew; in the same manner that *φάρος* is taken both for a Torch, and also for a Lamp. Valef.

This passage of Eusebius is to be taken notice of in reference to the Easter-Alms, which Constantine was wont to bestow yearly, in memory of that Benefit which Christ on those days conferred upon mankind. The Ancient Christians where heretofore wont on the Feast-day of Easter to distribute money amongst the poor: which thing was carefully performed not only by Lay-persons, but by the Clergy also. Concerning which matter there is an eminent passage in Commodianus's Second Book of Institutions, Chap. 75.

*Congruit in Pascha, die felicissimo nostro,  
Lætentur & illi qui postulant sumpta diurna.  
E rogetur eis quod sufficit, Vinum & Esca.  
Respicite fontem quo memorentur ista pro vobis.  
Immodico sumptu deficitis Christo donare.  
Cum ipsi non facitis, quomodo suadere potestis  
Iustitiam Legis talibus? Vel semel in anno.  
Sic multos urget blasphemæ sepe de Vobis.*

Commodianus speaks to the Clergy, as 'tis apparent from the Title of the Poem, and from the first letters of every verse. And he advised them, that at least on Easter-day they should bestow an Alms upon the poor. He reproves them also, because, by reason of their living too high, they had nothing left which they might bestow on the poor. For that is the meaning of this verse;

*Immodico sumptu deficitis Christo donare.*

Concerning these very Paschal-Alms, Anastasius (in the Life of Pope Hadrian) speaks in these words. *Simulque & in Balneo juxta eandem Ecclesiam sito, &c. As likewise in the Bath also, which is situate near the same Church, where Our Brethren, the poor of Christ, who were wont to meet yearly to receive Alms in the Paschal Festivity and to bath; &c. Valef.*

## CHAP. XXIII.

How He prohibited the worship of Idols; but honoured the Feasts of the Martyrs.

In this manner therefore He Himself performed the Office of a Priest to his own God. But to all persons who lived under the Roman Empire, as well to the Commonalty as the Milice, the doors of Idolatry were shut, and every sort of sacrifice was prohibited. A Law also was transmitted to the Presidents of Provinces, that they likewise should pay a veneration to the Lord's-day. Which [Presidents] by the Emperor's Order did in like manner honour

Sacrifices of the Heathens were not expressly and by name forbidden by Constantine the Great, as Libanius in express words informs us in His Oration Pro Templis. Indeed Constantine by issuing forth a Law prohibited private and domestick Sacrifices, as it appears from the Theodosian Code de Maleficiis & Mathematicis, and from the first Law de Paganis. But he forbade not the publick and solemn Sacrifices, which had been instituted by their Ancestours. Eusebius repeats the same thing in cha. 25. Valef.

*τῷ νεύματι βασιλέως.* It must be made *ὅ τῷ νεύματι βασιλέως*; *ἀρχόντες* being to be understood; and we have rendred it accordingly. In Robert Stephens's Edition a point is ill set after the word *βασιλέως*; whereas it should be placed after the verb *κατατίθεναι*, as 'tis in the King's Copy, and in the Sheets agreeably; whereto we have pointed it. Valef.



the Feast-days of the Martyrs, and shewed a due Reverence to the Times of the Ecclesiastick Festivals. All which things were performed with the greatest joy and satisfaction imaginable to the Emperor.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*That He affirmed Himself to be as 'twere a Bishop of External Affairs.*

Wherefore, at an Entertainment which one time He gave the Bishops, he cast forth an expression which was not absurdly uttered, [affirming] that he himself also was a Bishop: the words he made use of in our hearing, were these. *You (says He) are Bishops in those matters transacted within the Church: But in them done without [the Church,] I am a Bishop, constituted by God.* Therefore, the thoughts of his mind were agreeable to his expressions; He governed all His Subjects with an Episcopal Care, and by what ever Methods he could take, incited them to be followers of true piety.

\* Or, A pious life.

#### CHAP. XXV.

*Concerning His prohibiting of Sacrifices, and Initiations; and concerning His abolishing the Gladiators, and the heretofore impure [Priests] of the Nile.*

\* Marcia The Tran- slator has ren- d'ed it ill- nec oraculi curiole scilicet- tur, nor should cu- riofly follow Oracles.

ON this account it was, that by frequent Laws and Constitutions He prohibited all persons, from Sacrificing to Idols; from a Curious consulting of Diviners and Soothsayers; from erecting Images; from performing secret Initiations; and from polluting the Cities with the \* Bloody Shows of Gladiators. And whereas they of Egypt and Alexandria had a custom<sup>b</sup> of worshiping their River, by the ministry of certain effeminate Men; another Law was transmitted

\* Or, Murders.

For the Demons had long before ceased from giving forth Oracles. Wherefore Constantine's Law was superfluous, wherein he had forbidden the searching after Oracles. I had rather therefore understand here the Diviners, Prophets, Astrologers, and Soothsayers: the consulting of whom was prohibited by Constantine, in the first and second Law, Cod. Theod. de Maleficiis & Mathematicis.

<sup>b</sup> Ἰδὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν δι' ἀνδρῶν ἐκτεθλαυμένων θεοποιεῖν. Amongst the Egyptians, Androgyni were the Priests of the Nile, as Gregory Nazianzen informs us in his second Invektive against Julian; as also in his Poem to Nemisius. The same Gregorius (in the Oration which he wrote in Sancta Lumina Epiphaniarum,) does elegantly assert, that by this fact the Egyptians reproach'd rather than honoured the Nile. Concerning the same Rite of the Egyptians, there is an eminent passage in Libanius's Oration Pro Temp'is, which, in regard it makes very much for our purpose, and was not understood by the Translator, deserves to be set down here: ἡ τῶν τῇ βῶμῃ μόνον ἐρούλ'ον τὸ θύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῷ σερῶντι, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ πλεῖστα καλῶμεν νεῶν, δι' ὧν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ τὴν τῆς αἰγυπτίου ποταμοῦ αὐτῇ δὲ ἔργον ὅς τε γένοιτο. τὸν νεῖλον δὲ ἐστὶν, ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρῆρας πείζοντα, ὧν ἡ ποικιλία ὅς τε γένοιτο, καὶ παρ' ὧν, ἐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐδεύσεν. ἃ μὲν δοκῶσιν εἰδότες οἱ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀνελόντες. καὶ ἀνελόντες ἀλλ' ἀρῶναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκτρέφει τῷ πλεονεξίᾳ τοῖς τοῖς. ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ εἰσθῆναι. Nor was a permission of Sacrificing reserved to Rome only, but to the City of Sarapis also, that great and populous City, which is possess of a multitude of Temples, by the assistance whereof it renders the plenty of Egypt common to all men: Now, this [plenty] is the product of the Nile. They entertain the Nile at a Banquet, and [those Sacred Rites] per-

swade it to rise and overflow the Fields; which [Rites] not being performed both at the stated and solemn time, and by those persons [appointed for that purpose,] the Nile would not [swell and overflow its Banks.] Which thing when they well understood, who would very willingly have abolished these [Rites] also; nevertheless, on second thoughts they would not abolish them; But suffered that River to be entertained at a banquet, according to the usage of the Ancients, because of the usual Reward it paid, [to wit, a plentiful Crop.] From this place of Libanius it plainly appears, that these Androgyni the Priests of the Nile were not abolished by Constantine: or if they were abolished by him, they were soon after restored. Valef.

to them, [wherein 'twas ordered] that that whole Tribe of \* Androgyni, in regard they were \* Persons all an † adulterate sort of People, should be utterly destroyed; and that it should not be lawful for those to be seen in any place whatever, who were distempered with the disease of this sort of uncleanness. Now, whereas the superstitious supposed, that the Nile would not in future any more overflow their Fields, as it had usually done before; God, in favour to the Emperor's Law, performed the quite contrary to what they expected. For those persons who by their obscenity had polluted the Cities, || were taken off || Or, Were indeed. But the River Nile, as if that whole Region had been cleansed and purged for it, ran higher than it had ever done before; and overflowing with a rich stream, laid all the fields under water: whereby it effectually taught the unwise, that they ought to have an Aversion for impure persons; but, that the original Cause of Blessings and Success was to be ascribed to the only [God, the] Giver of every thing that is Good.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

*The amendment of that Law made against the Childless, as also the \* alteration of that Law concerning Wills and Testaments.*

\* Or, Correction.

BUT, in as much as the things of this Nature performed by the Emperor in every Province, are almost infinite; whoever shall attempt to record them accurately, will be furnished with plenty of matter [for such a subject.] Of the same sort herewith is this likewise, that, to the end he might reduce [many] Laws to a greater Sanctity; instead of the old, he made new ones. And 'tis easie to manifest the manner hereof, \* by one or two instances. The old Laws punished the \* Childless with a deprivation of the inheritance of their Fathers. And this Law against the Childless was doubtless the Cruellest of Laws, in regard it inflicted a punishment on them, as if they had been guilty of some Crime. <sup>b</sup> But the Emperor abrogated this Statute, and turned it into an holy and religious Law. For he said, that those who committed faults designedly and on set purpose, ought to be chastised with condign punishment.

\* Or, In few words.

\* See Sozomen book.

1. chap. 9.

who, in regard he was a

Lawyer

belonging

to the By-

zantine

Forum,

does ex-

plain these

knots of the Roman Laws, more perspicuously than Eusebius. Consult Lippius also, in his Comment at the Third Book of Tacitus's Annals; where he discourses at large de Lego Papia. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Λύσας δὲ συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τὰς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν. I read, λύσας δὲ τὰς βασίλειους. But the Emperor, &c. and do expunge these four words συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τὰς πρεσβυτέρους. which crept out of the margin into the Text. Further, this Constitution of the Emperor Constantine, is extant in the 8th Book of the Theodosian Code, in the Title de Infirmandis Pœnis Cœlibatūs & Orbitatūs. In the Fœderum and Savilian Copies, instead of λύσας δὲ, the reading is τελευτῶν- τας δὲ, &c. And so likewise 'tis written in the Copies of Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Christopherson, as the Geneva Printers have told us. But I had rather read from Sozomen, καὶ συγχωρεῖν κληρονομεῖν εἰ μὴ τὰς ἐγγυπτιῶν πρεσβυτέρους. Valef.

But,



*\* Or, Hath demon- strated many per- sons to be Childless. † Or, Nature.* But, Nature her self hath \* denied Children to many Persons: who although they earnestly de- sired a numerous issue; nevertheless wanted Children, by reason of their infirmity of † bo- dy. Others lived without having any Chil- dren, not that they would not have had Children to succeed them; but because they would avoid Carnal Copulation with a Woman; which [sort of continency] they embraced, out of their most ardent Love to Philosophy. Be- sides, many Women consecrated to the service of God, were studious followers of Chastity and spotless Virginity, having dedicated them- selves, in reference as well to their minds as bodies, to a chaste and most holy Life. What then? Ought this to be accounted worthy of punishment, or rather of praise and admira- tion? For, the very inclination to this thing deserves an high commendation: but, to per- fect and bring it to effect, is a matter above the strength of humane Nature. 'Tis fit there- fore, that those who (though very desirous of Children, nevertheless) are deprived of them by the infirmity of Nature, should be pitied rather than punished. But he who is lead by the Love of a Sublimar Philosophy, is so far from deserving punishment, that he ought to be the wonder and admiration of all Men. In this manner the Emperour with the greatest equity mended that Law. Further, provision had been made by the Old Laws, that dying Persons, who were at the very last gasp as I may say, should make their Wills with a great deal of exactness, in some certain words: and there were Set Forms and Solemnities prescribed, and what expressions ought to be added. And hereupon many frauds were practised, in order to the disannulling the Will of the dead. Which when the Emperour perceived, he cor- rected this Law also; affirming, that a dying Person ought to have a liberty of making his Will as he pleased, whether in bare words, or in any ordinary expressions; and, that he might declare his Last Will in a any written Form; or if he had rather do it by word of mouth, he might; provided it were done in the presence of Credible Witnesses, who were able to preserve integrity with the Truth.

*οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀ- ντὶς τῆς ἀ- ναιρέσεως. This Law of Con- stantine, wherein he abolish'd the severi- ty of the Old Law, and the Forms of words in making Wills, is not (I think) now extant. But 'tis mentioned in the Third Law of the Theodosian Code de Testamentis. In the Fok. and Savil. Manuscripts, ὅς is wanting. Valef.*

*There is indeed a Law of Constantine's extant, (Cod. Justin. Book 6. Tit. 21. qui Testamenta facere possint, &c.) dated from Nicome- dia, concerning the Testaments of Soldiers in expedition, or in pre- sent service; by which they are discharged from the obligation of those solemnities which are by the Law made necessary in the Wills of other Persons; and their Wills are made good, if but written on the Scab- bard of their Swords, or on their Targets with their Blood, or with their Swords in the dust, at such time as they died in Battle.*

C H A P. XXVII.

*That he made a Law, that a Christian should not be Slave to a Jew, and that the Decrees of Synods should be firm and authentick, and so forth.*

*Moreover, he made a Law, that no Christian should serve Jews. For, it was [he said] a thing not to be permitted, that those who had been redeemed by our Saviour, should*

*be reduced under the yolk of Slavery to those who were the Murderers of the Prophets and of the Lord. But if any Person professing the Christian Religion should be found to be Slave to a Jew; [his order was,] that he should be set at Liberty; but, that the Jew should be punished with a pecuniary mulct. He also con- firmed those Decrees of Bishops which were pro- mulged in Synods, by his own authority: in so much that, 'twas not in the power of the Gover- nours of Provinces to rescind the Bishops deter- minations. For the Priests of God [he said] were \* to be preferred before any Judge what- ever. He issued forth to His Sub- jects a vast number of Laws of this nature: to comprize all which in a peculiar Volume, to the end an ac- curate inspection may be made into the Emperour's prudence even in this particular, would require a greater leisure. What neces- sity is there of our relating at present, in what manner he applied himself to the supream God; and was from Morning to Night solicitously in- quisitive, what sort of Men he might do good by; and how, in reference to His Beneficence, He shewed himself equal and † obliging to all Persons?*

*† Κοινός, Liberal; Valefius renders it Civil.*

Translator therefore has done ill, at this place to render *θεοι, Regulas, Rules or Canons*. For the discourse here is not concerning the Ec- clesiastick Rules, which are promulged in a Synod by the Bishops; but concerning Sentences pronounc'd between Persons at Law, as 'tis apparent from the words which follow. Moreover, *Sozomen* under- stood these words of *Eusebius* no otherwise. But, that which oc- casions the difficulty is, what *Eusebius* has said in the following words, *θεοι τὰ ἐν συνόδοις ἀποφανθέντας, those Decrees*— which were promulged in Synods. But, *συνόδῳ* is here used to signify an Ecclesiastick S<sup>ss</sup>ion, to wit, of a Bishop and his Presbyters. *Sozomen* has the very same term, in his first book, chap. 9. where he speaks concerning this Law of Constantine. Which Author's words I do so much the more willingly produce, as often as the Laws are treated of, because he was a Person incomparably well skill'd in the Roman Laws, as 'tis evident from his Books: His words therefore in the foresaid Book and Chapter are these. *Τῶν δὲ ἐμικρότων ἐπι- κληθέντων τῶν κείνων ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς δικαστοῦσι, &c.* Moreover, he permitted Litigants to appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops; if they had a mind to avoid the Civil Magistrates. And, that their [the Bishops] Sentence should be firm and valid, and of more force than the Sentence of the other Judges, as if it had been pro- nounc'd by the Emperour himself. And, that the Governours of Pro- vinces, and their Officials, should put in Execution the Sentences pronounc'd [by the Bishops] And, that the Decrees of Synods should be unalterable. But, if any one will have the Councils of Bishops to be meant by the term *συνόδοις*, then *θεοι* will signify the Sentences pronounc'd in a Synod against mischievous Priests and Hereticks; which Sentences the Emperours do confirm in the Second Law, in the same Title de *Episcopalis audientia*. Valef.

*There is a Law of Constan- tine's ex- tant in the close of the Theodosian Code, un- der the Title de E- piscopali audientia, wherein the Empe- rour com- mands that the sen- tences pro- nounced by a Bi- shop, even in Causis Minorum, should ob- tain the force of a Law. The*

*\* Or, More ap- proved than any, &c.*

C H A P. XXVIII.

*His Gifts [bestowed] on the Churches; and His Distributions of Money to Virgins, and to the Poor.*

*B*UT on the Churches of God He conferred innumerable Gifts, in a manner that was extraordinary and transcendent; sometimes be- stowing Lands; at others, \* *Annona*, for the maintenance of poor Men, fatherless Children, and † Widows. Lastly, He took all imaginable care, that even infinite numbers of Garments should be provided for the naked and such as wanted clothing. But above all others, He vouchsafed them the highest honour, who had wholly ad- dicted themselves to the divine Philosophy. In-

*\* Or, Cer- tain pro- portions of Bread, or Bread-corn. † Or, Mi- serable Women: Or, De- dicated their Lives deed to; &c.*



deed, he paid little less than a Veneration to the most Holy Quire of God's perpetual Virgins; in regard he was fully perswaded, that that very God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, had taken up his habitation within the minds of such Persons,

### CHAP. XXIX.

\* *Declamations.* Speeches and \* *Discourses written by Constantine.*

**Y**E A farther, He spent whole nights without taking any rest, to the end He might accomplish his own mind by a meditation on divine matters. He likewise employed his vacant hours in <sup>a</sup> writing Orations, and <sup>b</sup> made frequent Speeches in publick: accounting it as a duty incumbent on himself, to Govern his Subjects by the precepts of reason, and to make <sup>c</sup> His own Government an Empire of Reason. Wherefore He himself would call a Meeting. Numerous multitudes of People flock'd into the place of hearing, that they might be Auditors of a Philosophizing Emperour. But if during his Speaking, any occasion was offered of treating concerning Divinity, he stood upright immediately, and with a <sup>d</sup> composed Countenance and low Voice, <sup>e</sup> seemed to initiate those that were present, in the Mysteries of the Divine Doctrine, with all imaginable piety and modesty. And when His Hearers applauded him with their Acclamations, He gave them notice by a nod, that they should look upwards to Heaven, and with pious praises highly admire and honour that One Supream King. Farther, he divided his Speeches in such a manner, that in the first place he would lay the Confutation of the Error of Polytheism, as the foundation [of his Discourse,] asserting by most evident arguments, that the Superstition of the Pagans was meer fraud, and the Bulwark of impiety. Then he discoursed concerning the Sole Empire of God. After this he treated about Providence, whereby as well all things in general, as every Individual is governed. From hence he proceeded to the *Salutary Dispensation*, and shewed That to have been done necessarily, and in an agreeable manner.

For *παρρησια ποιῆσαι* imports *verba facere*, to make a Speech; which *Gracians* do more frequently term *παρρησια ποιῆσαι*. So *Isocrates* terms it in the beginning of his *Arcopagick*; *καὶ παρρησια τὴν παρρησια ἐποποιῶν*: and also *Pausanias* (in *Acharis*) pag. 168. Edit. A'din; as likewise in the two *Decreta Deliorum*, which are extant amongst the *Marmora Arundelliana*, pag. 42 and 43. *ἢ δ' αὐτὴς παρρησια πρὸς τὴν βαλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρῶτος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ*. Which words are thus to be rendered: *ad Senatum quoque et ad populum verba faciendi expletis sacris primis omnium habeant facultatem*. *Polybius* (book 4. pag. 302.) uses *ἐφοδον δίδου* in the same signification: *ἐφόδοι δὲ τὴν τε μαχαρὰν δίδου τὴν ἐφοδον ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, &c.* Which place, in regard 'tis very faulty, we will by the by restore. Write thus therefore, *οἱ μὲν νέοι ὄντο δεινὸν &c.* Which emendation is confirmed by *Polybius's* next words, For it follows, *οἱ δ' ἔροσι δεδότες τὴν καὶ νέων συστροφὴν, &c.* Thus much concerning the signification of the word. As to the thing it self; from this deed of *Constantine* seems to have been derived the usage of the *Byzantine Emperours*, who made *Catechetick Orations* even concerning things sacred, which Orations were termed *Silentia*, as you may see in *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word *σιλέντιον*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Μυστὴν ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς*. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian* Copies, the reading is *μυστὴν ἐδίδου τὰς παρρησίας*, seemed to initiate, &c. Which in my judgment is the truer reading. Valef.

Passing from that point, he began a discourse concerning the Divine \* Judgment. In his treatise whereof he gave the minds of His Hearers most sharp and severe Touches; reproving the Rapacious and † Deceitful, and those that had † Or, enslaved themselves to an insatiable desire of Money. He likewise whip'd as 'twere and scourg'd with his Expressions, some of His Confidants that stood round Him; and forc'd them, when stung by their own Consciences, to cast down their Eyes. To whom he evinc'd and declared with a loud voice, that they themselves should give God an account of their own undertakings <sup>a</sup>. For [he told them,] that the Supream God had given him the Empire of the World; but, that he, in imitation of the Deity, had committed the parts of His Empire to their Government: moreover, that all of them should at a fit opportunity render an account of their Actions to the Supream King. These things he attested continually; these things he suggested to them, with these Lessons he instructed them. And truly he himself, trusting in the sincerity of his own Faith, not only declared, but had his thoughts taken up with such matters as these. But they were unapt to learn, and deaf to all good Documents; applauding indeed his sayings with their Tongues and Acclamations; but in their practices they disregarded them by reason of their unsatiableness.

I know not, hath noted at the Margin, that there is a great imperfection here; which *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, *Gruterus*, and others supply in this manner: *ὡς ἡδη ποτὲ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέσχετο αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν, τὰς τε καὶ μέρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι δίκαι, πάντας μὲν τῷ μεγάλῳ, &c.* But first, those words *ὡς ἡδη ποτὲ*, must be expunged. For the imperfection, if there be any in this place, begins before these words *ὡς ἡδη ποτὲ*, which in the *Geneva Edition* appear corruptly repeated. Secondly, those words *καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν, &c.* are altogether void of sense. This imperfection therefore is better made up in *Moræus's Book*, thus: *πάντας μὲν τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ὑπέσχετο, &c.* to the end of the chapter, as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*. In the same Copy the reading is truer, thus, *ταῦτα συνεχῶς διαμαρτυροῦτο, These things he attested continually*. Sir *Henry Savil* in the lower Margin of his Copy, makes good this place thus; *ὡς ἡδη ποτὲ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέσχετο τῇ τε κρείττονι ἀρχῇ, τὰς τε καὶ μέρ' αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέψαι δίκαι, πάντας μὲν τῷ &c.* But, from the footsteps of the written reading which I found in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, I have, as I think, very happily restored this place. The writing therefore of the *Fuketian Manuscript* is this: *ἐσχευμένον αὐτοῖς... τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέσχετο. αὐτὸν δ' καὶ μίμησιν τῇ κρείττονι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰς τε καὶ μέρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι διοικήσεις. πάντας γε μὴν τῷ τῶν ὅλων βασιλεῖ, &c.* Nothing is plainer, nothing more certain. That is, That the Empire of the World was delivered to Him by the Supream God: but, that He, by the Example of the Deity, had distributed the parts of His Empire to be governed by them. Valef.

### CHAP. XXX.

That He shewed a certain Covetous Person the measure of a Grave, to the end he might shame him.

**W**herefore, one time He took one of those Persons about him by the hand, and spake these words to him. How far (Hark \* Or, Unye!) Do we stretch our \* Covetous desires? Then marking out on the ground the † length of a Man, with a Spear, which he happened to have in his



\* For 'tis uncertain whether you shall be buried in the ground; in regard you may either be burnt, or drowned in the Sea, or devoured by wild Beasts. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is *πύρις*, not *πύρ*, as 'tis here. *Valef.*

his hand: *Although* (said he,) you were possessor of all the Riches of this World, and of the whole Element of the Earth, yet you shall carry away nothing more than this space of ground which I have mark'd out, if even<sup>a</sup> that be allowed you. Notwithstanding this Blessed Prince said and did these things, yet he reclaimed no Person. But, 'twas manifestly evidenced by the very event of affairs, that the Emperours \* Admonitions were rather like Divine Oracles, than bare words.

\* Or, *Pre-dictions.*

CHAP. XXXI.

That he was laugh't at because of his too great Clemency.

\* Or, *Death.* Further, whereas there was no fear of \* any Capital punishment, which might restrain ill Men from wickedness; (the Emperour himself being wholly inclined to Clemency, and the Governours in each Province wholly neglecting the prosecution and punishment of Crimes;) this thing expos'd the publick Administration of Affairs to no ordinary blame and reprehension: whether justly, or otherwise, every one may judge according as he shall think good. Let me be permitted to record the Truth.

CHAP. XXXII.

\* Or, *Volume, or, discourse.* Concerning Constantine's \* Oration, which He wrote to The Convention of the Saints.

\* Or, *Gave the writing of his, &c.* Moreover, the Emperour \* wrote his Orations in the *Latine* tongue. But they were rendred into † *Greek* by the <sup>a</sup> *Interpreters*, whose employment it was to do this. One of these orations done into *Greek*, I will, for an instance, annex after the close of this present Work; to which [Speech] he himself gave this Title, *To the Convention of the Saints*, dedicating that His Discourse to the Church of God: [which Oration I will subjoin for this reason,] least any one should account our Testimony in reference to these matters, to be [nothing more than] Ostentation and Noise.

† Or, *Our tongue.* Under the disposition of the *Magister Officiorum* [Magister of Offices] were the *Interpreters* of various Nations and Languages, as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. *Constantine* therefore made use of their assistance in translating his Orations and Letters out of *Latine* into *Greek*. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

How He heard Eusebius's Panegyrick concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour, in a standing posture.

BUT that, in my judgment, is in no wise to be silently overpast, which this admirable [Prince] did, even in Our own presence. For, when we had one time besought him, being confident of his singular piety towards God, that he would be an Auditor of a Speech of Ours concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour; He gave us Audience with all imaginable willingness.

And a great company of Hearers standing round, <sup>a</sup> within the Imperial Palace it self, He himself stood also, and together with the rest gave Audience. But when We entreated him to rest himself upon his Imperial Throne which was placed hard by, he would by no means be persuaded to Sit; But with an intent mind, weighed what was spoken, and by his own Testimony approved the truth of the \* *Theologicall Dogmata*. But when much time had been spent, and Our Oration was continued to a great length; We were desirous to break off. But he would not suffer that; but entreated us to go on till we had ended our Discourse. And when we again Solicited Him to sit down, He on the contrary was urgent in His Refusal: sometimes affirming, *That it was unfit to hearken to Discourses which treated concerning God, with ease and remissness*; at other times saying, *that this was useful and advantageous to Him.* For it was [He told us] a thing consonant to Piety and Religion, to hear Discourses about Divine matters in a standing posture. After these things were finished, we returned home, and betook our selves to our usual Studies and exercises.

if the Emperour had heard the Speech standing in the Church; that would have been less strange, in regard the place it self requires reverence, and because in the Church the Emperour himself is one of the number of the Faithful. But, for the Emperour to stand in the Palace whilst a Bishop was speaking, that is a signal instance of Religion. See *chap. 46.* whence it may be manifestly, gathered, that the Palace is meant here. Further, the *Christians* were heretofore wont in a standing posture to hear the Sermon of the Priest in the Church. For no body sat in the Church but the *Presbyters*, as *Optatus* informs us, *Book 4. Dum peccatorem arguit, & Sedentem increpat Deus, Specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat non ad populum, qui in Ecclesia non habet sedendi licentiam.* *Valef.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That He wrote to Eusebius concerning Easter, and about the Divine Books.

BUT He, always <sup>a</sup> Sollicitously consulting the good of God's Churches, wrote a Letter to us, about providing [some Copies] of the Divinely inspired Oracles: as also [another Letter] concerning the most Holy Feast of Easter. <sup>b</sup> For, whereas we had dedicated a Book to Him, wherein the Mystick account of that Festival was explained; in what manner He rewarded and honoured us by His answer, any one may perceive, by perusing this Letter of His.

<sup>a</sup> *Περί τῆς ἀποδείξεως τῆς Πάσχα.* the *Book de Ratione Computi paschalis*, which *Beda* (in his *Book de Ratione Temporum*, *Chap. 42.*) asserts to have been made by *Eusebius*. Indeed, the Emperour *Constantine*, in his Letter to *Eusebius*, does attest, that that work of *Eusebius's*, which is here mentioned, was a Laborious work, and that it contained the whole account, Original, and perfection of the Paschal Feast. Concerning this Book of *Eusebius*, *Jerome* in his piece *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* speaks thus. *Hippolytus rationem paschæ, temporumque Canones scripsit, & sedecim annorum circulum reperit, & Eusebio qui super eodem pascha canonem decem & novem annorum circuli composuit, occasionem dedit.* Which words of *St. Jerome*, *Beda* hath transcribed in his *Book de Sex Aetatibus Mundi*; and in his *History*; *Book 5. Chap. 22.* *Valef.*



## CHAP. XXXV.

Constantine's [Letter] to Eusebius, wherein  
He commends his Oration concerning  
Easter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

**I**T is indeed a mighty Attempt, and [a work] <sup>a</sup>superiour to all the power of Oratory, to declare the mysteries of Christ agreeably to their dignity, and in a due manner to unfold the <sup>a</sup>Reason and Ground of Easter, and its Institution, and its advantageous and laborious consummation. For, 'tis impossible even to Men that are able to understand things Divine, to declare those matters according to their dignity. Nevertheless, I do highly admire your excellent Learning, and your Extraordinary diligence and have my self most willingly perused your Book; also found and, according to your desire, have given order, that it should be put into the hands of many Persons who sincerely adhere to the observance of the Divine Religion. Whereas therefore you understand, with how great a delight of mind we receive such Presents as these from Your Prudence, take care to please us in future with more frequent Discourses<sup>b</sup>, whereto you confess your self to have been by education accustomed. But (as the saying is,) we incite you who run, to your usual Studies. In as much as, <sup>c</sup>this so great an opinion does sufficiently demonstrate, that you have not found an unworthy Translatour of Your Writings, who can render Your Labours into <sup>d</sup>Latine: although 'tis impossible, that such a Version should express the dignity of Works that are so egregiously eminent. God keep You, Beloved Brother! such was his Letter in reference to this matter. But, that which he wrote about providing [some Copies of the Scriptures] to be read in Churches, not be said runs thus.

concerning the original of a controverſie You would do better therefore to render ἡμεῖς, institution. τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν imports the consummation of the Paschal Feast, performed by Christ, who by the Miracle of his own Resurrection, introduced a true Pascha for Christians. Valeſ.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀδελφὸς ἐμψυχότατος. After these words in the Greek, in the King's Copy, and in the Edition of Robert Stephens, these words follow, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, &c. although 'tis impossible, that such, &c. But Scalger, Bongarsius, and others have made up this place from I know not what Copies. The same supplement I likewise found in the Fukeſian Copy, and in Moræus's Book. and indeed something more correct than it is in the Geneva Edition. For, in that the reading is, οἷς ἀντετέλεσθαι σαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖς. But it must be written ἀνατετέλεσθαι, or ἐπτετέλεσθαι. Valeſ.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ περὶ αὐτὴ πεποίθσις, This so great a confidence, or persuasion. He means his boldness, who by Constantine's order had translated Eusebius's Book concerning Easter: or rather, πεποίθσις is the opinion and judgment of the Emperour himself. The Translator understood it as meant concerning the boldness or confidence of Eusebius himself, which can in no wise be agreeable here. Doubtless, πεποίθσις cannot here be taken otherwise, than for the judgment and persuasion, as well of Constantine Himself, as of other Men, who highly extolled Eusebius's Treatise concerning Easter, which by Constantine's order had been rendered into Latine. This so great an opinion of all Men. says he, does sufficiently shew, that you have met with no unworthy a Translator. Further, those words τῶν συγγεγραμμένων may be construed two ways, either with the adjective ἀνάξιον, or with the term πεποίθσις. Valeſ.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν. After these words, in Moræus's Copy there is an empty space left. Questionless the word ῥωμαϊκὴν is wanting. The place therefore must be made good in this manner, τὸν εἰς τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ σὺς πόντος μεταρρυθμίσοντα γλῶσσαν, who can render, &c. or rather, εἰς τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν, as Eusebius expresses himself above at chap. 32. Indeed, in the Fukeſian Copy, the reading is, εἰς τὴν ῥομ... καὶ σὺς πόντος μεταρρυθμίζοντα, &c. Valeſ.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, concerning  
the providing [some Copies] of the Di-  
vine Scriptures.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

**I**N That City which bears Our Name, by the assistance of God Our Saviour's Providence, a vast multitude of Men have joined themselves to the most Holy Church. Whereas therefore all things do there receive a very great increase, it seems highly requisite, that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore, do you most willingly receive that which I have determined to do. For it seemed fit, to signify to Your Prudence, that you should order fifty Copies of the Divine Scriptures (the provision and use whereof you know to be chiefly necessary for the instruction of the Church) to be written on well-prepared Parchment, by artificial Transcribers of Books most skilful in the art of accurate and fair writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable in order to their being used. Moreover, Letters are dispatch'd away from our Clemency to the <sup>a</sup>Rationalist of the Diocesis, that he should <sup>a</sup>Διοικητὴν take care for the providing of all things necessary <sup>a</sup>σας καὶ ἀπο- in order to the finishing of the said Copies. This <sup>a</sup>Λικόν. At therefore shall be the Work of your diligence, [to see] <sup>a</sup>δοίκοις this place that the written Copies be forthwith provided. You <sup>a</sup>σας signifies are also impowered by the Authority of this our the Dio- Letter, to have the use of two publick Carriages, in <sup>a</sup>cests of the order to their Conveyance. For by this means, <sup>a</sup>Εαβ, so those which are transcribed fair, may most commo- <sup>a</sup>the Romans termed a diously be conveyed even to Our Sight; to wit, one <sup>a</sup>certain of the Deacons of your Church being employed in the number of performance hereof. Who, when he comes to Us, shall <sup>a</sup>Provinces, be made sensible of Our \* Bounty. God preserve which jointly o- you, Dear Brother! <sup>a</sup>beyed a

\* Or, Humanity. Vicarius

of the Prætorian Præfecture. For a Præfectus Prætorio had several Dioceses under his own dispose; but the Vicarii had but one Diocesis. Further, this word began to be used in this sense about Constantine's times, as we learn both from Constantine's Letters recorded above, and also from some Laws of the Theodosian Code. Valeſ.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

In what manner the Copies were provided.

**T**Hese things the Emperour gave order for. Which Order of his was immediately followed by the completion of the work it self; we having sent him <sup>a</sup>Ternions and Quaternions <sup>a</sup>Τερνιώνες in Volumes magnificently adorned. Which very <sup>a</sup>Τερνιώνες The Trans- thing another answer of the Emperour's will at- <sup>a</sup>flator ren- test. In which Letter (information having been <sup>a</sup>ders it given him, that the City Constantia in our Coun- <sup>a</sup>right, tern- quaterniones. For Parchment Copies were usually digested into <sup>a</sup>niones & Quaternions, that is, four Sheets were made up together, as Ternions are three Sheets made up together. And the Quaternions had sixteen pages the Ternions twelve. Further, in the last page of the Quaternion was set the number of the Quaternion, to wit, 1, 2, 3, and so on; as I have observed in the most ancient Copies, as well Greek as Latine. In a very old Copy of Gregorius Turonensis, which was written above nine hundred Years since, in the last page of the Quaternion I found this mark, q. 1. that is, the first Quaternion. Further, the Reader is to be advertized, that in these words of Eusebius there is an Enallage. For he hath said τέρπασα ἐν τεύχεσιν whereas it ought rather to have been worded thus, τεύχη ἐν τέρπασσιν. Valeſ.

try,



try, heretofore consisting of Men notoriously superstitious, had by an <sup>b</sup> impulse of piety receded from their Pristine error of Idolatry;) he signified, that he rejoiced, and highly approved of that Action.

<sup>b</sup> Ορμή θεοσεβείας In the Fukeian Copy this place is read thus, ὁρμητικῶν θεοσεβείας, τῆς ἐμπεσοδεν μεταβελικῶν εἰδικῶν πλάνης ἐγγύετο. And so I guess it was written in Sir Henry Savil's Copy, because Sir Henry hath under-mark'd these three words, namely, ὁρμή μεταβελικῶν and πλάνης, with lines. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*How the Mart-Town of the Gazæi, by reason of [its embracing] the Christian Religion, was made a City, and named Constantia.*

FOR Constantia in the Province of Palestine having at this very time embraced the Salutory Religion, was vouchsafed a signal honour, both from God, and from the Emperour. For, it was both termed a City, which it had not been before; and likewise changed its name for a better appellation, to wit, that of the Emperour's most religious Sister.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*That in Phœnice there was a City made [termed Constantina;] and in other Cities the Idols were destroyed, and Churches erected.*

THE same thing was likewise done in many other places. For instance, in a City of the Province of Phœnice, which is called by the Emperour's name. The Inhabitants whereof having committed their innumerable Images to the flames, changed their worship of them, for the observation of the salutary Law. Moreover, in other Provinces, they came over in great companies, as well in the Country as in the Cities, to the saving knowledge [of God,] and destroyed their Images consisting of all sorts of matter (which before had been accounted sacred by them,) as if they were nothing: they also demolished their own Temples and places of worship, which were raised to a vast height, when no Person ordered them to do it. But they erected Churches from the very foundations, and made a change of their former opinion, or error rather. But, <sup>a</sup> to give a particular Narrative of all this pious Emperour's Actions, is not so much our business, as theirs who were vouchsafed a continual converse with him. After therefore <sup>b</sup> we have in short recorded in this work those matters which came to our knowledge, we will pass to the <sup>\*</sup> later part of his Life.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Last time.

which I approve of. For it follows, τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας πράξεων. But it would be better, were it thus written, τὰ καὶ δέκατα. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Πραγδὲς τῇ γραφῇ. The Translator renders this place thus: nos vero quoniam breviter quæ nobis nota fuerunt, literarum monumentis, mandavimus; but because we have in short committed to writing those things which were known to us. But I render it thus; postquam ea quæ nobis nota sunt breviter exposuerimus, ad extremum ejus vitæ tempus Sermonem transferemus; after we have briefly declared those things which are known to us, we will turn our discourse to the last time of his Life. Which rendition is doubtless truer, and more agreeable to the words and meaning of Eusebius. For, if Eusebius had meant so as the Translator thought he did, he would have said, ἡν ὡς δὲντες. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XL.

*That having created his three Sons Cæsars in the three ten years of his Reign, He celebrated the dedication of the Martyrium at Jerusalem.*

THIRTY <sup>\*</sup> Years of His Reign were now completed <sup>a</sup>. Wherein his three Sons had at different times been created Colleagues of the Empire. Constantine, who bore the same name with his Father, was the first that partook of that honour, about the tenth year of his Father's Empire. His second Son Constantius, grac'd with his Grandfather's name, was declared Cæsar about the time of the celebration of his Father's Vicennalia. His third Son Constans, who by his own name denotes Presence and Stability, was promoted to this honour about the thirtieth year of his Father's Reign. Thus therefore when (<sup>\*</sup> according to a likeness of the Trinity as 'twere,) he had gotten <sup>†</sup> three Sons beloved by God, and had honoured them with the Collegueship of his Empire, <sup>b</sup> at each period of ten years of his Reign; he thought his Tricennalia to be a <sup>c</sup> most opportune time, wherein he might give thanks to [God] the supream King. And he himself judged it best and most agreeable, should He celebrate the dedication of that Martyrium, which with all imaginable diligence and magnificence he had caused to be erected at Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> βασιλείας, was the occasion that this whole line was omitted by the over-hasty Antiquarius [Transcriber of Books.] In the Fukeian Copy, the reading is, διαφόροις δ' ἀναδεικνύσθαι χρόνοις, excellently well. Thus by the addition of one small word, this place is perfected. But Sir Henry Savil supplied this place by adding three words, as did also Scaliger and Christopherson πᾶσι τῇ τρεῖς διαφόροις, &c. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Εἰς ἐκάστην πεντήκοντα ἑταέρητος χρόνου. The translator has rendered it ill, decimo quoque anno, every tenth year. For Constantine did not create his Sons Cæsars, every tenth year of his Empire. For he made Crispus and Constantinus, Cæsars, in the Consulate of Gallicanus and Bassus, on the Calends of March, which was the eleventh year of his Empire. But Constantius was created Cæsar, in the third Consulate of Crispus and Constantinus, on the sixth of the Ides of November, that is, on the nineteenth year of Constantine's Empire. Lastly, Constans was proclaimed Cæsar by his Father, in the Consulate of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, on the eighth of the Calends of January, when Constantine was entered into the twenty eighth year of his Empire, as it appears from Idatius's Fasti. Wherefore Eusebius's words will be better rendered thus, singulis decenniis, in each of his ten years. But neither will what Eusebius hath said, be true, even this way. For Crispus and Constantinus junior were not created Cæsars in Constantine's first ten years, but about his first ten years. Therefore, these words want a favourable interpretation. Which Baronius not in the least perceiving, has recorded Crispus to have been made Cæsar on the year of Christ 315, which is a Prochronism of two years. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Εὐχαισθησίων καὶ ἐν. I doubt not but it should be written εὐχαισθησίων; which I wonder was not perceived by others. In the Fukeian Copy 'tis written, εὐχαισθησίων καὶ ἐν εὐχαισθησίων; which reading I like not. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XLI.

*That in this interim He ordered a Synod to be convened at Tyre, because of some controversies [started] in Egypt.*

BUT the envious Devil, that Enemy to all good, <sup>a</sup> like some dark cloud opposed against the most splendid Rays of the Sun, attempted to disturb the brightness of this Celestial light, or, as 'twere; as I found it mended at the margin of Moreus's Copy and a little after, the reading must be ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. *Valef.*

brity;



brity; and again disquieted the Churches in Egypt with his own contentions: But the Emperour, whom God himself took care of, having again armed a Synod of many Bishops resembling the Host of God, set them in array against the Malevolent Devil: an Order having been issued forth from him, that [the Prelates] of all Egypt and Libya, Asia and Europe, should hasten, in the first place to a determination of the Controversie, and from thence to make a dedication of the forementioned Martyrium. Wherefore he commanded them, that by the by they should compose the differences, at the Metropolis of Phoenice. For, it was [he said] unfit, to approach the worship of God with dissenting minds; in regard the Divine Law prohibits those that are at variance, from bringing their Gifts [to God,] before they have embraced friendship, and are peaceably affected one towards another. These wholesome precepts [of our Saviour] the Emperour gave new Life to; by a continual meditation on them within his own mind; and advised them to set about the business with all imaginable consent and agreement of mind, by his Letter which runs thus.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡ φιλικὴ ἀνυσταμένη. Some body, who it was I know not, has noted at the margin of the Gene-

va Edition, that it should be ἀποσταμένη. But I had rather read ἀνυσταμένη, before they have entered into a League. Nevertheless, in the Fukeian and Savil. Copies the reading is ἀποσταμένη, and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

## CHAP. XLII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod at Tyre.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,

To the Holy Synod [convened] at Tyre.

**I**T was manifestly agreeable to, and highly befitting the prosperity of our Times, that the Catholick Church should be void of all disturbance, and that the Servants of Christ should now be free from all manner of reproach.

<sup>a</sup> Πάσης λοιδορίας. At this place λοιδορία has a passive signification. And imports the same with the term βλασφημία, which occurs at the close of this Letter. And thus Christopherson renders it in the First Book of Theodoret's Eccles. Hist. chap. 28. Valef.

But in regard some Persons, prick'd forward by the Spur of unsound Contention, (For I will not say that they lead a life unworthy of themselves;) attempt to confound all things; which [mischief] seems to me more grievous than any Calamity whatever: for this reason I incite you, who (as the saying is) run of your own accord, that without any delay you would meet together, and make up a Synod; that you may give your assistance to those who want it; that you may administer a Remedy to the Brethren who are in danger; that you may reduce the dissenting members to an agreement; [and lastly,] that you may correct Faults, whilst opportunity does permit: to the end that, to so many and such large Provinces you may restore a befitting Concord, which (oh absurd!) the arrogance of a few Men hath destroyed. Further, that this thing is highly acceptable to God the supream Lord, and more earnestly wish'd for by Us than any desire whatever; Lastly, that to your selves (if you shall restore peace,) it will be an occasion of no small honour, I suppose all Men do acknowledge. Delay not therefore: but henceforward raise your alacrity to the highest pitch, and make it your business to put an end to the present differences by a befit-

ting determination: [meeting together namely] with all Sincerity and Faith, which that Saviour whom we worship, who lifts up his Voice \* every where in a manner, does chiefly require of us. But, as to what appertains to || Our Piety, nothing shall be wanting to you. All things have been done by Me, which by your Letter you gave notice of. <sup>a</sup> I have written to those Bishops whom you desired, that they should come, and be partakers with you in the Common Care and Solicitude. I have sent <sup>c</sup> Dionysius the Ex-Consularis, who may both put in mind those Bishops that ought to come with you to the Synod, and may also be an Inspector of what is transacted, but most especially of regularity and good order. But if any Person (which I don't in the least suspect,) presuming at this juncture to violate our precept, shall refuse to be present; One shall be forthwith dispatch'd from Us, who by an Imperial Order shall drive that Person into Exile, and shall teach him, that 'tis in no wise fit to resist the determinations of an Emperour, when published in defence of the truth. As to what remains, it shall be the business of Your Sanctity, neither with hatred nor favour, but in a manner agreeable to the Ecclesiastick and Apostolick Rules, to find out a befitting remedy, whether for Crimes, or such things as have happened by mistake: to the end you may free the Church from all reproach, may lighten Our Cares, and, having restored the pleasantness of Peace to those Churches now disturbed, may procure the eminentest Glory to your Selves. God preserve You, Belov'd Brethren!

ther purification of this place, which in my judgment is righter, thus, ἀπαλείψαι μάλιτα παρ' ἡμῶν ἔδεν ὁ ᾧ, &c. does chiefly require of us. But, as to what, &c. Only I would rather read παρ' ὑμῶν, from you. Nevertheless, the common reading may be born with. In the Fukeian, as well as the Turnebian Copy, and in Moræus's Book, 'tis written; ἀπαλείψαι παρ' ἡμῶν ἔδεν ὁ ᾧ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐνλαβείαν ἡνόντων ὑμῶν ἐνδείξει; according to our Rendition Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀπέστειλα I have sent. It must be ἐπέστειλα, I have written, as the Translatour seems to have read. Yet in Theodoret and the Fukeian Copy the reading is, ἀπέστειλα πρὸς ὑς, I have sent to those, &c. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπὶ ὑπακῶν. Flavius Dionysius is termed Comes by Athanasius in his Apologetic to Constantius, where he relates a great deal concerning this Synod at Tyre, which was held in the Consulate of Constantius and Albinus, in the months August and September. This Dionysius had before been Consularis of Phoenice, in the Consulate of Januarius and Justus, as it appears from the Fourth Law Cod Theod. de Famosis Libellis. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐξαιρέτως δέ. So indeed the reading is in Theodoret. But in the Fukeian Copy this place is written thus, καὶ ᾧ προσποιημένον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνταξίας Ἐξαιρέτως κατισποπῆ παρῆσαι. Which reading Scaliger, Bongarsius, and others found in their Copies. A little after I write, τὴν ἡμετέραν κλῆσον καὶ νῦν διακρίσας, from the Fukeian Copy and Theodoret. For there is no small emphasis in these words καὶ νῦν. Valef.

## CHAP. XLIII.

That at the Feast of Dedication [of the Church] at Jerusalem, there were Bishops present out of all the Provinces.

**A**FTER these Orders had been effectually put in execution, another Messenger from the Emperour arrived, who having brought <sup>a</sup> an Imperial Order. In the Old Sheets the reading is συγγραμματα. In the Fukeian Copy there is an imperfection, and the last part of the word only occurs, thus ματ. Therefore Sir Henry Savil supplied it in this manner. σύν τεύματι, with an Order; and so did Scaliger, and the

perial



perial Letter, moved the Synod, that without any delay they would forthwith hasten their journey to *Jerusalem*. All of them therefore left the Province of the *Phoenicians*, and by [the assistance of the] *Cursus Publicus* went whither they had received orders to go. At which time that whole place was filled with a numerous \* divine assembly, the eminent Bishops out of every Province having met together at *Jerusalem*. For the <sup>b</sup> *Macedonians* had sent the [Bishop] of the *Metropolis* amongst them: and the *Pannonii* and *Mœsi* [had directed thither] the choicest flower of God's youth in their Country. There was likewise present the Ornament of the *Per-sian* Bishops, an holy Person and one that was incomparably well vers'd in the divine Oracles.

\* Or, *Ad-* <sup>c</sup> The *Bithynians* also and *Thracians* adorned the \* by their own presence adorned the Convention. Nor were the most eminent [of the Bishops] amongst the *Cilicians* absent. Those of *Cappadocia* likewise who excelled for Learning and Eloquence, shined in the midst of this Congress. Moreover, all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, *Phœnice* and *Arabia*, together with *Palestine* it self; *Egypt* also and *Libya*, and those who inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, all [met] together, and filled up that great Quire of God. Who were followed by an innumerable company of People out of all the Provinces. There was present together with all these Persons, an <sup>d</sup> Imperial Attendance; and from the Imperial Palace it self, approved Men were sent, who, with Expences furnished by the Emperour, might illustrate the Festivity.

quire concerning the Crimes wherewith *Athanasius* had been charged, as *Athanasius* relates in his *Apologetick*. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> He means *Theogonius* Bishop of *Nicaea*, and *Theodorus* Bishop of *Perinthus*, which was otherwise termed *Heraclea*; which Prelates were present at the same Synod, as *Athanasius* and *Theodoret* do inform us. Besides *Theogonius*, two other Bishops out of *Bithynia* were present at the Synod of *Tyre*; namely *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> *Athanasius* in his *Apologetick* to *Constantius* pag. 788, speaking concerning this Synod, does attest, that *Constantine* sent the *Palatine Soldiers*, who were to obey the commands of the Bishops: His words are these, *καὶ νόμους διονύσιον ἀποπέμπεται, καὶ στρατιῶται δορυφόροι δίδονται τοῖς κατὰ εὐσεβίον*. Valef.

## CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning their Reception by *Marianus* the Notary, and concerning the Money distributed amongst the Poor, and the sacred Gifts of the Church.

\* That is, <sup>a</sup> *But*, over \* all these there was appointed as chief, a <sup>a</sup> Person highly acceptable and useful to the Emperour; one that was eminent for his Faith, Religion, and Skill in the Sacred Scriptures. Who having been famous for his confessions in defence of Piety during the times of the Tyrants, was deservedly entrusted with the ordering of these matters. This Person therefore with all imaginable sincerity paid obedience to the Emperours Commands, and honoured the Synod with a most Courteous Reception, entertaining them with splendid Feasts and Banquets. But, amongst the indigent and naked, <sup>b</sup> and amongst infinite multitudes of Poor of both Sexes, who stood in great need of food and other necessities under *Constantius*, as *Athanasius* attests in his *Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleucia*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Περὶ τὸν δ' ἀνδρῶν. It must be written *περὶ τὸν τε ἀνδρῶν*. There is the same error in the foregoing Chapter; where the reading is *ἀνδρῶν* ὃ καὶ λέγειν, instead of *ἀνδρῶν τε*; in which manner 'tis written at both places in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valef.

cessaries, he distributed vast quantities of Money, and a great number of Garments. Lastly, he variously adorned the whole Church with magnificent and royal sacred Gifts.

## CHAP. XLV.

Various Discourses of the Bishops, in the Sacred Assemblies; as also of Eusebius himself the Authour of this Work.

Such was the Service performed by this Person. But the Ministers of God adorned the Festival, partly with their Prayers, and partly by their Discourses. <sup>a</sup> For some of them with Praises celebrated the <sup>b</sup> Benignity of the Religious Emperour towards the Universal Saviour, and in their Orations set forth the Magnificence of the Marty-

thers interpreted, &c. was wanting in the *Kings Copy* and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: which words Learned Men have inserted from some Manuscript Copy, as I judge. For they seem to me to be genuine, and to proceed from *Eusebius's* own stile. They do indeed occur in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*; but in *Sir Henry Savil's*, they are wanting. For, at this place *Sir Henry* hath made this Remark. *Christophorus hoc loco, &c. At this place Christophorus has from his own Copies inserted these following words, which to me seem scarce agreeable to this place, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ θεοφιλέως, &c. Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Τὴν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ὅλων συνήγαγε δεξιῶσιν. *Eusebius* does, not without reason, term that kindness and benignity which the Emperour *Constantine* made use of towards the Priests of God, a benignity towards Christ himself. For, kindness towards his Ministers, redounds to the honour of the Lord himself. Therefore says Christ in the Gospel. *He that receiveth you, receiveth me: and, that which you have done to one of them, you have done to me.* Valef.

*Others* \* entertained their hearers with Theologick discourses upon the divine *Dogmata*, fitted to the present solemnity, as with some splendid banquet of rational food. Others <sup>d</sup> interpreted the Lessons of the divine Volumes, and disclosed the Mystick meanings. But such as were unable to arrive at these things, appeased the Deity with unbloody Sacrifices and mystick Immolations, humbly offering up their Prayers to God, for the common Peace, for the Church of God, for the Emperour himself who was the Occasioner of such great Blessings, and for his pious Children. At which place we our selves also, who were vouchsafed || Blessings much above our deserts, honoured the || solemnity with various discourses uttered in publick; sometimes making descriptions in writing of the stateliness and magnificence of the Royal Fabric; at others, <sup>e</sup> explaining the meanings of the prophetick Visions, in a manner befitting the present <sup>d</sup> Symbols and Figures. Thus was the Feast of Dedication celebrated, with the greatest joy imaginable, <sup>e</sup> on the very *Tricennalia* of the Emperour.

a thing which, as we have told you, is frequently done in these Books. Above therefore it must be written, *τὰς ἐκφράσεις ποιῶντες, making descriptions; and here the reading must be, ἐρμηνεύοντες δεξιῶσιν, explaining the meanings, &c.* But some body will perhaps ask, what those Prophetick Visions are, which *Eusebius* means here. He means, if I mistake not, that place which occurs in the third chapter of *Zephaniah*, verse 8. *διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσθλὸν με, λέγει κυριε, εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστήσας με εἰς μαρτύριον*. For *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* also, in his fourth Homily, explains this passage of *Zephaniah* concerning the Martyrium or Church, which *Constantine* erected in the place of our Lord's Resurrection. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Τοῖς περικειμένοις συμβόλοις. He terms the *Jerusalem Church*, and all its Members and Edifices, Symbols. See *Eusebius's Oration* in the dedication of the Church at *Tyre*, which is recorded in the tenth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*: where he asserts, that every member of the Church imported something that was mystical. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, *καὶ εἰς τοὺς περικειμένους συμβόλους*, without the conjunction καί. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλείᾳ τετρακονταετηρίᾳ. The Translator has rendered it right, *tricesimo imperii anno, in the thirtieth year of his Empire*. For the Dedication-Feast of the *Jerusalem Church* was celebrated in the



the year of Christ 335, on the Ides of September, Constantius and Albinus being Consuls, in Constantine's Tricennalia. At which time Constantine was in the thirtieth year of his Empire. Τριακονταετής, does properly signify Tricennalia, that is, a festivity of sports which were performed on account of the thirtieth year of an Emperours Reign. The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, in the Consulate of Constantius and Albinus, has these words: τὰ ποντὶς ὑπάρχων ἡχθ' τριακονταετής ἐν κωνσταντινῶν πᾶν οἰκόμενος πρὸς ὁκτώ καλαυδῶν αὐσεσῶν; which in Idatius's Fasti occur rendred into Latine, in this manner; His Coff. Tricennalia edidit Constantinus Augustus die 8. Cal. August. in the Consulate of these Persons. Constantinus Augustus published his Tricennalia, on the eight of the Calends of August. Yet sometimes τριακονταετής, and Tricennalia are taken for the thirtieth year. So Jerome relates, that Dalmatius was created Caesar in Constantine's Tricennalia, that is, on the thirtieth year of his Empire. But whereas I have said, that the Dedication Feast of the Jerusalem Church was celebrated on the Ides of September, of this matter I have Nicephorus my Author, in his eighth book, chap. 20. Indeed, in Saint Saba's Typicon, and in the Greek Menology, on the thirteenth day of September are placed τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἁγίας δεῦ ἀναστάσεως. So also Sophronius in his Oration de Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis; and this Festivity was observed every year, for the space of eight days. From these Authors the Alexandrian Chronicle must be corrected, wherein there is a mistake, as well in the day as the Consulate, in which these things were done. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVI.

*That He afterwards recited his Description of our Saviour's Martyrium, and his Oration upon Constantine's Tricennalia, before the Emperour himself.*

**B**UT, what the Form of our Saviour's Church is, what the fashion is of the Salutary Cave, \* how great the Beauty and Elegancy of the Structure, and [Lastly] how many the Donaria, made partly of Gold and Silver, and partly of pretious Stones; we have, as well as we could, comprized in a peculiar Treatise, and have dedicated it to the Emperour Himself. Which Book we shall make a seasonable publication of <sup>b</sup> at the close of this present Work: whereto we will annex that Oration concerning his Tricennalia, which, having not long after made a journey to Constantinople, we recited in the Emperours own hearing. This was the <sup>c</sup> second time that we celebrated the praises of God the supream King, within the Imperial Palace. Which [Oration] the Emperour, who was beloved by God, being an auditor of, seemed like one transported with joy. And this he himself manifested after the Speech was done, in regard he entertained those Bishops that were present at a Banquet, and bestowed on them all imaginable honour. Bishop made use of in his performing the solemn Prayers, as Theodoret relates, Ecclesiast. Hist. book 2. chap. 27. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Μετὰ τῷ παρῶν ὑποδείξειν, after this present Subject. That is, at the close of this work. The Translator rendred it ill; Quod etiam cum videbitur & absoluto opere edemus. But our Rendition is confirmed by Eusebius himself in chap. 32. of this book. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> For Eusebius had before made a Speech in the Palace, as he himself attests above, at chap. 33. where see what we have noted. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*That the Synod at Nicæa happened on Constantine's Vicennalia; but the Dedication [of the Church] at Jerusalem [was performed] on His Tricennalia.*

**T**HIS Second Synod, the greatest that we have known, the Emperour convened at Jerusalem, after that first Synod, which he had as-

sembled <sup>a</sup> at the most eminent City of Bithynia. That was a triumphal [Synod,] which in the Vicennalia of [Constantine's] Empire paid its Vows for the Victory obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, in that very City which had its name from Victory. But this [Synod] grac'd the period of his third Decade; when the Emperour Dedicated to God the Giver of all Good, <sup>c</sup> the Martyrium, as 'twere some Sacred Present of Peace, [erected] round the very Monument of our Saviour.

so. Further, in this place there is an ambiguity. For the words may be construed thus; τῷ τῷ δατέον μνησιν ὡς ἱερῶν σφραγῶν τῷ πνεύματι ἐνεῖναι, &c. This Second Synod, which we know to be the greatest after that First [Synod] which he had assembled at the most eminent City of Bithynia, the Emperour convened at Jerusalem, which sense Christopherson has followed. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Εὐχὴ τῆς νικίας. I embrace the emendation of Learned Men, which I found written in Moræus's Copy also; viz. εὐχὴ ἐν τῇ νικίᾳ. Nevertheless, I would willingly add another word also, in this manner, εὐχὴ νικησίου ἐν τῇ νικίᾳ, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. Further, the term εὐχὴ must be rendred *vota*, *vowes*. For Eusebius alludes to the usage of the Romans, who in such Solemnities made Vows for the safety and felicity of the Prince, as 'tis apparent from Plinius's Epistle to Trajan. Moreover, in old Coins we read such Vows as these thus exprest, VOTIS XX. MULTIS XXX But in other Coins 'tis thus, SIC X. SIC XX. That is, So His Decennalia, So His Vicennalia. In the Fuketian Copy 'tis plainly written εὐχὴ ἐν τῇ νικίᾳ. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Τὸ μνησίριον. In the Letter of the Bishops of the Jerusalem Synod, (who by Constantine's Order met in order to the Dedication of this Church, which Letter Athanasius records in his Apologetic, pag. 801.) 'tis termed στήριον μνησίριον, the Salutary Martyrium. Jerome also in his Chronicon terms it the Martyrium; as does likewise Sozomen, book 2. chap. 26. Marcus in the Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza, and Eucherius in his Book de Situ urbis Hierosolymitanæ. See Our Letter de Anastasi, &c. wherein we have at large proved against Jacobus Gretserus and Jacobus Sirmondus, that there was only one Church erected by Constantine, which was termed the Martyrium and Anastasis. Which Letter we thought good to make a second publication of, at the close of our Notes, pag. 304, &c. Valef.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*That Constantine was displeased with One, who praised Him too highly.*

**A**FTER the performance of all these things; <sup>a</sup> This when the Emperour's God-like Vertue was cry'd up in the Discourses of all Men, one of the Ministers of God was so bold, as to pronounce Him blessed to His very face: in regard he had both been vouchsafed the supream Empire over the whole Roman World in this Life present; and also, in that to come, should reign together with the Son of God. But he, much displeased at the hearing of this Expression, advised the Man, that he should not presume to utter such words; but, rather that by Prayer he would make his humble request to God, that as well in the Life present, as in that to come, <sup>b</sup> He might appear worthy of being reckoned amongst the servants of God. <sup>c</sup> Constantine.

<sup>a</sup> This whole clause, as far as the word ἀντιφρονεῖν in the Greek, or, His very face in the English, was wanting in the Kings Copy, and in Robert Stephens's Edition: Learned Men had inserted it, whether from some Manuscript Copies, or from conjecture, I know not. But at length, the Fuketian Copy has informed us, that these words were on a good account inserted, from the Manuscripts. Valef.

## CHAP.



CHAP. XLIX.

The Marriage of Constantius Cæsar, His Son.

WHEN the Thirtieth year of His Empire was ended, He celebrated the Marriage of his second Son, <sup>Παλατιὰ. τὴν τὴν καπὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Questionless it must be written thus, παλαὶ ταύ- τῃ καπὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῷ ἡλι- κῶν διαπερῆσαι, having long before performed, &c. Valef.</sup> having long before per- formed the same thing for his elder Son. Banquets there- fore and Feasts were made; the Emperour Himself led His Son the Bridegroom, and in a most splendid man- ner, entertained and feasted the whole company, the Men apart by themselves, and the Women in separate places by themselves. <sup>\* Or, Rich distrib- utions of gifts.</sup> Rich Gifts were likewise bestowed, both on the People, and on the Cities.

CHAP. L.

The Embassie and Presents [sent from] the Indians.

AT the same time arrived Embassadours from those Indians who dwell at the rising Sun, and brought with them Presents. Which were various sorts of pretious Stones of an exquisite Lustre, and wild Beasts of a Nature different from those known amongst us. All which they presented to the Empèrour, [thereby] declar- ing that his Empire reach'd <sup>\* Leaders, or, Princes.</sup> to the Indian Ocean it self; and that the <sup>\* Or, Fur- niture.</sup> Royetelets, of the Indians Country honoured him with Pictures, and Statues erected to Him, and profest their acknowledgment of Him to be the Emperour and King. <sup>† Or, Sol- diers ar- med with Shields; Spearmen; Guards of their Bo- dies.</sup> Indeed, at the be- ginning of his Empire, the Britains [who dwell] at the setting Sun, were the first that submit- ted themselves to his Government: but now the Indians whose habitation is at the rising Sun, [did the same.] <sup>‡ Or, Cap- tains.</sup> Further, Metrodorus the Philosopher seems to have been the chiefest Person of this Indian Embassie; who from the King of the Indians brought to Constantine very many Gems and Pearls: and pretended that he had brought many more, had not the Persian King taken them from him in his passage thorough Persia. By which lye Con- stantine being prevailed upon, whilst with too much eagerness he pur- sues what had been taken from Metrodorus, raises the Persian War, as 'tis recorded by Cedrenus and Amm. Marcellinus. But Cedrenus relates that in a place wholly foreign and disagreeable, namely in Constantine's twenty first year; whereas he ought to have placed it on the thirty first year of Constantine. For in this year the Peace between the Romans and Persians was broken. Valef. <sup>¶ Or, With Piety.</sup> In the Euketian Copy 'tis ἀρχομένω μὲν τῆς βασιλείας. But in the Old Sheets the reading is, ἀρχομένω μὲν τῇ, which I like better. Valef.

CHAP. LI.

That Constantine having parted His Empire betwixt His three Sons, instructed them in the Art of Governing, \* and Offices of Piety.

WHEN therefore he had reduced both the Limits of the whole World under His own power, He divided his whole Empire, distrib- uting some paternal inheritance as 'twere to his dearest Relatives, amongst His three Sons. To the Elder, He gave his Grand-fathers allot-

ment: to the Second, the Empire of the East: to the Third, that Portion which lay in the midst between these two. But being desirous to procure a good inheritance for his Children, and such as might be salutary to their Souls, he scat- tered the seeds of Piety in their minds: partly by <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup> cultivating them himself with divine Precepts; and partly by appointing them Tutors, who were Persons of approved Piety. He like- wise set over them Teachers of Secular Learning, such Persons namely as were arrived at the height of Literature. O- thers instructed them in the knowledge of the Military Art. Others were their Instructors in politicks, and matters Civil. And [lastly,] others rendred them knowing and expert in the Laws. Moreover, to each of His Sons was al- <sup>† Or, Sol- diers ar- med with Shields; Spearmen; Guards of their Bo- dies.</sup> lotted an Imperial Attendance, [namely] <sup>‡ Or, Cap- tains.</sup> Scutarii; Hastati; Protectores; Legions also, and Mi- litary Companies; and Officers that commanded them, [to wit,] Centurions, Tribunes, and <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup> Duces: of whose skill in warlike affairs, as like- wise of their good affection towards them his Sons, the Father had had experience.

CHAP. LII.

How, when they were arrived at Mar's estate, He taught them Piety.

FURTHER, during their being Cæsars as yet very young, they had (as 'twas requisite,) Ministers and Councillours present with them, who admi- nistred the publick affairs. <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup> But when, afterwards, they grew up to be Men, their Fathers instruction on- ly, was sufficient for them. Who sometimes incited 'em, when present with him, by private instructions to an imitation of himself; and taught them to become ex- act followers of his own piety: at other times, when they were absent, by his Letters he sug- gested to them Imperial Precepts. The first and chiefest whereof was this, that they should value the knowledge and worship of God the supream King, above all riches whatever, and before the Empire it self. But at length he gave them power, of themselves to do what might be of ad- vantage to the publick: and before all things gave them this in charge, that they should take a particular care of God's Church, and com- manded them openly to own themselves to be Christians. And in this manner he instructed his Sons. But they, incited not so much by Precept as their own alacrity of mind, exceeded the admonitions of their Father; in regard they had their minds always intent upon Piety to- wards God, and in the very Palace it self exact- ly performed and observed the Rites of the Church, together with all their Domesticks. For this was the work of the Fathers Care, to assign no Domesticks to his Sons, but such as were <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup> worshippers of God. <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup> The Com- manders also of the First Companies, and they to whom the Care of the State was entrusted, <sup>¶ Or, Fur- niture.</sup>

So in the foregoing chapter Eusebius makes use of the word πύματα to signify Military Companies; and in many other places. So Sozomen book 1. chap. 8. ὅτι ἐκείνη ἡ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πύ-ματα, iii



κατα, ἀ τὸν ἀειθρὸς καλῶς, ἔχον ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κατεσκεύαστο  
from that time the Roman Legions, which they now term Companies,  
provided each of them a Tabernacle proper to themselves. Further,  
this place seems to me to be imperfect, and must be made good  
in this manner; ἢ τῶν πρώτων ὃ ταγματῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἢ οἱ  
τῶν κοινῶν, &c. and we have rendered it accordingly. For  
Eusebius says, that both the Commanders of the first Companies, and  
those also to whom the Care of the Republick was committed by  
Constantine, were Favourites of the Christian Religion. By those  
former Persons, he means the Tribunes and Comites of the Scholæ:  
but the latter are the præfecti Prætorio, the Quæstors of the sacred  
Palace, the Masters of the Offices, and the others who transacted Civil  
affairs. Valef.

\* Viz. \* were of this sort. For he † confided in Per-  
Christians sons who profess a faith in God, as in some  
† Or, For- strong and firm Walls. \* When this thrice-blef-  
tified him- sed Prince had [thus] constituted these matters  
self with, also, God the disposer of every good thing, in re-  
&c. gard all affairs of the State had been put into good  
\* Ἐπεὶ ὃ order by the Emperour,) thought it now at  
ἢ ταῦτα length an opportune time, for translating him to  
διέκερτο. a better allotment, and brought upon him the  
I like not the con- debt due to Nature.  
jecture of the Learn-  
ed, who after the word ταῦτα have added καλῶς, thus, well con-  
stituted, &c. which addition I found written in Moræus's Copy also.  
But if any thing was to have been added, I would rather have put in  
ἔως, thus. For καλῶς can have no place here, in regard in the  
following clause ἐυδατεθέντων occurs. Otherwise it would be an  
idle repetition, nor would there be more said in the second member of  
the period, than in the first. Nevertheless, in the Fukeian Copy the  
reading is καλῶς διέκερτο. Valef.

### CHAP. LIII.

*That after He had Reigned about two and thirty  
years, and lived above sixty, He had a Body  
that was sound and healthy.*

<sup>a</sup> This pas- **H**E Completed the time of His Reign in a  
sage of Eu- <sup>a</sup> two and thirty years, abating some few  
sebius hath Months and Days: but the space of His Life was  
led many about double as much. At which age his Body  
Persons in- continued free from Diseases, firm, void of all  
to a mis- manner of blemish, and youthfuller than any the  
take. A- most juvenile Body; beautiful to behold; and  
mongst whom was strong to do any thing whatever, that was to  
Dionysius be performed by strength. In so much that he  
Petavius, could exercise as a Soldier; ride, walk, fight;  
who both erect Trophies against his conquered Enemies;  
in his Au- and, according to his own usage, could obtain un-  
norations bloody Victories over his opposers.  
on Epipha-  
nius's Book

de Ponderibus, and also in his eleventh Book de Doctrinâ Temporum,  
confiding in the authority of Eusebius, was of opinion that Constantine  
died in the thirty second year of his Reign. Most of the Ancients  
have likewise written the same thing: viz. Philostorgius, Book 2.  
Theoderus Lector in his Collectanea; Epiphanius, and the Author of  
the Alexandrian Chronicle: and amongst the Latines, Aurelius Victor.  
But this opinion seems to me wholly absurd. For they who think  
thus, must of necessity affirm also, that the same Constantine began  
his Empire on the year of Christ 305, Constantius the fifth time and  
Maximianus being Consuls. And, that on the same year Constantius  
Augustus the Father of Constantine departed this Life. But, on the  
year following which is the year of Christ 306, Constantius Augustus  
was consul the sixth time with his Colleague Maximianus, as all the  
Fasti do constantly affirm. Wherefore Constantine's Reign can be  
brought but from the year of Christ 306. Now therefore, whereas  
he died in the Consulate of Felicianus and Titianus, that is on the  
year of Christ 337, on the twenty second of the Month May, as 'tis  
agreed on amongst all Writers, it is plainly made out, that Con-  
stantine Reigned thirty years, and ten Months, three Days only ex-  
cepted. For he had been created Cæsar on the eighth of the Calends  
of August, as Idatius writes in his Fasti. Eutropius therefore and  
Rufinus are right in their affirming, that Constantine ended his Life  
in the thirty first year of his Empire. Our Eusebius also says true in  
his Chronicon, that Constantine Reigned thirty Years and tenth Months.  
Further, whence it has happened, that our Eusebius here, and most of  
the Ancients have attributed two and thirty years Reign to Con-  
stantine, this, as I think, was the reason. Two years before his

death, Constantine had celebrated his Tricennalia, in the Consulate of  
Constantius and Albinus, as Eusebius has related above. They thought  
therefore, that the thirtieth year of Constantine's Reign had been com-  
pleted when those Men were Consuls; which nevertheless is false,  
as I have noted above. Besides, from the beginning of Constantine's  
Reign, unto his death, two and thirty Pair of Consuls are reckoned.  
Whence it might have happened, that they should believe him to have  
died in the thirty second year of his Empire. Further, some Chro-  
nologists have ascribed the years of his Father Constantius, because  
he Reigned but a very short time, to Constantine. But the Reader is  
to be advertized, that the most Learned Petavius has at length chan-  
ged his Sentiment, and has embraced the Common opinion concerning  
the years of Constantine's Reign, and concerning its beginning; as  
'tis apparent from the Fourth Book of the Second part of his Rationarium  
Temporum. Valef.

### CHAP. LIV.

*Concerning those who abused his eximious hu-  
manity, to \* avarice and a pretence of Piety.*

**H**IS Mind also arrived at the height of hu-  
mane perfection; being adorned with all  
manner of † accomplishments; but most espe- † Or,  
cially, with humanity. Which, nevertheless, Goods.  
many Persons found fault with, by reason of the  
baseness of ill Men, who ascribed [the occasion  
of] their own badness to the Emperours' pa-  
tience and clemency. Indeed, even we our selves<sup>a</sup> be-  
held the mighty prevalency of these two Vices<sup>b</sup> in  
those times; the Violence namely of in-  
fatiable and ill Men, who infested almost all<sup>c</sup> by learned  
Mortals; and the unspeakable Dissimulation of Men from  
those who craftily crept into the Church, and the Manu-  
pretendedly took upon themselves the name of script Co-  
Christians. But the Emperours innate humanity word I  
and goodness, the sincerity of his Faith, and likewise  
\* Integrity of his Morals, found in  
induced him to credit the Mr Fuke's  
specious and outside piety of Book. But  
those Men who were thought I had ra-  
to be Christians, and who ther place  
with a crafty mind pretend- this word  
ed to † bear a true and sin- before the  
cere benevolence towards Verb ἐπι-  
keep. <sup>†</sup> Maintain, or, γράφω.  
him. His committing of himself to which Per- Eusebius  
sons, did sometimes perhaps drive him upon [expresses  
those things that were unfitting; the Envy [of himself]  
the Devil] bringing this Blot upon his other at the close  
|| praises. Third Book  
concerning  
the Life of  
Constan-

|| Or, Goods.

time. It would indeed be far more elegantly written thus, αὐτὴν ἐπέ-  
σετο τῶν βασιλέως ἀνεξικακίαν. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπιτελείς ἀπλήσων. I embrace the emendation of Learned  
Men, which occurs also in the Fukeian Copy, viz. ἐπιτελῶν. Fur-  
ther, the judgment of our Eusebius is here to be taken notice of, who in  
the Reign of Constantine, as in some most beautiful Countenance, took  
notice of this Blemish, that he chose the worst and most rapacious Men  
to be his friends, and to bear the publick Offices: and, that he was  
circumvented by the fraud and craft of certain Persons, who pretend-  
ed themselves to be Christians. Aurelius Victor reproves almost the  
same thing, in these words: Fiscales molestie severius pressæ. Cur  
concessisset. Quæ quanquam sep. us accidere, tamen in summo ingenio,  
atque optimis Resp. moribus, quamvis parva vitia elucent magis. Amm.  
Marcellinus also in his sixteenth Book, attests the same. Nam proximo-  
rum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐνεπίεστο. In the Fuke. and Sir Henry Savil's Copy the reading is  
ἐνεπίεστο. Valef.



## CHAP. LV.

*How Constantine wrote Orations to the very last day of his Life.*

**B**UT Divine Vengeance seized <sup>a</sup> those Men not long after. But the Emperour himself had in such a manner furnished his mind with discursive knowledge, that to his very death, according to his accustomed manner, he wrote Orations; and, <sup>b</sup> as his usage was, made Speeches, and instilled into his hearers divine Precepts: He would likewise be continually making of Laws, sometimes about Civil matters, at others, concerning Military affairs: in fine, he employed his thoughts about all things that were advantageous, and of use to the life of Men. But this is highly worthy to be recorded, namely that when he was at the point of death, he recited a certain Funeral Oration in the presence of his usual Auditory. And <sup>c</sup> having continued his Speech to a great length, he discoursed therein concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and concerning those who had spent their Lives piously, and concerning the Blessings treasured up with God himself for those that love him. But on the other hand, he made it apparent by many and those evident reasons, what manner of end they would come to, who had lead a contrary course of life; and gave an accurate description of the calamitous death of the impious. By his solid and weighty attestation to which truth, he seemed severely to touch those about him. In so much that, he asked one of them <sup>d</sup> who were puffed up with a vain opinion of wisdom, what his Sentiment was in reference to those things which had been discoursed of. Who by his own testimony confirmed the truth of what had been spoken, and though much against his will, highly commended his reasonings against the worship of many Gods. By making such discourses as these to his Confidants, before his death, he seemed to render his way to a better allotment, smooth and plain.

The Translatour persisting in his mistake, renders it here also, *Congressus cum amicis habere, to hold meetings with his friends*; whereas he ought to have translated it, *conciones habere, to make Speeches*, as 'tis plainly confirmed by the words following. *Victor in his Epitome says the same likewise concerning Constantine: Commodissimus tamen rebus multis fuit: Calumnias sedare legibus severissimis: nutrire artes bonas, præcipue studia Literarum: legere ipse, scribere, meditari.* Where *meditari* has the same import with *μελεῖσθαι*, that is, *declamare, to declaim*. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Μακρὸν ὃ καὶ πῦας. Doubtless it must be written *καταλείνας, having continued*; as others have already remarked. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Τῶν ὅσων σοφιστῶν. I had rather write ὅσων σοφιστῶν. So Eusebius does usually term the Heathens, and especially the Philosophers, who thought themselves wiser than others. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is *σοφιστῶν*. But the third syllable has a line drawn under it. Valef.

## CHAP. LVI.

*How, making an Expedition against the Persians, He took the Bishops along with him, and [provided] a \* Tent made in form of a Church.*

\* Or, Tabernacle.

**T**HIS also is worthy to be recorded, that about the forementioned time, upon his hearing of the motion of those Barbarians [who dwell] at the East, having said, that as yet there

remained to him this Victory [to be obtained] over them, he resolved upon an Expedition against the *Persian*. Which when he had determined to undertake, he summoned together his Military Forces; and likewise conferred with the Bishops that were about him, concerning the design of his Expedition; it being his chiefest care, that some Persons should always be present with him, who were of use in order to the worship of God. They affirmed, that they would most willingly follow him, nor would in any wise leave him; but with their incessant Prayers to God would ingage and fight together with him. At which news he was highly pleased, and described to them a way whereby they might go <sup>a</sup>. [ <sup>b</sup> Then he prepared a Tabernacle most <sup>c</sup> richly furnished, made in the form of a Church, for the use of this War; wherein he resolved, in company with the Bishops, to pour forth his Prayers to God the Giver of Victory.

the *Geneva-Edition*, unto the beginning of the 58th Chapter, (which passage we have inclosed within this mark [ ],) were wanting both in the *King's Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: and they have been added by Learned Men, from conjecture as I think. For the Chapters which follow are too short, and contain nothing more than the very Titles of the Chapters; which is a thing altogether disagreeable to Eusebius's design. Wherefore 'tis credible, that Learned Men inserted these words from the Titles of the Chapters, which occur perfixt before the fourth Book. Further, in the *Geneva-Edition*, these words *αὐτὸς δὲ*, which occur after the verb *διέβηκε*, must be expunged. For the imperfection begins before these words *αὐτὸς δὲ νέων*, &c. We have taken notice of a like mistake above. Our conjecture concerning this Supplement is plainly confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*, which (though it faithfully shews the other Supplements which are publish'd by the *Geneva-men*, as we have noted in their places; yet) has not the Supplement of this place. Nor is this Fragment written in *Turnebus's Copy*, although all the rest occurs written at the margin of his Book. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Socrates (book 1. chap. 18.) relates the very same thing, in these words: *πῶς τὸ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸν χριστιανισμὸν πῶς, &c.* Moreover, so ardent was the Emperours Love for the Christian Religion, that being about to ingage in a War with the Persians, He provided a Tabernacle made of Linen, painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church, even as Moses did in the wilderness, and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready. Which words of Socrates I have the more willingly produced, because I know that Socrates is wont most commonly to make use of the very words of Eusebius, in those passages which he borrows out of Eusebius. Therefore, these words of Socrates may supply the place of Eusebius's words. For I can very hardly be induced to believe, that those words which occur in this imperfection, are Eusebius's. Further, before this, in the *Licinian War* namely, Constantine had a Tabernacle of the Cross fixt without the Camp, into which he retired to fast and pray, as Eusebius attests Book 2. But in his preparation for the Persian War, Constantine did this further, that he built a Tabernacle in form of a Church. Sozomen relates, that from this practice of Constantine it was afterwards derived, that each Cohort in the Roman Army had its Tabernacle furnished like a Chappel, and peculiar Priests and Deacons, who might there perform Divine worship. Valef.

## CHAP. LVII.

*That having received the Embassy of the Persians, He watch'd all night, together with others, on the Feast of Easter.*

**I**N the interim the Persians, informed of the Emperours preparation for a War, and being extreemly fearful of coming to an Engagement with him, <sup>a</sup> by an Embassy entreated him to make a Peace. <sup>b</sup> *Rufus* writes the same thing in his *Breviarium*. *Constantinus rerum dominus, &c. Constantine supremum in the Empire, at the latter end of his Life prepared an Expedition against the Persians. For the Nations in the whole World being subdued; and he being rendred more glorious by a fresh Victory obtained over the Goths, went down against the Persians with many Troops. At whose approach the Kingdoms of Babylonia trembled so much, that an humble Embassy from the Persians met him, and promised*



they would do what they were commanded. Nevertheless, they deserved not to be pardoned for the continual Eruptions, which they had attempted throughout the East, under Constantius Cæsar. But Socrates says only this: ἀλλ' ἡ πόλις τότε ὁ πόλεμος, &c. But this War went on no farther at that time: For it was immediately extinguished by the fear which the Emperour had put the Persians into. Valef.

Wherefore, this most peaceable Emperour, gave the Embassie of the Persians a kind reception, and readily entred into a League with them. The great Festival of Easter was now at hand: wherein the Emperour paid his Vows to God, and together with others watch'd all Night long. You will here observe the Barbarism, not of Eusebius, but of him who has made up this Chapter. For it ought to have been said, πρὸς ἐκείνας ἐπαύσατο. Nor is this likely, that Constantine, who had drawn together all the Forces of the Roman Empire against the Persians, should have made a Peace with them. 'Tis certain, the contrary is affirmed by Rufus Festus, whose words we have produced above; as also by Eutropius, and Aurelius Victor. But Socrates intimates, that a Peace, or at least a Truce, was made with the Persians. Valef.

## CHAP. LVIII.

Concerning the Building of that termed the Martyrium of the Apostles, at Constantinople.

<sup>a</sup> Who sees not, that this passage was made by another hand? For it does not in the least agree with the following chapter. In this chapter Constantine is said to have begun to build the Church of the Apostles, after Easter in the year 337. But in the following chapter, which 'tis manifest was written by Eusebius, that Church appears to be now finished. But from Easter to Pentecost, on which day Constantine died, the ground could scarce be dug up, in order to laying the foundation of the Temple. Wherefore that Church must necessarily have been begun to be built long before. See chap. 36. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἄνω χαλκὸς μόνον. It must be, ἄνω μὲν χαλκός. Valef.

\* Or, Gold, shined gloriously: in so much that, it sent forth \* dazzled their Eyes who beheld it at a distance, [the Brass] † reverberating the Rays of the Sun. But the whole \* Roof was encompassed round with chased Net-work, made of Brass and Gold.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ δὲ δόμος ὁ ἄνω, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Eusebius terms the outward Roof of a Church, τὸ ἄνω δόμος. Therefore δόμος here to be the Roof of the whole Church, or at least of the Altar. Such Roofs built in form of a Circle, we French-men do at this day term *Domata*. Further, concerning the magnificence of this Church of the Apostles, Gregory Nazianzen, in his Poem de *Isomismo Anastasiae*, writes thus:

Σὺν αὖτις δὲ μεγάλῃσιν ἐδ' ἡ χειρὶς μαθητῶν  
Παρθένῳ σωτηρίῳ τέτραντο τέμνοντο.

That is, And likewise the magnificent Temple of Christs Disciples, distinguished by four sides in form of a Cross. In this form Churches were heretofore built, as Greiser hath remarked in his *Books de Cruce*, and Marcus in the *Life of St. Porphyrius*. Valef.

## CHAP. LIX.

A further description of the same Martyrium.

IN This manner was the Church it self beautified, by the Emperour's extraordinary Care and Munificence. But about the Church there was a most Spacious \* Area, open to the pure Air. At the four sides whereof ran Porticus's [joyned one to another,] which inclosed the Area Situate in the midst, together with the Church it self. Moreover, † Basilicæ, Baths, † Rooms to lodge and eat in, and many other apartments built for their use who kept the place, were joined to the Porticus's, and were equal to them in length.

## CHAP. LX.

That in this [Church] also, He built \* Himself a Sepulchre.

ALL These [Edifices] the Emperour \* Dedicated [with this intent,] that He might consign to posterity the memory of our Saviour's Apostles. But he had another design in his mind, when he built this Church: which [purpose of his] was at first concealed; but in the end it became known to all Men. For he had † designed this place for himself || after his death; foreseeing by a transcendent alacrity of Faith, that his own Body should after death be made a partaker of the Apostles appellation: time of his death.

\* Τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων μεσηρίσας κοινωνίᾳ. Eusebius alludes to that appellation of ἰσαπόστολος, that is, equal to an Apostle, which was given to Constantine after his death, as it occurs in the *Ménæa* of the Greeks. Which appellation I can't tell why Scaliger (in his fifth Book de *Emendatione Temporum*.) should so much envy him, as to say that much was detracted from the praise and glory of the Apostles, because their name is given to Constantine. Doubtless, whoever shall accurately look into those things done by Constantine, in order to the propagation of the Faith of Christ, will acknowledge that name to have been deservedly given Him. If Thecla could deserve that appellation, which Woman Basilus Seleucensis and others do term ἰσαπόστολον, how much more justly will it be given to Constantine, by whom 'tis effected, that we are now all Christians? Further, Eusebius makes use of the same words again, below at chap. 71. The Author of the *Synodicon* speaking concerning the Nicene Synod; Κωνσταντίνῳ, ὁ ἐν χειρὶν βασιλευσὶν ἀπόστολος, Constantine, the Apostle among the Christian Emperours. And so he is termed in the Office of the Greeks, at the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, as it occurs in the Typon of St. Saba. Valef.

\* to the end that even after death, He might be esteemed worthy of the Prayers which should be performed there in honour of the Apostles. Having therefore raised twelve † Capsæ there, as some Sacred Columns, in honour and memory of the choir of the Apostles, he placed his own || Ark in the midst; on each side of which lay six Capsæ of the Apostles. And this, as I have said, he prudently considered of, [namely] where his Body might be decently deposited after he had ended his Life. Having in his mind ordered these matters

\* Ὡς ἂν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, ἐξ ὧν τῶν ἐκτεταγμένων μελλόντων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων σωτηρίας εὐχόμενος. In Robert Stephens's Edit. 'tis likewise worded and pointed in the same manner.

† Chests. In the Greek 'tis θηκασ.

<sup>b</sup> But Chrysostome (*Homil. 26. in 2 Epist. to the Corinthians, pag. 741.*) says Constantine was buried in the Porch of the Church of the Apostles, as their Porter; and that matter he magnifies according to his usual way. These things therefore must be so reconciled, as that Constantine himself would have had his dead body buried in the midst of the Apostles: but, that Constantine, or some body else, placed it otherwise. Indeed Zonaras writes, that Constantine deposited his Father's Corps in the Church of the

Apostles, in a peculiar Porticus, which he had built for that very purpose. Valef. || Ἀφ' ἧς, Coffin.

long



long before, he consecrated a Church to the Apostles; \* believing, that their memory would be useful and advantageous to his Soul. Nor did God account him unworthy of those things which by his Prayers he expected. For, as soon as the first [† Exercises of the Feast of Easter had been compleated by him, and when he had past over our Saviour's day, rendring it splendid to himself, and a Festival to all other Persons; whilst he was intent upon these things, and spent his Life herein to the very Close of it, God, by whose assistance he performed all these things, opportunely vouchsafed him a divine passage to a better allotment.

† These words within this mark [ ], from Exercises to Martyrs, are wanting in Robert Stephens; nor has Musculus taken any notice of them in his Version. I read therefore, ἐν τέτῳ μέγαι τέλος τῷ ζῶντι διανύοντα, and spent his Life herein to the very close of it. Farther, this Asterisk assures us, that this imperfection was supplied from some Manuscript Copy. Nevertheless, I question much, whether even these words also proceed not from the conjecture of some Learned Man. For this expression seems to me scarce Greek, ἐν τέτῳ τῷ ζῶντι διανύοντα ἢ ἐν τέτοις ὄντα. And I had much rather write διανύοντα. But the words which occur at the end of the imperfection, are much more suspicious; viz. καὶ ἰαυδὰ πῶς ἔσθ' μαρτύρων μαρτυρίῳ ἐνδεδείχας οἶκον. For first, μαρτυρίῳ οἶκον is a foolish expression, in regard Eusebius always says μαρτύριον, in the neuter gender. Then, why has he said μαρτύρων, in the plural number? Was that Church dedicated to many Martyrs together? There was a famous Church at Helenopolis, dedicated to the Martyr Lucianus. In this Church therefore Constantine abode on account of Prayer, when he returned from the warm Waters. Wherefore it ought to have been said τῷ μαρτύρῳ, of the Martyr, not τῶν μαρτύρων, of the Martyrs. After I had written this Note, I procured the Eusebian Copy, which has retained the true writing of this place. For thus it is; τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐκκλησίῳ ἐνδεδείχας οἶκον, having made his abode for some considerable time in the Oratory of the Martyrs. In the same Copy the reading is ἐν τέτῳ τέλος without a chasm: also, δεὸς ᾧ ταῦτα συνεξέτελλε. Valef.

CHAP. LXI.

[The Emperour's] Indisposition of Body at Helenopolis, and his Prayers. [Also] concerning his Baptism.

AT first an unequal temper of Body happen'd to him: together therewith a distemper seized him. Soon after which he went to the warm Baths of his own City: thence he goes to the City which bore the name of his own Mother: where having made his abode for some considerable time, in the Oratory of the Martyrs, he put up his Prayers and Supplications to God. And when he perceived that the end of his Life drew near, he thought this was the time of purgation, of all those sins which he had committed throughout his whole Life: firmly believing, that whatever sins as a Man he had fallen into and committed, would be wash'd from off his Soul, by the efficacy of mystick words, and by the salutary Laver. Having therefore considered this with himself, kneeling upon the pavement, he humbly beg'd God's pardon, making a confession of his sins in the very Martyrium: in which

This place does chiefly call for the Reader's attentive diligence. For from it, that great question concerning Constantine's Baptism may easily be determined. Eusebius says therefore, that the Emperour Constantine did then first of all receive imposition of hands with solemn Prayer

in the Church: that is in one word, was then first made a Catechumen. For Catechumens were made by imposition of the hand by the Bishop; as the sixth Canon of the Council of Orleans informs us: De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi. The same is established in Chap. 39. of the Eliberitane Council. Gentiles si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi; si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte vita honesta, placuit eis manum imponi, & fieri Christianos. Which Eliberitane Canon (that I may give notice of that by the by,) seems to be nothing else but an expolition of the Orleans Canon: which may also be seen in other Chapters of that Council. Concerning the same Rite there is a famous place in Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. 2. concerning the Miracles of Saint Martin, Chap. 3. Postremo cuncti catechumini ad genua beati viri ruerē cœperunt, fideliter postulantes, ut eos faceret Christianos. Nec Cunctatus, in medio, ut erat, campo, cunctos imposita universis manu Catechumenos fecit. The same Author, Book 1. Nemo ferè, says he, Ex immani illa multitudine fuit Gentilium, qui non impositione manuum desiderant, in Dominum Jesum relicto impietatis errore crediderit. St. Augustine also, in Book 2. de Peccatorum Remissione, Cap. 26. Non unusmodi est Sanctificatio. Nam & Catechumenos secundum quendam modum suum per signum Crucis & Orationem manus impositionis puto sanctificari. Petrus Chrysologus writes the same likewise in his 52d Sermon. Hinc est quod veniens ex Gentibus, impositione manus & exorcismis ante à demone purgatur; & apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere possit auditum. So also in his 105th Sermon. Namque ut incurvus peccatis Gentilis erigatur ad cœlum, prius à Gentile per impositionem manuum nequam spiritus effugatur. To these Authors, is to be annexed Symeon Metaphrastes, who in the Acts of the Holy Martyrs Indes and Domna, writes thus concerning Cyrillus the Bishop. Ille autem cum moderatè divinas ei cecinisset Scripturas, & Venerandâ Christi cruce eam obsignasset, tunc quidem eam facit Catechumenam. Lastly, Marcus in his Book concerning the Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza: Die sequenti parentes mulieris & Cognati euntes ad B. Porphyrium, prociderunt ad ejus pedes, petentes Christi signaculum. Beatus vero cum eos signasset, & fecisset Catechumenos, dimisit illos in pace, præcipiens eis ut vacarent Sanctæ Ecclesiæ. Et Paulò post cum eos catechesi instruxisset, baptizavit. From these Authors it appears, that Catechumens were heretofore made in the Church, no otherwise than by an imposition of the hand. Whereas therefore Constantine is said to have then first received imposition of the hand in the Church, 'tis plain that as yet he was not a Catechumen. But some body will say: who can believe that the Emperour Constantine was not till this time a Catechumen? Whereas he had both been present at the Nicene Council, and had published so many Laws and Rescripts in favour of the Christians; had built so many Churches; had all manner of ways incited the Heathens to embrace the Faith of Christ; and had deprived the Hereticks and Schismatics of their Churches. Indeed, Eusebius does attest, that he had performed all the Offices of a Christian. For he writes, that he had busied himself in fastings and Prayers, and had observed Sundays, and the Feasts of the Martyrs; and also, that he had watch'd all Night in the Vigils of Easter. All these things, and many more besides, which might be produced, do prove Constantine, not to have been a Heathen; but they do not evince him to have been a Catechumen. 'Tis certain, in these four Books of Eusebius, wherein the Piety and Religion of Constantine is celebrated, it no where occurs, that Constantine prayed in the Church with the rest of the Catechumens, or that he partook of the Sacrament of the Catechumens. And although Eusebius does in express words affirm that, of Helena Augusta the Mother of the Emperour Constantine, that she stood in the Church with the rest of the Women; yet you will never find the same thing said by him concerning Constantine. If it be objected, that Constantine made his abode at Helenopolis in the Church of the Martyrs, and pour'd forth his Prayers to God: in the first place I answer, that this passage occurs not in our Copies, as I have observed a little before. Secondly, even Heathens had a liberty of going into the Churches, except only in the time of Prayers; how much more might the Emperour do that, who profess himself a Christian. Whereas therefore Eusebius does plainly inform us here, that Constantine received imposition of the hand from the Prelates first at Helenopolis; it evidently appears, that before that time he was not a Catechumen. I know, that Arbanasius (in the Life of Saint Anthony, where he speaks concerning the Letters written by Constantine to Anthony,) and Saint Augustine (in Epist. 162. and 166,) do give Constantine the Title of a Christian Prince. But it may be answered, that they have in this matter followed the vulgar opinion and Report of all Men; and, that they publicly termed Constantine a Christian Prince, not because he had as yet been initiated in the Sacraments of the Christian Faith, but in regard he openly profess'd the worship of the Christian Religion. Also, another far more weighty objection against our Opinion, may be brought from Chap. 32. Book 1. the Contents of which Chapter run thus, ὅπως κατηχθεὶς βασιλευντῶν, &c. That Constantine becoming a Catechumen, &c. Whence it may be concluded, that Constantine was made a Catechumen soon after that Vision of a Cross in the Heavens. But my answer is, that those Contents were not made by Eusebius, but by some more modern Person, as it is shown above. Besides, κατηχθεὶς is taken there for μαθητεύσας, instructed, or, taught. 'Tis certain, Eusebius does not say any where in that Chapter, that Constantine was made a Catechumen, but only, that the Bishops being call'd for by him, open'd to him the reason of that Cœlestial Vision: and that thence forward he applied himself to the reading of the Sacred Volumes. Valef.



<sup>a</sup> τὸν δὲ place likewise he was first vouchsafed <sup>a</sup> imposition of hands with Prayer. Removing from thence, he goes to the Suburbs of the City Nicomedia: where he called the Bishops together, and spake to them in this manner.

chap. 13.

these words occur, εὐχὰς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν, received a blessing by Prayer and the laying on of his hands.—Saint Augustine, Book 2. de Remissione Peccatorum, Chap. 26. terms it Orationem manuum impositionis, the Prayer of imposition of the hand. Valef.

## CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's request to the Bishops, that they would confer Baptism upon him.

<sup>2</sup> Σωμειν σφραγισμα<sup>3</sup> A very foolish repetiti-  
on, this; in regard he had said just before, τὴν ἀδα-  
υσιον<sup>4</sup> σφραγισμα<sup>5</sup>, that Seal which confers immortality. Wherefore I doubt not but Eusebius wrote σφραγισμα<sup>6</sup>, the salutary gift, For so the Antients termed Baptism also, as, besides others, Gregory Nazianzen informs us. Valef.

<sup>7</sup> Εὐεργὴν ποτε. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is, τὸν ἐν-  
εργὴν ποτε ποιεῖν, I had heretofore taken a resolution of doing this; in which manner I found it written in Turnebus's and Moræus's Copy. Valef.

Least any one should rashly find fault with Constantine; because he coveted to be baptized there, where the Lord had heretofore been baptized by John; notice is to be taken, that most Christians at that time coveted the same thing. Our Eusebius's words in his Book de Locis Hebraicis, are these, Βυθὸς αὖτε ὅπου ἦν ἰωάννης βαπτίζων πρὸς τὸ ἰορδάνην καὶ δέκνυ<sup>8</sup> ὁ πόσις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πλείους ἦν ἀ-  
δαυζῶν εἰς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τοῦ λυγροῦ εἰσορμητοῦ λαμβάνειν. Which place Jerome renders thus: BETHBAARA trans Jordanem, &c. BETHBAARA beyond Jordan, where John Baptized to Repen-  
tance: whence even to this day many of the Brethren, that is of the number of believers, desirous to be born again there, are baptized in the vital Stream. Jerome takes Eusebius's words to be meant concerning Catechumens who earnestly desired that they might be baptized in Jordan. But the words of Eusebius may be understood concerning bare washing. Indeed, long after the age of Eusebius and Jerome, the Faithful were wont to wash in that very place, especially on the Festival of the Theophania [that is, either on the first of February, or the sixth of January, as Scaliger affirms in his Notes on 1 Cor. 15] after the Baptism of the little Children; as I have learnt from the Itinerary of Antoninus the Martyr, whose words are these. Juxta Jordanem verò ubi baptizatus est Dominus Jesus, est tumulus cancellis circumdatus. Et in loco ubi redundat aqua de alveo suo, posita est Crux lignea intus in aqua, & ex utraque parte rupes strata marmore. Et in vigilia Theophaniæ magnus ibi fit conventus populorum. Et quarta aut quinta vice gallo canente, sunt Vigiliæ. Completis Matutinis, primo diluculo surgentes procedunt ad Sacra Ministeria celebranda sub divo. Et diaconi tenentes sacerdotem, descendit sacerdos in flumen. Et hora quâ cœpit benedicere aquam, mox Jordanis cum magno rugitu post se revertitur; & stat aqua superior in se usque dum baptismus perficitur: inferior autem fugit in mare. And a little after: Baptismo autem completo, descendunt omnes in flumen pro benedictione, induci sicut domibus quas jibi ad Sepulturam servant. The same thing is likewise related in the Hætoporicon of Saint Willibald which Canisius published. Ad Jordanem, ubi Dominus fuit baptizatus, ibi nunc est Ecclesia in columnis lapideis sursum elevata: & subius ecclesia est nunc arida terra, ubi dominus baptizatus fuit. In ipso loco & ibi nunc baptizant. Ibi stat crux lignea in medio, & parva derivatio aquæ stat illic; & unus funiculus extensus super Jordanem hinc & inde firmatur. Tunc in solem-  
nitate Epiphaniæ infirmi & ægroti venientes habebant se cum funiculo, & sic demerguntur in aquam. Episcopus Noster Willibaldus balneavit se ibi in Jordane. Valef.

<sup>9</sup> Μὴ δὲ ἂν ἀρεσθῶμεν πρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν. The meaning of these words

is sufficiently intricate. Had Constantine a mind to say this? Let all Persons now cease from doubting concerning me, whether I be really a Christian; let no body in future suspect me to have embraced the Faith of Christ in words only, not from the inmost affection of my heart. Αρεσθῶμεν may also be taken at this place for ἀρεσθῶμεν; that is, Let all delay be removed. Which sense does indeed agree better with what goes before. For in these words Constantine accuses himself, because namely he had too long deferred the Salutary Laver, and because he had been so long wavering as 'twere and doubtful, neither following the Rites and Ceremonies of the Heathens, nor embracing the worship of the Christians. Valef.

For if the Lord of Life and Death, will have Us continue our Life any longer here; and if it be once so determined [concerning me,] that I may <sup>10</sup> ἀπαξ in future be assembled with the People of God, and, <sup>11</sup> εἰς αὐτοὺς being made a member of the Church, may together <sup>12</sup> ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι with all the rest partake of the Prayers: I will prescribe my self such Rules of living, as may <sup>13</sup> ἀξίως besit [a servant of] God.

\* Or, Be worthy of God.

derstood with εἰς αὐτοὺς; which sense the Translatour of this Book has followed. Or else with εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐμὸν is understood, which meaning is in my judgment truer. Indeed, in the Kings Copy, after the word εἰς αὐτοὺς a middle distinction is placed. Besides, that word ἀπαξ does plainly shew, that Constantine speaks concerning himself. Lastly, if these words were to be meant concerning God, Constantine would not have said τῷ τῷ θεῷ λαῶ, with the People of God, but τῷ θεῷ λαῶ, with his People. Valef.

These were the words he spake. They performed the Rites, and compleated the Divine Ceremonies; and, having first enjoined him <sup>14</sup> πρὸς whatever was necessary, made him a partaker <sup>15</sup> διασέλας of the Sacred Mysteries. Constantine therefore, <sup>16</sup> ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι in the only Person of all those that ever were Em-  
perours, was by a Regeneration <sup>17</sup> ἀπετελείωτο perfected in the Martyria of Christ: and being dignified with the Divine Seal, <sup>18</sup> ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ rejoiced in Spirit; <sup>19</sup> τὸ πνεῦμα

ded ἀπετελείωτο, which pleases me better. This verb δια-  
σέλλομαι is frequently taken in this sense, in the Sacred Scri-  
ptures. Valef.

<sup>20</sup> Ἐτελείωτο. I can't approve of the Version of the Translatours, who have rendred ἐτελείωτο, initiatus est, was initiated; as if the reading ought to be, ἐτελείωτο. But I have chose to render it, consummatus est, was perfected. So St. Cyprian in his 73 Epist. to Julianus, pag. 145. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, & per nostram Orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, & signaculo dominico consummentur. 'Tis certain, the Greek Fathers do usually term Baptism τελείωσιν, that is, Perfection and Consummation. So Athanasius in his third Oration against the Arians; Ἡ διαπὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ τελείωσει τῆς βαπτίσματος συγκληρονομαζέται τῷ πνεύματι ὁ υἱός. And a little after; ἡ διαπὴ τὸ πεπονημένον σωζεῖται τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὴν τῷ πνεύματι τελείωσιν. Also, a little after he makes use of τελείωσις, for baptizari, to be baptized: Ὁ βαπτίζων ὁ πατήρ, ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκπνέει καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκπνέει, ἔτι ἐν πνεύματι ἐξῆς τελείωται. And in the following page he does again term Baptism τελείωσιν. In which places P. Nannius always renders it initiationem, initiation. Moreover, Gregory Nazianzen in his first Oration against Julian, gives Baptism the same name; Ἐμὴν μὲν ἐχ' οὕτω τὸ λυγρὸν ἀπορροήσεται. τῇ κατ' ἡμᾶς τελείωσει τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς μύσης ἀντιπρὸς. Lastly, Clemens Alexandrinus, Book 1. Pedagog. writes, that Baptism is called by various names. For, sometimes, he says, 'tis termed χάρισμα; sometimes φωτισμός; sometimes λυγρόν. Then he annexes a reason why it should be termed τέλειον: we term that τέλειον, says he, whereto nothing is wanting. What is farther wanting to him who knows God, and who possesses the grace of God, and now enjoys Life eternal. Whence Clemens concludes thus; that all Persons who have believed in Christ, and who have been dpt in the sacred Laver, are now perfect. ἔτι τὸ πνεῦμα μόνον καὶ ἀναρροήσεται, τελείωσις ὅτι ἐν ζῳῇ. Amongst the Latines also, they were termed perfecti Christiani, perfect Christians, who had received Baptism, although they had not received imposition of the Hand from the Bishop. The Old Author de Hereticis non rebaptizandis, has this passage; Quod hodiernâ quoque die non potest dubitari esse usitatum, & evenire solitum ut perique post Baptisma sine impositione manuum Episcopi de sæculo exeant; & tamen pro perfectis fidelibus habentur. And again afterwards, at pag. 135 Edit. Regal. he uses a perfect Christian for a B.iever; and, an imperfect one for a Catechumen. See the place— Valef.

<sup>21</sup> Ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ πνεύματι. That which I have already remark'd to have happened in many places of this work, has, I conjecture, been committed here also; namely, that the words are transposed. I am of



of opinion therefore, that it must be read thus: ἡσάλλετο, ἀνεκάνετο, τὸ πνεῦμα, rejoiced, and was renewed in Spirit. For he alludes to that verse of the known Psalm, Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Further, from this place of Eusebius we may gather, that Constantine was not sprinkled in his Bed, as the sick were wont to be; but received Baptism in the Church. For Eusebius says, τοῖς χειρὶ μαρτυροῖς ἀναγορεύοντι, &c. was by a Regeneration perfected in the Martyria of Christ. Soon after this, from the Eusebian Copy and the Old Sheets write φῶς ἐνεπλήσθη, was filled with light. Valef.

and was renewed, and filled with the Divine Light. The joy of his mind was great, by reason of his transcendancy of Faith; but he was stricken with an amazement at the manifestation of the Divine Power. After all things had been duly performed, He was clothed with white and Royal Garments, which shined like the Light; and rested himself upon a most bright Bed; nor would he any more touch the purple.

Tis a known thing, that it was here before the custom, that Neophytes [i. e. Persons newly baptized,] should be clothed in white garments, which they afterwards laid by, on the eighth day. Zeno Veronensis in his fifth Sermon ad Neophytos. Primus eos qui in se c edentem reprobant nullum, non aries sed agnus exceptit: qui vestram nuditatem velleris sui nivo candore vestivit. St. Austin in serm. 157. de Tempore. Paschalis Solemnitas hodierna festivitatem concluditur. Et ideo hodie Neophytorum habitus commutatur: ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur. Bede attests the same in his Book de Officiis. Septuagesima, says he, tendit ad sabbatum ante Octavas Pasche, quando hi qui in Vigilia pasche baptizantur, alba vestimenta deponunt. Which words occur also in the Roman Order. In an old Pontifical Book of the Church of Senona, written out about six hundred years since, there is a solemn Prayer extant, which the Bishop made over the Neophytes, at such time as they laid aside their Albes; which I thought worth while to annex here.

*Benedictio in Sabbato quando albas deponunt.*

Deus qui calcatis inferni Legibus captivitatem nostram resoluta cænarum compage dignatus est ad Libertatis præmia revocare, ipse vobis præstet ita hanc vitam transigere, ut in illam perpetuam ipso duce possitis intrare, Amen. Tantum præbeat vobis fervorem Catholicæ fidei, ut sancti adventus illius sitis expectatione securi, Amen. Ut quicunque hic meruerunt purgare unda Baptismi, ibi præsentari valeant pio Iudici candidati, Amen.

Farther, the Neophytes celebrated those eight days after Baptism with all imaginable Religion: in so much that, during those days, which were also termed Octavæ, they look'd upon it as impious, to touch the earth with their naked feet, as St. Austin writes in Epist. 119. ad Januarium. Also, during those days they were wont to go bare-headed, which was a sign of Liberty. St. Austin Sermon. 4. in Dominica Octavarum pasche. Hodie Octavæ dicuntur infantium: revelanda sunt capita eorum quod est indicium Libertatis. Habet enim Libertatem ista spiritualis natiuitas, &c. On the contrary, the Catechumens went in publick with their heads covered, in regard they were a Type of Adam expelled out of Paradise, as Junilius says Book 2 Chap. 16. Which I am of opinion is to be understood concerning the Corpulent only, who covered not only their heads, but their faces also, as Cyrill of Jerusalem informs us in his first Catechism. But this covering was taken off of them in Baptism, or at least on the eighth day after Baptism. For this is rather intimated by those words of St. Austin, quoted by us a little above. And the same is likewise confirmed by Theodorus Bishop of Canterbury in his Liber Penitentialis, in these words. In monachorum ordinatione Abbas debet missam cantare, & tres Orationes complere super Caput ejus; & septem dies vellet caput ejus; septimo die abstollat velamen. Sicut in Baptismo Presbyter septimo die velamen infantum tollit: ita & Abbas debet Monacho, quia secundus Baptismus est juxta iudicium patrum; & omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in Baptismo. Valef.

### CHAP. LXIII.

*In what manner he praised God, after he had received Baptism.*

After this he lifted up his voice, and poured forth to God a Prayer of thanksgiving. Which ended, he added these words. Now

I know my self to be truly blessed: \* now 'tis evident that I am accounted worthy of an immortal life: now I have an assurance that I am made a partaker of Divine Light. Moreover, he termed them miserable, and said they were unhappy, who were deprived of such great \* Blessings. And

when the Tribunes and Chief Officers of the Military Forces came in, and with tears bewailed [their own misfortune,] that they themselves should be left desolate; and prayed for his longer Life: He answered them also, and said, that now at length he was vouchsafed true life, and that only He himself knew, what great Blessings he had been made a partaker of. Wherefore, that he hastned, and would by no delays defer going to his God. After this, he disposed of every thing according to his own mind. And to those Romans who inhabit the Imperial City, he bequeathed certain Annual Gifts. But he left the inheritance of the Empire, as 'twere some paternal Estate, to his own Children; ordering all things in such a manner, as he himself thought good.

\* Or, Goods.

The Geneva-Printers added the last word from the Books of Scaliger and Bongarsius; which I likewise found added in Moræus's Copy. But 'tis wanting in the King's Copy, nor does it seem to me to be very necessary. In the Eusebian, Turnebian, and Savilian Copies, the verb πένις δύν is added after the word φέτος; therefore, there is a mistake both in Moræus's Book, and in the Geneva-Edition. Valef.

### CHAP. LXIV.

*The death of Constantine on the Festival of Pentecost, about noon.*

Further, all these things were transacted in that great Solemnity of the most venerable and most sacred Pentecost; which is honoured with seven Weeks, \* but is sealed with \* the number one. In which Festival happened, both the Ascent of the Common Saviour into the Heavens, and also the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Men, as the Divine Scriptures do attest. In this Solemnity therefore the Emperor, having obtained those things we have mentioned, on the last day of all, (which should any one term the Feast of Feasts, he would not be mistaken;) † about Noon, was taken up to his God: leaving to mortals that part of Himself which was related to them; but joining to his God that part of his Soul which was endued with understanding, and the Love of God. This was the End of Constantine's Life. But, let us proceed to what follows.

but also for the seven Weeks which follow Easter. Thus 'tis every where used, as well by Greek as Latine Writers. St. Jerome in his Letter to Marcella; Non quo per totum annum excepta Pentecoste jejunare non liceat. Hence, amongst the Greeks there is a Festival termed Πεντηκοστή, which is the twenty-fifth-day from the Feast of Easter. Besides other writers, John Chrysostom makes mention of this Feast, in his Fifth Homily de Anna. Valef.

\* Or, An unit; Valerius renders it, unitate. \* Or, The Meridian hours of the Sun. † Or, The place 'tis apparent, that Pentecost is taken, not only for that day which is the fiftieth after Easter-day,



## CHAP. LXV.

*The Lamentations of the Milice, and Tribunes.*

THE *Protectors*, and the whole Body of his Guards, rent their clothes forthwith, and casting themselves prostrate on the earth, beat their heads against the ground; uttering

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ οὐκ ὀνόμαζεν. The last word must be expunged, although it occurs in all our Copies. Presently, it must be written τὸν ἐκτεταγμένον ἐπικαλεσάμενος, from the *Fuketian Copy*. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is ἀπεκαλεσάμενος. *Valef.*

\* Or, Genuine.

<sup>a</sup> mournful expressions [intermixt] with Sighs and Cries; calling upon him their Master, their Lord, their Emperour; nor [did they invoke him barely] as a Master, but, like most \* obedient Children, [they accounted him] as a Father.

Moreover, the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* stiled him a Saviour, a Preserver, a Benefactor. And the rest of the Army, as 'tis usual amongst flocks, with all imaginable decency and becoming Reverence, desired and wisht for their Good Shepherd. The common People also ran up and down all over the City, and by Shrieks and Cries gave a manifest indication of their inward grief of mind. Others with dejected Countenances seemed like Persons astonished; and <sup>b</sup> each particular Man look'd upon this as his own Calamity, and bemoan'd himself, because the common Good of all Men was taken out of this their life.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐκείνους τε πένθος. It must doubtless be written, ἐκείνους τὸ πένθος.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁν ποιεῖται. Concerning the publick mourning of all Persons, at the Funeral of *Constantine the Great*, *Aurelius Victor* attests the same, in these words. *Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis. Quod sane populus Rom. exerrime tulit: quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio quasi novatam urbem Rom. arbitraretur. His dead body was brought into the City that bore his own name. Which the People of Rome were sorely troubled at: in regard, by his Arms, Laws, and mild Government, they supposed the City Rome renewed as 'twere. I know indeed, that these words of Aurelius Victor may be understood concerning the Citizens of Rome, who took it ill, because Constantine's Body had been interred at Constantinople rather than at Rome. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that Victor thought otherwise; to wit, that all the Inhabitants of the Roman World were most sorely troubled at the death of Constantine. Which meaning is plainly confirmed by the following words: Quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio, quasi novatum Orbem Romanum arbitraretur. For so 'tis to be read, and not urbem Romanam. Valef.*

## CHAP. LXVI.

*That His Body was carried from Nicomedia to Constantinople, into the Palace.*

AFTER this, the Milice took His Body [out of the Bed,] and laid it into a Coffin

<sup>a</sup> Ἀλλοτρίῳ ἀλυστῇ. The one of these words is useless. The *Fuketian Manuscript* has only the latter; whereto agrees *Turnebus's Book*. *Valef.*

\* Πάσπρον ἐφ' ὀφθαλμῶν, upon lofty Benches or Seats.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πύργῳ. The reading in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copy* is truer, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πύργον, ἀλλοτρίῳ τῶν βασιλέων οἴκῳ: but it must without doubt be made εἰς, as 'tis above, at book 3. chap. 10. *Valef.*

of Gold; which they covered <sup>a</sup> with Purple, and carried it to the City that bore his own name. And there they plac'd it \* on high, <sup>b</sup> in the stateliest Room of the Imperial Palace. Then they light up Tapers round it, which being put into Candlesticks of Gold, rendred the Sight admirable to those that beheld it, and such a one as had never been seen on earth, by

any Person that was ever under the Sun's Rayes, since the World was first made. For within, in

the very middlemost Room of the Imperial Palace, the Emperours Corps lay on high in a Golden Coffin; and being adorned with Imperial Ornaments, the Purple namely and the Diadem, was encompassed by many Persons, who watch'd with, and guarded it night and day.

## CHAP. LXVII.

*That even after his Death, he was honoured by the Comites and the rest, in the same manner as when he was alive.*

MOREOVER, the \* *Duces*, *Comites*, and the whole Order of the Judges and Magistrates, whose usage it had heretofore been to <sup>a</sup> adore the

\* *Generals*, or *Commanders in chief*.

Emperour, made not the least alteration in their former Custom, but came in at set times, and on their knees saluted the Emperour when dead, and laid in his Coffin, as if he had been yet alive. After these Grandees, those of the Senate, <sup>b</sup> and all the *Honorati*, came in, and did the same. After whom, multitudes of all sorts of People, together with Women and Children, approach'd to the sight hereof. And these things were thus performed during a long space of time: the Milice having taken a

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν βασιλέα προσκυνοῦν. Concerning the manner of saluting the Roman Emperours, consult the Learned Dr. *Howells's History*, Second Part, pag. 52. This Adoration was little more than what is now a days used to Princes, namely, a kneeling to them, and bowing the head.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ ἐπ' ἀξίας. That is, the *Honorati*. So the Latines termed those who bore honours, as I have at large remarked at the 14th Book of *Amm Marcellinus*. Whereto add a passage of *Gauden- tius Bishop of Braxia*, in his Letter to *Benevolus*. Nam sicut *Honoratorum nostra urbis, ita etiam dominice plebis, domino annuente, dignissimum caput es. Valef.*

Resolution, that the Corps should lie and be guarded in this manner, till such time as his Sons could come, who might honour their Father by \* a personal attendance at his Funeral. [In fine,] this most Blessed [Prince] was the only Mortal who <sup>c</sup> Reigned after death; and all things were performed in the usual manner, as if he had been still alive: this being the sole Person, from the utmost memory of Man, on whom God conferred this. For, whereas he of all the Emperours had been the only one, who by actions of all sorts whatever had honoured God the supreme King, and his Christ; he alone, and that deservedly, had these honours allotted him: and the supreme God was pleased to vouchsafe him this, that even his dead Body should Reign amongst Men. Whereby God clearly shewed them, whose minds are not \* totally stupified, that

\* Or, Their own carriage of him.

† the Empire of his Soul is endless and immortal. In this manner were these things performed.

<sup>c</sup> After *Constantine's* death, there was an *Interregnum*, nor did any *Augustus* Reign in the Roman World. Which *interregnum* [i. e. a time when there was no Emperour,] continued not only till *Constantine's* Burial, but to the fifth of the Ides of September, as *Idarius* attests in his *Fasts*. So, for the space of three Months and an half, the Roman World was without the Empire of an *Augustus*. For during that whole time, which is between the eleventh of the Calends of June and the fifth of the Ides of September, his Sons were stiled only *Cæsars*. 'Tis certain, *Constantinus Junior*, in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, which bears date after his Father's death, in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Tirianus*, on the fifteenth of the Calends of July, has the Title of *Cæsar* only. This Letter is extant in *Athanasius*, in his *Second Apologie*, near the end. *Valef.*

\* Or, Turned into stone.

† Τὸν ἀθάνατον, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly.



## CHAP. LXVIII.

*In what manner the Army resolved, that his Sons should be forthwith proclaimed Augusti.*

**I**N the interim, the Tribunes dispatch'd away some choice men belonging to the Military Companies, who for their fidelity and good affection had heretofore been \* acceptable to the Emperor; that they might make the *Cæsars* acquainted with what had been done. And these were the things which those men performed then. But the Armies in all places, as soon as they were acquainted with the Emperours death, incited thereto by Divine instinct as 'twere, with an unanimous consent resolved, as if their Great Emperour had been yet living, that they would acknowledge no other person as Emperour of the *Romans*, save only his Sons. And not long after, they determined to have them all henceforward, not stiled *Cæsares*, but *Augusti*; which [name] is the † Cognisance of supremacy of Empire. And these things were done by the Armies; who by Letters one to another; signified their own suffrages and Acclamations; and the unanimous consent of the Legions was in one and the same moment of time, made known to all persons wherever they dwelt.

## CHAP. LXIX.

\* Or, *Of The Mourning* \* at Rome for Constantine, and the Honour [done Him] by Pictures after his death.

**B**UT the Inhabitants of the Imperial City, as well the Senate as people of *Rome*, when they were acquainted with the Emperours death, look'd upon that to be most doleful news, and more calamitous than any misfortune whatever, and therefore set no Bounds to their mourning. The Baths therefore and *Forums* were shut up, and the publick Shows [omitted;] as likewise whatever other Pleasures, as Recreations of Life, are usually followed by those who spend their time in mirth and jollity. Such also, as had heretofore abounded with delights, walk'd the Streets with dejected Countenances. And all in general stiled [the Emperour] Blessed; a person dear to God, and one that was truly worthy of the Empire. Nor made they these Declarations in bare words only: but proceeding on to actual performances, they honoured him when dead, with dedications of Pictures, as if he had been still alive. For, having exprest a Representation of Heaven in Colours on a Table, they drew him making his Residence in an Ætherial Mansion, above the Celestial Arches. Moreover, they proclaimed his Sons the sole Emperours and *Augusti*, without the Collegueship of any other person; and with humble supplications made it their earnest Request, that they might have the <sup>a</sup> Body of their Emperour with them, and might deposite it within the Imperial City.

<sup>a</sup> The same is attested by *Aurelius Victor*, in those words of his, which we quoted above, at chap. 63. *Valef.*

## CHAP. LXX.

*That his Body was deposited at Constantino-ple, by his Son Constantius.*

**I**N this manner, even these [Inhabitants of *Rome*] grac'd this Emperour, who was honoured by God. But the <sup>a</sup> Second of his Sons, when he was come to the place where his Father's Corps lay, conveyed <sup>b</sup> [it] to the City [that bore his own name,] he himself going before the Hearse. The Companies of the Military Order: and behind followed an innumerable multitude of people. But the *Hastati* and *Scutarii* surrounded the Emperour's Corps. When they were come to the Church of our Saviour's Apostles, they deposited the Coffin there. And thus the new Emperour *Constantius*, honouring his Father, as well by his presence, as other befitting Offices, in a due manner performed \* his Funeral obsequies.

\* Or, *The things of a becoming Sanctity.*

the vehemency of his disease frustrated the Son's desire. For when he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, he found his Father dead; as *Julian* relates in his first *Oration concerning the praises of Constantius*, pag. 28. With *Julian*; the other Writers of History do likewise agree. *Zonaras* is the only Author who relates, that *Constantius Caesar*, who was then at *Antioch*, arrived whilst his Father was yet living; and that he honoured him, when dead, with a most magnificent Funeral. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Τὴ πόλιν ἧτορο προσεκομίζεν. The last word save one is added by the Learned, from conjecture as I think. Nevertheless, there seems to be something more wanting: and perhaps *Eusebius* wrote thus τὴν ἐκείνου ἐπιφύλακον πόλιν to the City that bore his own name. Hence it appears, that *Constantine's* dead Body was kept at *Nicomedia* with all imaginable honour and reverence, till the coming of *Constantius Caesar*. Who, after he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, conveyed his Father's Corps to *Constantinople*. Wherefore the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken, who relates, that *Constantius* came directly to *Constantinople*, and there celebrated his Father's Funeral. *Valef.*

## CHAP. LXXI.

*The \* performance of the solemn prayers in that \* Assembly, termed the Martyrium of the Apostles, at the sacred the † Funeral of Constantine.*

**B**UT after he had withdrawn himself, together with the Military Companies; the Ministers of God, as likewise the Multitudes, and all the Congregation of the Faithful, came forth, and by prayers performed the Rites of the Divine Worship. At which time this Blessed [Prince,] lying on high \* upon a lofty place, was celebrated with praise. Likewise, a vast number of people, together with those persons consecrated to God, not without tears and great lamentation, poured forth prayers to God for the Emperour's Soul, thereby performing a most grateful Office to this pious Prince. Further, herein also God demonstrated his singular Favour towards his Servant: because [after] his

<sup>a</sup> A two-fold sense may be given of these word. For, either *Eusebius* means, that *Constantius Caesar*, when he had deposited his Father's Ark or Coffin in the Church, went presently out of the Church with the Souldiers; or else this is his meaning only, that *Constantius* having done that, withdrew out of the middle of the Church, that he might give place to the Priests. Which meaning is in my judgment truer. For *Constantius*, although he had not as yet been baptized, was nevertheless a Catechumen, as *Sulpicius Severus* tells us in the Second Book of his History. *Valef.*

\* Εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου κενωθεῖσαν. See *Gellius*, B. 13. Cap. 10.



his death<sup>b</sup> he bequeathed the Empire to his own dear Sons, who were his Successors; and because, <sup>c</sup> agreeable to his own most earnest desire, the Tabernacle of his thrice-blessed Soul was vouchsafed a place with the Monument of the Apostles; to the end namely, that it might be honoured in the same degree with the name of the Apostles; and that it might be joyned with God's People in the Church; and might be vouchsafed the Divine Rites, and Mystick Service; and might enjoy a Communion of the Holy Prayers: <sup>d</sup> but, that He himself, posthumous of the Empire [even] after death, managing the whole Government by a Return to Life as 'twere, <sup>e</sup> *Victor Maximus Augustus*, might in his own name still <sup>f</sup> Rule the Roman State.

concerning *Constantine* himself, who, even dead, delivered the Empire to his Sons. And this is confirmed by the following words. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ τὰ σπυδαδέντα αὐτῷ. It must, I think, be written, καὶ κατὰ τὰ σπυδαδέντα αὐτῷ. *Constantine* had wish'd, that after his Death, he might not, like other Princes, be consecrated, and reckoned amongst the *Divi*: but, that being buried with the Apostles, he might be a partaker of the Prayers, which are wont to be offered to God by the Faithful in honour of them; as *Eusebius* has said above, at chap. 60. Whence it appears, that here it must be written κατὰ, not as it is in *Moræus's Book*, and at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, διὰ τὰ σπυδαδέντα, *throw his own most*, &c. Nor will this place be perfect, even this way, unless these words be added, καὶ ἐπιτελεῖται μυστήριον ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ, &c. Which *Eusebius* confirms in the foresaid both chapter. The point must also be blotted out, which is set a little after, as well in the *Kings Copy*, as in the Common Editions; and it must be read in one breath, thus, σὺν τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατηξίετο μνήμην τὸ τῆς τετραμελείας ψυχῆς σκῆνον, &c. Than which there is nothing more certain; which makes me admire, that Translators saw not this. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; καὶ διὰ τὰ σπυδαδέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατηξίετο μνήμην, ὡς δεῖν εἶπεν καὶ νῦν, τὸ, &c. Nor is it otherwise in the Books of *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil*: save only that *Sir Henry* has it τότε ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀπ. &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* I found this place written thus; κατὰ σπυδαδέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἀπ. &c. Which reading comes nearer to our Emendation. Further, those words, ὡς δεῖν εἶπεν καὶ νῦν, are spoken in a Parenthesis; and this is intimated by that punctuation in the *Fuketian Copy*, which I have shown above. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> Αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας. &c. I write, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ θάνατον ἐπειλημμένον; which reading the following words do confirm. And so I found it plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> Such was the Inscription, usually prefixt before the Laws and Letters of *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* does every where attest. *Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus*. He took the Pronomen [forename] of *Victor*, after his Victory obtained over the Tyrants. His Sons also, by an hereditary right as 'twere, retained that name, as their Letters inform us. Farther, from this place it appears, that after the death of *Constantinus Maximus*, for about three months space, that is during the whole time of the *Interregnum*, all Laws and Edicts were inscribed with the Name of *Constantine*, as if he had been living; in regard there was no other *Augustus* in the Roman world, as I have observed above. This place may also be meant concerning the Sons of *Constantine the Great*, who made use of the same Title and Name; and in whom their Father seemed to be revived. Which sense is confirmed by what follows. *Valef.*

<sup>f</sup> Ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ. I write καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, that it may answer the verb κατηξίετο, which occurs several lines above. Further, in the *Kings Copy*, at the margin of this chapter, the Greek Scholiast had written these words in honour of *Constantine*, εἰς αἰώνιον μνημόσυνον ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀποστόλων τετραμελείας. The same Writer does in this work often besprinkle him with praises and good wishes. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ. *Valef.*

## CHAP. LXXII.

Concerning the Bird [termed] the Phoenix.

NOT like that Egyptian Bird: which being the only one of her kind, is said to die upon [an heap of] Spices, at her death making her self a sacrifice: and presently [as 'tis re-

ported] is restored to life again out of those very ashes; and raising her self by her wings, appears the same in kind that she was before. But in the same manner with his Saviour rather; who, like wheat sown, from one Grain diffusing himself into many, by the blessing of God hath brought forth an Ear of Corn, and hath filled the whole world with his fruits. In a like manner hereto, this thrice-blessed [Prince,] by the Succession of his Children, from being one, has been made <sup>a</sup> many: in so much that, throughout all Provinces, Statues are raised in honour of Him, together with his Sons; and the usual name of *Constantine* \* obtains even after his death.

\* Is in use, or is embraced. remarks, that the

reading should be πολυπλάσιος; to whom I agree: yet I had rather read πολυπλασιών. *Valef.*

## CHAP. LXXIII.

In what manner they Stamp'd *Constantine* on Coyns, ascending up into Heaven as 'twere.

Moreover, \* Coyns were Stamp'd bearing this impress: on the fore-side they expressed this Blessed [Prince] <sup>a</sup> with His Head covered: But, on the † Reverse [he was represented sitting] like a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, and taken up [into Heaven] by a || hand stretch'd out to him from above.

|| Right hand. π. The last word

is, in my judgment, to be blotted out; which in all probability crept out of the margin into the Text. For χήμαπ had been written in the margin, which might explain the following word ἀσμαπ. But, that which occurs in the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, namely διαδήμαπ, is in my judgment most egregiously foolish. For the propriety of the Greek Tongue admits not of that expression. Besides, in most Coyns *Constantine* appears with an Helmet on his Head. *Valef.*

## CHAP. LXXIV.

That whereas God had been honoured by Him, He was on the other hand deservedly honoured by God.

THESE [Miracles] the supream God laid before our very eyes, in [the person of] *Constantine*, who was the only [Prince] of all the preceding Emperors, that had openly profest himself a <sup>a</sup> Christian; whereby God manifestly declared, <sup>b</sup> How great a difference

must be made χριστιανῶ. It is also to be written, μόνῳ τῶν πάντων βασιλέων, the only Prince, &c. or at least those words are to be understood. Further, *Eusebius* excepts none of the Roman Emperors, whilst he says, that *Constantine* was the first of them all, who was plainly and openly a Christian. Which doubtless is most true. For although the Emperor *Philippus* is by some reported to have been a Christian; yet he did not openly profest the Christian Religion, as *Constantine* did. *Orosius* (Book 7.) writes in a different sense concerning *Constantine*, in this manner; *Primus Imperatorum Christianus*, &c. the First Christian of the Emperors, except *Philippus*, who in my judgment was made a Christian during a very few years, for this reason only, that the Thousandth year of Rome might be dedicated to Christ, rather than to Idols. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ πῶς ἦν ἄεξ αὐτῷ. I had rather read, ὁ πόσον ἦν πρὸς αὐτῷ τὸ διάφορον, &c. that is, How great a difference there was with him, or, how great a difference he made. *Valef.*

he



he made, between those who thought good to worship him and his Christ, and them that had embraced a contrary [opinion.] Who having brought a War upon God's Church, thereby rendred him their Enemy and \* Opposer. And indeed, the disastrous and unfortunate close of every of their Lives, has produced a most convincing Argument of the greatness of the divine hatred towards them: in the same manner that the death of *Constantine* has rendred the pledges of God's favour in reference to him, manifest and apparent to all men.

\*Or, Adversary.

CHAP. LXXV.

*That Constantine was more pious than [any of] the foregoing Roman Emperours.*

**W**HO being the Sole Emperour of the Romans, that had honoured God

the Supream King with a Transcendency of piety; and the only one that had freely and boldly \* published the Doctrine of Christ to *\*Preach'd.* all men; and the only person (as I may say, that had raised his Church to such a degree of Honour and Glory, as no one had ever done before; and the only person that † had totally destroyed the Errour of *Poly-* † Or, Had *theism*, and confuted all the Rites and Modes *overthrown* of [such a] Superstition: is the only per- *all the error of.* son also, that was vouchsafed such [honours,] both in this Life, and after death; as no one, either amongst the *Gracians* or *Barbarians*, is reported ever to have obtained; Nor can there be any one mentioned, amongst the ancient *Romans* themselves, from the Remotest Times to this present Age; who may be compared with this [our Prince.]

T H E



28 SE 60



# THE EMPEROUR Constantine's<sup>a</sup> Oration, WHICH HE ENTITLED TO THE CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS.

<sup>a</sup> After his four Books concerning the Life and Piety of the Emperour Constantine, Eusebius had added Two Orations; the one whereof was the Emperour Constantine's, [Entitled] *To the Assembly of the Saints, or To the Church of God*: the other was written by himself, concerning the Fabrick and Sacred Presents of the Jerusalem-Martyrium, as Eusebius himself does attest in Chap. 32, and 46 of his Fourth Book. But the Latter Oration of Eusebius is now not extant. And that former one [namely Constantine's] abounds with so many faults, that it would almost be better if it were not extant. But whereas this is a singular monument of that Religious Prince, and an illustrious proof of his Studies and Disposition, I shall, I think, do what will be worth while, if I shall imploy my care and diligence, in mending and explaining it. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ὁν ἔγραψε.* In book 4. chap. 32. the reading is *ἐπίγραφη*, he entitled, which is in my judgment to be preferred. This therefore was the Title of this Oration, *νικητῆς, μεγιστοῦ, σεβαστοῦ κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων συλλόγου*, *Victor, Maximus, Augustus Constantinus To the Convention of the Saints.* *Valef.*

## CHAP. I.

The Preface makes mention of *Easter*; and, that \* Christ, having been several ways beneficial to all Men, hath had plots framed against him by those, on whom he has conferred favours.

\* Or, The Word of God.

† Or, Brighter Splendor both, &c.  
|| Or, Joining together.  
² Or equal.  
³ Or, *ὁμοῦ*. In Moræus's Book, as likewise in the margin of the Geneva Edition, 'tis mended *ἑρμαῖον*; which word I do not remember to have met with any where. But in Scaliger's Copy 'tis corrected *ἑρμαῖον*, which comes nearer to the Reading of the Manuscript Copies. Indeed, in the Kings Copy 'tis *ἑρμαῖ*: whence I conjectured that it should be written *ἑρμαῖ*, that is, the Foundation. He does elegantly term the Resurrection of our Lord, the foundation of the promise. Nor has Christopherson done ill in rendering it *pignus promissionis*, the pledge of the promise; which is in a manner the same. For a pledge is given for an assurance; whence 'tis by Græcians termed *ἐγγύησις*. In the Foketian and Savilian Copies I found it written *ἑρμαῖον*. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> *Μακροβιώτερον ὃ πολλῷ πλήθιν* I assent not to Learned Men,

who joyn these with the foregoing words, and read thus, *μακροβίον τε πολλὰ πλήθιν*, &c. For if we read thus, it will be a foolish repetition, in regard Constantine had said before, *φίλοι θ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἑστέ*, *ἄνδρες*. In which words Constantine salutes all the Catholick People; in such a manner as Preachers are wont to do. Wherefore those words *μακροβιώτερον ὃ πολλῷ πλήθιν*, are the beginning of another period, wherein Constantine sets forth the happiness of the Catholick People. Further, I would more willingly read *πλήθιν τυγχάνετε*, *ye multitudes*, &c. that Constantine may be made to speak to the People. Nevertheless, in the Foketian and Savilian Copies, this place runs thus; *μακροβίον τε πολλὰ πλήθιν τῶν θρησκολόγων, καὶ ἀπὸν τῆς θρησκείας θεῶν διὰ τῶν ἐν ἑσὶ ἀιδίτου ἐκείνου, καὶ δι' ἐμφωνήσεως ἀδελφότητος ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν θεοπόμασι παρορεσόμενα*. *Valef.*

more Blessed [than others;] Ye [who worship] God the very [Author] of Religion, and who, as well by an inward sense of every particular Soul, as by outward Expressions, do without intermission praise Him, according to those Rules [contained] in the Divine Oracles. But, Thou Nature, Mother of all things! What of this sort hast Thou ever conferred upon the World? Or rather, \* what is in any wise Thy work? In as much as He [who is the Author] of all things, was the \* Framer of thy Sanctity also. For He it is, who has adorned Thee with His

<sup>c</sup> *Τῆς οὐκ ὁσίας*, of thy Sanctity. At the margin of the Geneva Edition there is a note set, that 'tis otherwise written *ἑστίας*, substance. But having look't into the matter more accurately, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained. For Constantine says, that Nature is not the Framer of things, in regard She Her self

kkk

was



was made by God; nor is he only the Origine of Nature Himself, but of that Sanctity also which is in H-r. For 'tis God who hath adorned Nature. For the ornament of Nature, is a Life according to the Law and prescript of God. This is the meaning of this place, which *Christopherson* perceived not. For I say nothing of *Portesius*, whom I have found most unskilful, in a manner every where. Yet, in the *Fuk Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, and in the *King's Sheets* 'tis *solus, substance.* Valef.

a Ἡ ζωὴ in as much as the Beauty of Nature, is a <sup>a</sup> Life  
 οὐσαν ζῶν, agreeable to God. <sup>e</sup> But, those things prevailed  
 a life a- afterwards, which are di-  
 greeable to Nature. It must be writ- rectly contrary to Nature;  
 ten, ἡ ζωὴ θεῶν ζῶν, a life agree- [namely,] that no one  
 able to God, as 'tis apparent from should adore God [the  
 the foregoing note. In one word Authour] of all things  
 the Ornament of Nature. But, with a congruous worship;  
 what sense there can be in the and, that it should be sup-  
 common reading, truly I can't posed, that all things were  
 perceive. So our Eusebius gave managed, not by Providence,  
 his books concerning the Life of but Chance, in a disorderly  
 the Emperour Constantine this Ti- and \* discomposed manner.  
 tle, τὰ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς θεῶν βίβλιν. In the  
 Kings Sheets 'tis, ἡ ζωὴ κόσμου  
 ζῶν. Valef.

2an. Valel.  
 e. Ἐπικρατέτης δὲ. It must  
 be written Ἐπικρατέτης δὲ ἔ  
 μελείως ὅς ᾧ εὐστίν, &c. In-  
 deed, in the Euboeian copy 'tis  
 Ἐπικρατέτης δὲ ἔ μελείως τὰ  
 παρὰ εὐστίν, τὸ τῶν ἀπείρων  
 ζῶν. &c. Valel.

\* Or, *Erroneous*.  
† Or, *Divine inspiration by the Prophets, particularly*. &c.  
‡ Or, *eternal impiety*.  
\* Το δυνάμειον τῶ οὐρανοῦ, *the image and effluence* (if I may so say) *of divinity*.

† Sudden, or, unthought-on.  
|| Alms.

\* O., *Their Will*; that is, *the Will of Princes*.

ving been confirmed by the usage of many Generations, was the Occasion of dismal Calamities to the Men of those times. But, as soon as ever the presence of our Saviour shined forth, immediately, instead of unjust Actions, Justice [was advanc'd;] in place of a † most destructive Storm, arose a Calm; and all those things which had been predicted by the Prophets, were fulfilled. For, after [that Saviour of ours] was taken up on high to his Father's House, having || enlightned the World with the Rays of Modesty and \* Continnence, He founded a Church on earth, like some sacred Temple of Virtue; a Temple [that is] eternal and incorruptible; wherein might be piously performed due [Acts of worship] both to God the supream Father, and likewise an agreeable [service] to Himself. But what did the mad wickedness of the Nations invent, after these things? It ea-  
† Or, Cast deavoured to † reject the Benefits and Favours of Christ, and to ruine the Church, constituted in order to the Salvation of all Men; and in place thereof to substitute its own<sup>t</sup> Superstition.

*ἀδελφότητος*. In the *Kings Copy*, the two last words are wanting, and an empty space is left, capable of one word only. I doubt not but the reading should be, *ἑασιδαυμοῖαν ἀδελφότητος*, and in place thereof to introduce its own Superstition; that verb *ἀδελφότητος* being blotted out, which is wholly superfluous. In the *Fakesian Copy* this place is written thus; ἑκκαὶ ὀκτὼ μῆσιν. ἀδελφότητος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἑασιδαυμοῖαν, νότον αὐτοῦ, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis ἰὸς αὐτοῦ, &c. Sir Henry Savile at the margin of his *Copy* hath mended it, ἀδελφότητος ὃ τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἑασιδαυμοῖαν, but it overturned its own Superstition. Upon

a more diligent inspection into the thing, I am of opinion, that this place is thus to be restored; *ἐκκαταλείψαντες τὴν ἀνέστην καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκδοξαζομένην. πρὸς αὐτοὺς*: that is, *The Nations, when they had resolved to rume the Church of Christ, subverted their own felicity. Diseases [happened] again, Seditions, &c.* The term *ἐκδοξαζομένην* may also be retained, that so the meaning may be this; *the Heathens, whilst they persecuted the Church, ruined their own Religion.* For the Church of God being attack'd by the persecutions of the Heathens, vanquished the superstition and worship of false Deities. *Valeſe.*

Again [happened] horrible Seditions, Wars, Fights, <sup>g</sup> Morosity, [a luxurious] Furniture <sup>g</sup> Δυσπρα-  
of Life, and a love of Riches: which having <sup>πλία.</sup> Turnebus  
its Being in Men contrary to nature (a thing at the mar-  
that is the property of wickedness;) does some- gin of his  
times recreate by false and specious hopes; at Book hath  
others, it astonishes with Fear. <sup>h</sup> But, let Her lie mended it  
prostrate on the ground, being vanquished by <sup>g</sup> Δυσπρα-  
Virtue: and (as 'tis fit She should,) let Her <sup>πλία,</sup> Mo-  
rend and tear Her self by reason of Her Re- rosities. In-  
pentance. But, at present we <sup>i</sup> must discourse deed in the  
of those matters which appertain to the Divine Fakeian  
Doctrine. Copy 'tis  
written

in the Kings Sheets the reading is *ὑπερπλεον*; and then some lines are omitted. And perhaps it should be written in one continued clause, *ὑπερπλεον ἐστὶν ἡδυστοχία*, that is, a morose Furniture of Life. For, unless we read so, what will be the meaning of those following words, *ἐστὶν ἡδυστοχία*, which Constantine reckons amongst the ill things? Musculus seems to have read, *εὐπορία ἐστὶν ἡδυστοχία*; for he renders it, *violenta Vitâs affectio*. Presently the Eubœan Copy words it thus; *ὁ καὶ εὖ ποικίλος ἵδιος πινυλάς ἐστιν αὐτῆς*, &c. which having its being in Men, &c. as we have rendred it. Vale.

h' *Αἴτιον* *ῥῥῶ*. In *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Geneva-Edition*, it is at the margin mended, *ἀλλ' αὐτῇ ῥῥῶ*, &c. excellently well, as those skilled in the Greek tongue do know. The word *πορνεία*, *wickedness*, is understood. The reading is *ἀλλ' αὐτῇ*, in the *Fuk* and *Turneb.* Copies also. *Valeſc.*

ἡ Τησιέων. The correction of this place is due to the *Euketian Copy*; wherein 'tis plainly written, *πατέων, must discourse*. Than which Emendation there is nothing more certain. *Valeſ.*

## CHAPTER II.

An \* Address to the Church, and to his \* Or, Pre-  
Hearers, that they would Pardon and *caution.*  
amend his Mistakes.

**H**ear therefore, <sup>a</sup> Thou Master of the Ship, <sup>a Nautical</sup>  
 who art possesst of Chastity and Virginity! <sup>es, Thou</sup>  
 And Thou Church, that art the Nurse of im- <sup>Pilot, or,</sup>  
 mature and † unskilful Age! To <sup>Master of</sup>  
 whose Care and Charge, Truth and <sup>the Ship.</sup>  
 || Clemency are committed: From <sup>† Ignorant,</sup>  
 whose everlasting Fountain, flows a <sup>or, un-</sup>  
 Salutary <sup>b</sup> Stream. Be Ye Candid <sup>taught.</sup>  
 Hearers also, Ye who worship God <sup>|| Or, Hu-</sup>  
 with sincerity, and for that reason are His <sup>manity.</sup>  
 Care: be Ye attentive, not so much to the words <sup>a Bishop,</sup>  
 themselves, as to the truth of what is delivered: <sup>with no</sup>  
 and [respect] not Me that Speak, but <sup>less elegant</sup>  
 the \* Religious Office of Devotion rather. <sup>a Meta-</sup>  
 \* Piety of <sup>phor, than</sup>  
 Devotion. <sup>when they</sup>  
 And, <sup>are ter-</sup>  
 whereas <sup>med Pa-</sup>

the Church is usually compared to a Ship, the Bishops who govern it, are rightly termed *the Patrons or Masters of the Ship*; they being also the Apostles Successors, whom Christ, from being Fishers, made Governours of the Church. Farther, he terms Him one indued with Chastity and Virginity; because the Prelates of the Christians were such, *ἐγχοὶ καὶ παρθένοι*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Σωτηριον νόμα. The Foketian Copy, Kings Sheets, and Turnebus's Book have it written νόμα, Potion, or, water to be drunk. Presently, where the reading is, προσέχετε τὸν λόγον, be ye attentive; in the Foketian Copy 'tis προσέχετε τούτων, attend therefore. Valef.

For,



\* Or, Words. For, what can the benefit and advantage of \* an Oration be, when the mind of the Speaker remains undiscovered? Indeed, I do peradventure attempt Great things. But, that which occasions my Boldness, is the Love of God implanted in me: for, this [Love] puts a Force upon Modesty. Wherefore, my desire is, that Ye who are eminently knowing in the Divine Mysteries, should be joined with Me, as My Assistants; to the end that, if any mistake shall happen \* during My Speaking, You may go along with Me and correct it. Expect not any Perfect and Consummate † Doctrine from Me; but rather, give a kind reception to the || attempt of My Faith. Farther, may the most \* benign influence of the Father and Son, be gruy of my effectually present with us, whilst we are uttering those things, which \* it shall Command \* Greatest, and Sug est to Our Mind! For, if any Person or, most powerful professing Rhetorick, or any other Art, shall suppose Himself able, without the Divine Assistance, with an accuracy to perfect His Work; *ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ* He Himself, as also the Work He has undertaken, will be found ignorant, and imperfect. *αὐτὴν* But, such Persons as have once obtained the *ἡ ἐμπνοα* Divine influence, must neither loiter, nor be *τὸ παλὸν* careless. Wherefore, having beg'd Your Pardon the influ- for the length of this Our <sup>a</sup> Preface, We will *ἐν τῇ* enter upon the † Head and Principal matter of *ἐν τῇ* Our design.

† Or, Perfection.

thor, must be understood; as Christopherson read. Indeed, in the Fuketian Copy 'tis written thus *ὁ θεὸς ὁμοῖοις ταῦτα*. *ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ* and *διανοία* *ὡς οὐρανοῦ*; whilst we are uttering, &c. as 'tis rendered Valef.

<sup>a</sup> *Τὸ μῦθος* τῆς ἀναβολῆς *ᾧ ἀντιπαύμενοι*. Christopherson has rendered both this, and the preceding period, very ill. For he thought, that the import of ἀναβολὴ here, was delay, or deferring; whereas at this place, that word signifies a Preface. For Constantine excuses himself, because he had made use of too long a Preface. *Ἀναβολὴ* is properly the beginning of a Song, which the Chorus was wont to sing in the next place. *ἡ ἀναβολὴ* in Irene page 685, de *Dubyrambicis*; *ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀναβολῆς* περὶ ὁμοῖοις: where the Scholiast notes, that ἀναβολὰς ἀν, τὰς ἀρχαί; *ἢ ἀρχαί* τῶν, the beginnings of Songs; and he cites a Verse of Homer. For crates's words, in his *Panathenæicon*, are these; *ἂ μὲν ἔν ἡβελήδην* *ἢ καὶ ἐμῶν, ἢ καὶ ἑπ' ἄλλων ὅπως χρόνῳ περὶ τὸ ἀγῶν* *ὡς ἀναβαλλέμεν, ταῦτα ἐστίν*. This word therefore was afterwards translated from Singers to Orators; and they used ἀναβαλλέμεν instead of *ὡς οὐρανοῦ*, as Hesychius does attest. *Ulpianus* on Demosthenes's Oration de *Chersoneso*; ἀναβαλλόμεν *ἢ δὲ ἐνδὲς* *λάμδα, ἀντὶ τὸ ὡς οὐρανοῦ* *ἢ ἀναβολὰς, ὡς οὐρανοῦ*. So *Aristophanes*, in Irene, page 717, has used *ὡς ἀναβαλλέμεν* and ἀναβαλλέ in the same sense. Farther, from this place it appears, that the Preface of this Oration reaches as far as these words. Valef.

### CHAP. III.

\* Or, The Word, i. e. Christ. That God is both the Father of \* The Logos, and the Framers of the [whole] Creation; and, that it were impossible for things to † consist, if their Causes were diverse.

\* *Ὁ ὅτι* *τὸ ὅτι* *ἔστιν*. **G** O D, <sup>a</sup> who is above every Essence, being always that Good which all things desire, has no Generation; and consequently, by no Beginning. But He Himself is the *ὁ ὅτι* *τὸ ὅτι* *ἔστιν* Origine of all things that are brought forth. *ἔστιν* *ἔστιν* *ἔστιν* God, who is, &c. For, the chiefest Good is nothing else but the Supreme God. So below, at chap. 9 *πρῶτον μὲν δεῖν ὑπονοῦναι* *ἢ ὅτι* *τὸ ὅτι* *ἔστιν*. In the Fuketian and Sautian Copies, 'tis *ὅτι*; which is an ill reading. Valef.

But He who has His Precession from Him, is united with Him again: the disjunction and conjunction being performed in Him, not locally, but intellectually only. For, \* that Force \* Or, Off-tus exists not by any damage of His Father's springs, as, for instance, those things do which are born of Seed: but, by the dispose of [Divine] providence. Our Saviour has appeared, that he might preside, as well over this visible World, as over all things and works framed therein. The Cause therefore, both of subsistence and Life, to all things which are contained within the Complex of this World, [is derived] from hence. Moreover, hence [proceeds] the Soul, and every Sense, and the \* Faculties, by whose assistance those things \* Or, Organs, which are signified by the senses, are perfected. or, instructed. What then does this Discourse † conclude? *† Or, Manifest.* [Thus much,] that there is one President over † all things which are; and, that all things whatsoever are subject to his sole Dominion, as well things Celestial, as Terrestrial; both Natural, and also <sup>b</sup> Organical Bodies.

For, if the Dominion over all these things, which are innumerable, should be in the hands, not of one, but of many; <sup>c</sup> Partitions and Divisions of the Elements, (as 'tis in the ancient Fables,) and Envy, and a desire of having more, powerfully contending to overcome, would disturb the harmonious Concord of all things: in regard those many, would <sup>d</sup> manage that portion allotted to each of them, in a different manner. But whereas this whole World does keep it self always in one and the same order, 'tis plain, that this is <sup>e</sup> not performed without Providence, and, that it has not proceeded from chance. But, who could ever have acknowledged a Framers of universal \* Matter?

To whom in the \* Or, Generation. first place, or in the last, were Prayers and supplications [to have been assigned?] How could it be, that by my worshipping one of them <sup>f</sup> by choice, I should not have been impious towards the rest? Or, having perhaps requested something necessary for this life, shall I return thanks to that God who has given me assistance; but, revile him who was mine opposer?

would be very little solicitous, that the whole World should always keep it self in one and the same order. But, we see the Contrary. Therefore, there are not more Gods than one. This is Constantine's first argument against the Theology of the Heathens. I read therefore, *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ*; *ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ* *τὸ* *ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς* *ἔχει* *τὸν* *σύμπαντα* *κόσμον*, ἀμελῶς ἐχέτω. Thus the sense is most evident and plain. But, whereas these words which I have set above, are found in the Fuke. Sautian and Turnebian Copies; there is no need of our Emendation. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> *Ἐξ ἀμελείας*; that is, according to mine own arbitrement. It might also be read, *ἐξ ἀμελείας*, chiefly, or, most especially. Valef.

K k k 2

But,

<sup>b</sup> *Ὁργανικά σώματα*. Christopherson has rendered it artificialia, such namely as are made by some instrument, but are not begotten by Nature: wherein nevertheless, I do not agree with him. For, whereas Constantine does Philosophize throughout this whole Oration; at this place also he has used Natural and Organical Bodies, in the same sense that Philosophers are wont to take them; namely, for Bodies that are endued with Organs or Instruments fit for operation. So Aristotle expresses himself, when he defines the Soul thus, *the Act of an Organical Body*. But, an Organical Body is more than a Natural one. For, there are some Natural Bodies, which want Organs, for instance, Stones, and other things of that sort. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> He alludes to the division of the World between those three Brethren, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto; which division the Greek Theologie do talk of. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> *Διοικεσμένον*, would continue to govern. In the Fuke Copy the reading is, *διοικεσμένον*, would administer, or, manage. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Ὁὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν*. The Negative particle hath been added by the Learned, from conjecture, as I think; as also, the words which follow next, *ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοῖοις γερῶν τὸν πᾶν*. All which words occur neither in the Kings Copy, nor in the Old Sheers, nor yet in Robert Stephens's Edition: neither do they in any wise agree with the preceding words. For Constantine does not now treat concerning Providence; but he asserts only this, that there is one Beginning of all things; which he proves thus; If there were more Gods than one, each God would govern his own allotment: but, they



But, to whom shall I make my supplication, that he may declare to me the occasion of my Calamity, and may vouchsafe me a deliverance from it? Let us suppose, that an answer has been given us by Oracles and Prophecies: but, that these things are not in their power, but belong to another God. What is the Compassion then? Of what sort is the providence of God towards Man? Unless perhaps, some one of them, inclinable to be kinder, being more forcibly moved, shall give assistance against another, who is not in the least kindly disposed towards Men. Moreover, Anger, and Discord, and Railing; and in fine, a confusion of all things would follow from hence; whilst not one of them would perform his own part; but, through covetousness not satisfied with his own affairs, would invade those that belong to others. What therefore will be the consequence hereof? Questionless, this discord amongst the Celestial powers, would ruin things under Heaven, and things on earth; the Order and Vicissitude of Seasons and times would vanish, as likewise the delight and use of those fruits produced at the several seasons of the year; the day would be destroyed, and the Rest of the night which follows the day. But enough concerning these matters. Let us now return to those reasons which can in no wise be refuted.

But, having examined all things with more of attention, at length I found out the true meaning of this place. This therefore is what Constantine says. If there be many Gods; when I shall fall into calamity, to which of them shall I address my self, that he may acquaint me with the cause of my Misery, and free me from it. Let us suppose (says he,) that for instance, Apollo has answered me, that 'tis not in his power to deliver me, but, that that belongs to another God. What is more plain than this sense? It must therefore be written, ἀλλὰ ὃ τὰ πάντα ἀνέκεινται θεῷ, but belong to another God. Many such Oracles are extant in the Histories of the Greeks; where Apollo answers those who Consult him, that they must appease Bacchus, or Saturn, if they have a mind to be delivered from their Calamity. Valef.

#### CHAP. IV.

\* Or, The Error in reference to Idols. Concerning \* their Errour who worship Idols.

Whatever had a Beginning, must necessarily have an End also. Now, a temporal Beginning, is termed a † Generation. But, the things produced by a Generation, are all Corruptible. Besides, Time defaces their Form and Beauty. How then can they, who [have their Original] from a corruptible Generation, be immortal? Now, such an Opinion as this hath been divulged amongst unthinking People, namely, that Marriages are usually made amongst the Gods, and Children begotten. But, if they who are begotten, be immortal; a d i j

<sup>a</sup> Ἀνάγκη τὸ γένεσθαι. In the Euketian Copy, after the first word, there is an Empty space, capable of one word. I write therefore, ἀνάγκη τὸ γένεσθαι ἀνάγκη τὸ γένεσθαι, &c. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. It must be, ἵνα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, as I found it mended at the margin of Moræus's Copy. In the Euketian Copy the reading is ἵνα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, without the Conjunction Valef.

reference to those Men, who join the Brethren-Gods in a society of Marriage [with the Sister-God-

desse;] and who charge them with Adulteries, and Acts of Incontinency? We do confidently assert this also, that the very Honours and \* Acts of worship, attributed to them by Men, are mixt words, with † uncleannesses and Lust.

<sup>c</sup> Now therefore, some skillful Person, and a Statuary, having conceived in his mind the Form [of his future work,] frames it by the Rules of Art, and \* soon after, a forgetfulness falling [upon him,] as 'twere, he flatters his

own work, and worships it in place of an immortal God: whereas notwithstanding, he himself, the Father and Framer of that Statue, must confess himself to be mortal. Moreover, they themselves do shew the Sepulchres and \* Ark of those Immortals, and honour the dead with † Divine Honours: being wholly ignorant, that that which is truly Blessed and † Immortal, stands not in need of Honour from Mortals. For, that which can be discerned by the mind only, and comprehended by the understanding, requires neither a Form whereby it may be known, nor admits of a figure, as its image or Resemblance. But, all these things are done, in favour of the dead. For, they were really Men, whilst they lived, \* and were endued with Bodies.

† Or, Whoredoms and Wickednesses.

<sup>c</sup> Ἦδη γὰρ πρὶν. I had rather read ἵνα γὰρ πρὶν, &c. A little after, where the reading is, δια-voia ἀποσταλῶν; at the margin of Moræus's Book 'tis mended ἀποσταλῶν; and so 'tis corrected in Gueter's Copy. Valef.

\* Or, in the interim.

<sup>d</sup> εὐαγγελιστῶν.

<sup>e</sup> Τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

<sup>f</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

<sup>g</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

<sup>h</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

<sup>i</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

<sup>j</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

<sup>k</sup> τὸν ἵνα.

#### CHAP. V.

That Christ the Son of God framed all things, and has appointed to every thing the term of its Existence.

BUT, why do I defile my tongue with impure expressions, when I am about to praise the true God? I am resolved in the first place to \* wash away that bitter potion as 'twere, with \* Or, one that is pure. Now, this pure potion is drawn out of that † ever-flowing Fountain of Vertues, of that God who is extolled by Us. Indeed, I account it my proper Business, to praise Christ [both] by [an holiness of] Life, and a thanksgiving also, which is due to him from us, for those his many and signal benefits. I assert therefore, that 'tis he who hath settled the Beginnings of this Universe, and who hath \* Created Men, and a who hath established these things by a certain Law and Order. And immediately, when † they were newly brought forth, he removed them to a certain blessed and flourishing Parents.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ τὰ τὰ τὰ λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα. The three former words have been added by Learned Men from M. S. Copies. Nevertheless, they occur not, either in the Kings Copy, or in the Old Sheets. But I have set a point after the word νομοθετήσαντα from the authority of the Kings, and Euketian Copy, and from the Old Sheets. Which Christophorson having not perceived, he joined this with the following period. Now, the meaning of this place, is this. I affirm, says he, that as well Man, as the other things which are in the world, are his workmanship, who hath constituted all these things in order; that is, the workmanship of the Supreme God. It must therefore be written, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς, &c. as 'tis in Sir Henry Savil's Book, and as Christophorson seems to have read. Then I read, πρὶν καὶ τὰ τὰ λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα, and who hath established, &c. than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the Euketian Copy the reading is καὶ πρὶν λόγῳ τὰ τὰ νομοθετήσαντα. Therefore, λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα has the same import with λόγῳ διατίθεσθαι, an expression which he makes use of hereafter. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Here Constantine seems to place that Paradise, wherein God put



put Adam, without the Bounds of the earth. Which was the Sentiment of very many of the Ancients. *Stephanus Gobarus, chap. 11.* had handled this problem; *Ὡς ὁ παρθένος ἔτε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἔτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οὐρανῶν, ὅτι τὸ Παράδεισος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ.* that Paradise is neither in Heaven, nor on Earth, but between them. And this was the Title of the twelfth chapter, that Paradise is the Jerusalem above, and is in the third Heaven: and, that the trees which are there, are endued with understanding and knowledge: and, that Adam, after his transgression, was cast down from thence, into the Earth. Then [follows] a contrary assertion, that Paradise is not in the third Heaven, but in the Earth. 'Tis certain, *Tatianus*, in his *Oration Contra Græcos*, does affirm, that that Paradise, wherein Adam was placed by God, was not in this earth which we inhabit, but in another far better. His words are these (which doubtless *Stephanus Gobarus* had quoted, in confirmation of that Opinion;) *Μετὰ τὴν οὐρανὸν οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ οὐρανοὶ.* Besides, *Tertullian* seems to have thought the same. For thus he writes concerning Adam, in his *Book de Patientia* *Innocens erat, & Deo de proximo amicus. & Paradisi Colonus. At ubi semel succidit impatientia, desinit Deo sapere; desinit cælestia sustinere posse, exinde homo terra datus, & ab oculis dei dejectus, &c.* The same may be made out from his *Second Book against Marcion, Chap. 2 and 10*; where he uses the same Metaphor with *Tatianus*.—Were that Book now extant, which *Tertullian* wrote concerning Paradise; it might be more plainly known, that this, which I have mentioned, was his Opinion. Lastly, *Clement Alexandrinus* (in *Excerptis Theodoti*, or in his *Books ὑπομνήσας*, page 341. Edit. Commelin.) places the terrestrial Paradise, wherein Eve was made, in the fourth Heaven. But *Origen* had placed Paradise, whereof Adam was an Inhabitant, in the third Heaven; as *Methodius* informs us in his *Book de Resurrectione* in *Epiphanius* pag. 572. And before all these, *Valentinus* placed that Paradise, wherein Adam dwelt, above the third Heaven; and had affirmed it to be intellectual; as *Irenæus* attests, B. 1. *Valef.*

\* Or, place, \* abounding with a variety of fruits; Laden, and at first He would have them ignorant of Good and Evil. But at length He appointed a Seat upon earth, a Mansion befitting a rational Creature; and then, in regard they were Creatures endued with reason, He shewed them the knowledge of Good and Evil. Then also He gave order, that mankind should be increased; and, that all that healthy space, terminated by the Circuit of the Ocean, should be inhabited. When Mankind was thus increased, Arts necessary for the use of Life, were invented. In like manner, the Kinds of irrational Creatures increased also; a certain peculiar virtue and power being found planted by Nature in every Kind. In tame Creatures, a Gentleness and Obedience to man: but in those that are wild, strength and swiftness, and a certain natural providence, whereby they may preserve themselves from danger. And, to men [God] enjoined a Care over all the tame Creatures: but, against the wild, he instituted a certain Strife and Combat as 'twere. After these things, He formed the Generation of Birds; in number, almost infinite; but in nature and conditions, very different, [beautified] with a great and gorgeous variety of Colours; and naturally endued with Musical Harmony. Also, when he had most beautifully distinguished all other things whatever, which this world contains within its Compass; and had finished the Fabrick of the Universe, grac'd little be with all sorts of Ornaments.

After these words, Learned men have added these, *καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐρανοὶ.* And so 'tis in the *Fukerian Copy*. *Valef.* I think, be thus; *ὅσον τε ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου πειρασίας διορίζον οὐρανῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου πειρασίας διορίζον οὐρανῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου πειρασίας διορίζον οὐρανῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου πειρασίας διορίζον οὐρανῶν.* It might also be written in this manner, *τοιαύτην ὅσον ποτὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπον, &c.* wherefore, all that healthy place—was inhabited; and so there needs no alteration. *Valef.*

\* Or, Dif. beautifully \* distinguished all other things whatever, which this world contains within its Compass; and had finished the Fabrick of the Universe, grac'd little be with all sorts of Ornaments.

† Or, Adorned the most perfect complement of the Universe.

## CHAP. VI.

Concerning Fate; that what is discours'd of it, is false; [and this] is demonstrated; both from humane Laws, and \* things created; which are moved, not disorderly, but in a regular manner, by which order of theirs, they demonstrate the Command of the Creator.

BUT very many men, not so considerate as they should be, make Nature the Cause that has given Beauty and Gracefulness to all these things: some others of them [ascribe it] to Fate; or Fortuitous Chance; \* assigning to Fate the power of these matters.

Nor do they understand, that when they speak of Fate; they utter a name indeed; but declare no Act, nor any substance proposed as a Subject. For, what can Fate

itself be, \* in reference to it self, when Nature shall have produced all things? Or, what shall Nature be thought to be, if the Law of Fate be inviolable? Moreover, whereas 'tis said to be a Fatal Law, 'tis plain (in regard every Law is the Work of some Law-maker,) that even Fate it self, if it be a Law, is the Work and Invention of God. All things therefore are subject to God, nor is there any thing that has no share of his power. We do also allow, that Fate both is, and must be thought to be the Will of God. But, in what manner do Justice, Temperance, and the other Vertues [derive their Being] from Fate? Or, whence

[proceed the Vices] contrary to these Vertues, injustice namely, and Intemperance? For, wickedness [has its Original] from Nature, not from Fate: and Vertue is [nothing else] but good performances and Offices, of the Disposition and Morals. \* But, if those things (which from a good purpose of mind are done well, or which on the contrary are performed otherwise,) have a different issue, according as it seems good either to Fortune or Fate; how will all Right, and a giving of every person his due [proceed] from Fate? But now, Laws, and discourses, which perswade to Vertue, and deter from Vices; praises also, and commendations; punishments likewise, and all those things whatever, wherewith men are incited to Vertue, and drawn off from wickedness;

† Πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα. The last word is added by Learned men from Manuscript Copies; which, nevertheless, I can in no wise approve of, though it does occur in the *Fukerian Copy*. I write therefore, *πάν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναμειβόμενον ἔχοντα, πῶς καὶ εἰμαρμένον, Ὡς καὶ εἰμαρμένον, Ὡς καὶ εἰμαρμένον, Ὡς καὶ εἰμαρμένον.* How will all right, &c. The meaning is the same with what I have said above. Nevertheless, the written reading may be born with, that by πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα may be meant those things which are reckoned up by *Constantine*, to wit, Laws, Rewards, Punishments, Exhortations, and the rest of this sort, which contain justice in them. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν τῶν ὕψων. Before these words *Musculus* has set a point. For thus he renders this passage. *Qui potestatem horum fato tribuit, ne hoc quidem intelligunt, &c.* *Christophorus* has followed *Musculus*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Or, By what shall it self. <sup>c</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>d</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>e</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>f</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>g</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>h</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>i</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>j</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>k</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>l</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>m</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>n</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>o</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>p</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>q</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>r</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>s</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>t</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>u</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>v</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>w</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>x</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>y</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>z</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>aa</sup> Or, what shall it self. <sup>ab</sup> Or, what shall it 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how can these be said to proceed from Fortune or Chance, and not from justice rather, which \* Or, Even is the property of the provident God? For, \* He that which is agreeable occurs, on account of mens living in this, or that manner.

\* Τὸν ποῖον. Make it ποῖον, with the accent in the last syllable, as I found it set at the margin of Moræus's Copy. I read also, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαρτῆς, from the Manuscript. 'Tis certain, the Fuketian Copy gives us this reading; διὰ τὸ τὸν ποῖον ἔχει ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαρτῆς. Valef. In Robert Stephens 'tis, τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπαρτῆς.

\* Τὴν πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. I read ὅτι πάντα, &c. that all such, &c; as I found it mended in Moræus's Book, at the margin. So indeed 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

\* Or, Good inclinations.

boldness, and an arrogancy which raises it self higher than is becoming a Creature. The

\* Ὡς εἰ καὶ proofs of \* all which matters, although they τὰ μάλιστα are very perspicuous, and do lie before our eyes; are yet \* then more apparently manifest, as often as, making a descent into Our I found a Selves, and as 'twere contrasting Our minds, blank in His weigh with Our Selves the Cause of them. the Fuketian Copy, capable of one word. It must, I think, be made up thus, ὡς πάντα εἰ καὶ, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

\* Τὴν πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. The last word must be blotted out; in regard 'tis not to be found, either in the Kings Copy or in the Sheets, or Stephens's Edition. The place was rather to have been mended in this manner; ὅπως τὴν πάντα ἡμῶν φανερώμεν ἐκλάμπουσιν: That is; Although it be certain, and evidenced by many instances, that Famine, Pestilence, and such sort of Calamities, are sent from Heaven in order to the punishing of mens wickedness; yet, that does much more manifestly appear, as often as these Calamities happen. For then we come to Our Selves, and understand the Causes of those things. Nevertheless, the reading in the Fuketian Copy is, τὴν πάντα τοιαῦτα. Valef.

\* Ὡς οὕτως γὰρ. It must, I think, be ποῖως, or, if you had rather, ποσῶς. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, ὅπως ἂν... συν-αξέμεν. And in the end of the period, λογίζουμεν; excellently well. It must therefore be written, ὅπως ἂν ἡμεῖς συναξέμεν, as often as, recollecting our selves. Valef.

Wherefore, 'tis my assertion, that we ought to

\* Or, More lead lives that are \* soter and calm, not derate and raising Our † thoughts above the condition of quiet.

† Or, Our Nature; but taking this into Our serious consideration, that God the Inspector of all Our Actions is continually present with Us. Moreover, let us another way examine, whether this assertion be true, namely, that the dispose of all

\* Ἐκ πόως καὶ τῆ ἀπομάτης συνέστη. I had rather read, συνέστη, or συνέστη, has had a dependence upon, &c. Further, in the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading of this place runs thus, ὡς εἰ καὶ πάντα τὰ... ἀπαρτῆς ἐκ πόως, &c. Valef.

the seasonable Returns of Summer and Winter; whether [I say] it ought to be believed, that

\* Or, Rashly. all these have happened \* without reason and fortuitously, rather than were created. 'Tis cer-

tain, some persons, wholly void of understanding, do affirm, that men have found out many of these for their own use and advantage. And truly, whereas Nature does plentifully supply us with

† Or, Par, all manner of riches; we may grant, that, in takes of reference to things which are terrene and common, this Opinion † wants not something of

reason. But, are then things immortal and immutable, the Inventions of men also? For, of these, and of all other things of this nature, (which are removed from our senses, and can be comprehended by the mind only;) \* not man, but the intelligible

and Eternal Essence of God is the Frammer. Besides, the Course and Order of that Constitution, is the work of providence also; [namely,] that the day is bright, being enlightened by the Sun; that the night succeeds the setting of the Sun; and, that, when it has succeeded it, it is not left wholly \* void [of Light,] by reason of the Quire of the Stars. But, what shall we say concerning the Moon; which, when at the greatest distance from the Sun, being in a direct opposition to him, is at the Full; but, is lessened,

\* as often as 'tis in a Conjunction with the Sun: do not these things manifestly declare the † knowledge of God, and his sagacious wisdom? Farther, \* the useful and seasonable warmth of the Solar Rayes, whereby the Fruits are brought to maturity; the Blasts of the winds, which are of great use in making the year fruitful and healthy; the refreshment of showers, and the admirable Harmony of all these, according to which they are all managed in a due and well-ordered manner: [lastly,] that perpetual Order of the Planets, which at fit and stated times make their Returns to the same

\* point; is not the Command of God hereby \* Or, manifested, and likewise the perfect and entire Place. dutifullness of the Stars, which pay an Obedience to the Divine Law? Moreover, the Tops of Mountains, and the hollow depths of Vallies, \* and the smooth Levels of far-spreading Fields; do these seem to exist without the providence of God? The prospect whereof is not only \* grateful, but the use also is delightful and pleasant. The

\* Spaces likewise \* Or, Di. and † Breaks of mensions. the Waters and † Or, Di. visions. the Earth, (which are of use partly for tillage, \* and partly for conveyance of those things we stand in need of from foreign Regions;) do they not most clearly demonstrate the accurate and exact care of

God? For, the Mountains contain water within their Bowels; which when the Plain has received, and || by the moisture thereof has sufficiently re-

freshed, &c; than which, nothing is more certain. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies 'tis, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς χρεῖας παρομοῖν. Further, I have rendred διασπείρει, discidia, following the authority of Amm. Marcellinus, who somewhere expresses himself so. Christophorson has likewise rendred it well, divortia Terrarum, the divorcements of the Earth. Valef.

|| Or, Has sufficiently moistened the ground in order to a refreshment.

fresh'd

fresh'd

fresh'd

Write, ἐκ ἐνυλον ζωῶν ὁ ἀνθρώπος, not man, &c; But Christophorson read, ἐκ ἐνυλον ζωῶν ἀνθρώπων, not the life of man, which consists of matter; which reading I condemn not, but the former Emendation pleases me best. — Nevertheless, the Fuketian Copy does plainly favour Christophorson's Version. Valef.

\* Μὴ ἀμυρεν αὐτήν. Understand τὸ φῶς, of light. Wherefore there is no need of Christophorson's conjecture; nor of Sir Henry Savil's, who mends it ἀμυρεν, dark. Valef.

\* Or, By reason of its Converse with him at a nearer distance.

† Λόγον ἐκείνου. Θεοῦ, God's conception of mind; Valefius renders it intelligentiam.

\* Τὸ, τὸ ὁπλίσθιον. I read τὸ ὁπλίσθιον, as 'tis mended at the margin of Moræus's Book. Presently, make it ἀνέμων π. πνέματα. And again, a little lower, τὸ τε αἰθρὸν τῆς διαπύξεως εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκαταρτίζων ἔργον. And thus I found it plainly written in the Fuketian Copy save that there it is ἀνέμων ὁ. Valef.

\* Or, Omalotis δε. It must be ὁμαλότης τε, as that Learned man had remarked in Moræus's Book. And so the reading is in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

\* Ἐπιτερεῖς ἢ δεῖα. The word ἐπιτερεῖς should be expung'd here. For at this place 'tis more elegantly understood.

Sir Henry Savil has mended it at the margin of his Book, in this manner, ἢ χρεῖα ἐπιτερεῖς. Valef.

\* Or, Di. mensions. † Or, Di. visions.

\* Or, Di. mensions. † Or, Di. visions.

\* Or, Di. mensions. † Or, Di. visions.

\* Or, Di. mensions. † Or, Di. visions.

\* Or, Di. mensions. † Or, Di. visions.



fresh'd the Ground; it pours forth the residue of it into the Sea: and the Sea transmits it to the Ocean. And, dare we yet affirm, that all these things come to pass fortuitously, and by accident? Whenas notwithstanding, we are in no wise able to declare, with what Shape or Form Chance is endued: a thing which has no subsistence, either in the understanding, or sense; but is only the empty sound of a name || without the thing, which makes a noise about our Ears.

|| Or, without a subsistence.

## CHAP. VII.

That, \* in things which we can't understand, we ought to glorifie the Creator's Wisdom; nor must we suppose Chance, or any thing else [save God,] to be the cause [of them.]

FOR Chance, 'tis most certain, is a Term [invented] by Men, whose thoughts are rash and inconsiderate; and who cannot understand the cause it self: but, by reason of their weakness of apprehension, suppose that all these things, whereof they are unable to give a reason, have been framed and ordered without any thing of reason. There are indeed some things endued with an admirable nature, the certain and evident knowledge of the Truth whereof, lies deep: of which sort is the Nature of warm Waters. For no Person can readily assign the reason of so great a Fire. And 'tis strange, that [that fire,] though encompassed round with cold Water, nevertheless, should not lose its Native Heat. And these things are found to be very rare, and few in number throughout the whole World; for this reason, as I perswade my self, that Men might easily know the power of [Divine] providence; which has ordered two most contrary Natures, Heat namely and Cold, to spring from one and the same Root. Indeed, the things are many, and almost innumerable, which God hath bestowed on Men, in order to their Comfort and Delight; but, the Fruit of the Olive-tree and of the Vine, are chiefly [to be accounted such.] Of which two <sup>a</sup> this has a power of recreating and exhilarating the mind. But the other is fit not only for delight: but of use in order to the curing of Bodies. The perpetual and everlasting course of Rivers deserves likewise the highest Admiration; which, by their flowing Night and Day, give a Representation of an eternal and never-ceasing Life. Also, the continual vicissitude of Night and Day, is in the same manner admirable.

But, whereas the particle  $\gamma\delta$  occurs neither in the Kings Copy, nor Robert Stephens's Edition, I had rather read  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\nu$ ; which is plainly confirmed by the succeeding words. For it follows,  $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma\sigma\omega\lambda\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\sigma\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ . Nevertheless, the Fuke, Sav. and Turneb. Copies do plainly confirm that Emendation of Learned Man. The same Fukeian Manuscript sets two points after the word  $\sigma\omega\lambda\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$ ; right. Valef.

## CHAP. VIII.

That God does plentifully supply Men with those things that are useful; but, with such as are for delight, [He furnishes them] in an indifferent manner only; bestowing both sorts, so as may be agreeable to their profit and advantage.

\* ALL These words have been spoken by \* Or, Let Us, in confirmation of this Truth, that all these things have been done without reason, or without understanding: but, that Reason it self, and also <sup>a</sup> Providence, are [the Works] of God. Who has likewise produced the several kinds of Gold, Silver, Brasse, and of the other Metals, in a manner and measure that is fit and agreeable. For with those things, the use whereof was like to be manifold and various, [Men] are by his order plentifully furnished: but, such things as are of use <sup>b</sup> for the delight of the World, and for Luxury only; [them he hath bestowed,] both liberally, and also sparingly; [observing a Mean] between a parcimony and a profuseness. For, if the same plenty of those things which were made for ornament, had been granted; the Searchers after Metals, by reason of their over-much avarice, would have despised those [Metals] that are of use for Husbandry, and Building, as well of Houses, as Ships; Iron namely, and Brasse; and would have neglected the gathering of them together: but would have made it their whole business, to provide such things as serve for delight, and a vain and fruitless superfluity of Riches. Wherefore, there is (they say) more of Difficulty and Labour, in finding Gold and Silver, than in finding all other Metals whatever: for this reason namely, that the soreness of the Labour may be opposed to the vehemency of the Desire. How many other works of Divine Providence may besides be reckoned up; whereby, in all those things which it has plentifully conferred on us, it does plainly incite the Life of Men to Modesty and the other Vertues, and draws [them] off from unseasonable and importunate desires? To find out the reason of all which things, is a greater Work than can be performed by Man. For, how can the understanding of a corruptible and infirm Creature, arrive at the Accuracy of Truth? How can it apprehend the pure and sincere Will of God from the Beginning.

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν πρὸνοίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. In Moræus's Book 'tis mended  $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\epsilon$ ; as Christopherson read; and as we have rendered it. And so 'tis plainly written in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Reserved, or treasured up the nature of Gold, &c.

<sup>c</sup>  $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ . The word  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  is corrupted; in the place whereof I would rather put  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , Luxury. Yet, the ordinary reading may be borne with. Valef.

written in the Fukeian Copy, after I had long before conjectured, that it was so to be written. Moreover, I point the whole place thus;  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\gamma\delta\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\eta\varsigma$  &c.  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$  &c. Valef.

<sup>c</sup>  $\alpha\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . It must be  $\epsilon\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , as I found it.



## CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Philosophers, who, because they desired to know all things, erred as to their Opinions; <sup>a</sup> and some of them were expoed to dangers. Also concerning the Opinions of Plato.

<sup>a</sup> In the very Title of the chapter

there is a fault. For what can these words mean. καὶ καθότι οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἠγάθον τὴν ἀλήθειαν. But I think the place must be made good in this manner; καὶ καὶ τῶν πλάτωνος δόξων. Also, concerning the Opinions of Plato; and so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But, both in the *Fuketian Copy*, and also in the *Kings Sheets*, this chapter is begun from these words, πόσα δ' ἄλλα τῆς δέας ἀπονοίας, How many other works, &c. Valef.

Wherefore, we ought to attempt those things that are possible, and which exceed not the capacity of Our Nature. For,

<sup>b</sup> τῶν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις γινόμενων. In the *Fuk.* and *Turneb.* Copies 'tis truer written, γινόμενα. But in the *Kings Sheets* that word is omitted. I had rather write also, τὸ γένοιτο πεισθάνειν τῶν ἐν τοῖς, &c. and have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀδελφεῖς. In the Sacred Scriptures this verb is used in such a sense as to signifie, to exercise his Wit; as *Jacobus Tufanus* has long since observed. Valef. See *Psal.* 119. 15. where this word occurs.

\* Or, Hids.

pens, that their Sentiments are contrary, and that they oppose one anothers Opinions: and this [they do] when they would pretend to be wise. From whence [have been occasioned] Commotions of the People, and severe Sentences of Princes [against them;] whilst they think, that the usages of their Ancestors are subverted by them. And their own Ruin has very frequently been the Consequence hereof. For Socrates, proud of his Knowledge in disputing;

<sup>d</sup> καὶ τὸ γένος ἡμεῶν. when he would undertake to render reasons that were weaker, more strong; and would frequently make Sport in contradicting; was killed by the Envy of those of his own Tribe, and of his Fellow-Citizens. Moreover Pythagoras, who pretended highly to the Exercise of Temperance and Silence, was taken in a Lye. For, he declared to the Italians, that <sup>e</sup> those things long before predicted by the Prophets, which he had heard whilst he was a Traveller in Egypt, were revealed by God to him as 'twere in particular.

the strong-er, more weak. This was the device of Protagoras, who promised young Men, that he would make that reason which was stronger, more weak; and on the contrary, that which was weaker, more strong; τὸν κρείττονα λόγον ἥτις πείθει, καὶ τὸν ἥτιονα κρείττονα. Against the Sophists who promised these things, Socrates disputed continually, that he might convince them that they knew nothing; and he pursued them with their own Weapons, that is, Arguments of Logick. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Πάλαι τότε. It must be made παλαιότερον from the *Fuketian Copy*.—What Constantine says (namely, that Pythagoras, after he was come into Egypt, and had heard what the Prophets had heretofore predicted; divulged those things afterwards all over Italy, as if God had revealed them to him;) seems to me scarce probable. Indeed, that Pythagoras came into Egypt, and there received from the Priests, the Mystick Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; this, I say, is attested by *Porphyrus* in his *Life*, and by many others. Moreover, we are told by *Aristobolus*, *Clemens*, and *Eusebius*, that Pythagoras had many things out of the Books of *Moses*. But, that he had learned the Prophecies of the Jews in Egypt, and had afterwards divulged them amongst the Italians; is a thing affirmed by none of the Ancients, that I know of. And perhaps this place is to be understood, not concerning the Prophecies of the Jews, but those of the Egyptians. For there were

Prophets amongst the Egyptians, as I have observed in my notes on *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Hist.* See book 4. chap. 8. note (c.) Which thing perhaps led Constantine into a mistake. Who having read, that Pythagoras had learned many Secrets from the Prophets of the Egyptians, that is their Priests; understood that as meant concerning the Prophets of the Hebrews. Valef.

Lastly Plato, the mildest and sweetest tempered Person of them all, and the first Man that drew off Mens Minds from the Senses, to things intelligible, and such as always continue in the same State; accustoming Men to look upwards, <sup>f</sup> and instructing them to raise their Eyes to things sublime; in the first place taught, that God was above every \* Essence, wherein he did well.

<sup>f</sup> καὶ διδασκῶν. The conjunctive particle is wanting in the *Fuk.* and *Savil.* Copy, and in the *Kings Sheets*, I write therefore, ἀνα-ελέψαι τ' ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα διδασκῶν, and instructing, &c. as *Sw Henry Savil* read. Valef.

\* Or, Substance.

To Him he subjoined a Second; and in number distinguished the two Essences, although the Perfection of them Both be one; and notwithstanding the Essence of the Second God, <sup>g</sup> proceeds from the First. For, He <sup>†</sup> Or, Has is the Framer and Governour of the Universe; and therefore transcends [all things.] But He who is the Second from Him, ministering to His Commands, <sup>||</sup> ascribes the Constitution of all things to Him, as to the Cause. Therefore, <sup>Or, Remits the Cause of</sup> according to the most accurate way of Philosophizing, there will be but One who takes the Care of all things, and consults their Good; all things God The \* Logos namely, who has beautified <sup>to Him.</sup> all things. Which Logos Himself being truly <sup>Or, Word.</sup> God, is also the Son of God. For, what other Name shall any one impose upon Him, besides the appellation of a Son, who at the same time shall not commit a Sin of the deepest Dye? For, He who is the Father of all, is deservedly esteemed the Father of His own Word also. Thus far Plato's Sentiments were right. But, in those things which follow, He is found to have wandered far from the Truth; whilst he both introduces a multitude of Gods, and also ascribes different Forms to each of them. Which was the occasion of a greater mistake amongst unthinking Men: who do not consider the Providence of the most High God; but pay a veneration to Images framed by themselves, made according to the likeness of Men, and some other Creatures. And thus it hapned, that that excellent <sup>h</sup> Wit, and that Learning worthy of the highest Commendation, being mix'd with some such errors as these, had in it less of Purity and Perfection. The same Person seems to Me, to reprove Himself, and to correct that discourse; whilst he attests in express Words, that the Rational Soul is the Spirit of God..

<sup>g</sup> Ille means Plato himself, whose excellent Wit, all the Ancients, yea the Christians also, were admirers of. Valef.

For, <sup>h</sup> He divides all things into two sorts, intelligible namely and sensible: [the Former sort is simple and uncompounded,] the Latter consists of a Frame of Body.

<sup>h</sup> Διψῶν δὲ πᾶσι. Christopherson seems to have read διψῶν τε. The Place in Plato, which Constantine means, occurs in his *Timæus* pag. 28. Valef.

And, that is apprehended by the understanding; but this is perceived by Opinion with Sense. Therefore, that which partakes of the Divine Spirit, in regard 'tis unmix'd and immaterial, is also eternal, and has for its Allotment an endless Life. But, that which is sensible, because 'tis dissolved the same way whereby it was at first framed, has no Portion in an endless Life. But, the Doctrine which \* he delivers \* Plato in the following words, is highly admirable; that those who have lived well, the Souls namely of holy



holy and good Men, after their departure out of the Body, are consecrated in the most beautiful [Mansions] of Heaven. [Which Assertion of his does not only deserve Admiration,] <sup>1</sup> but is also highly useful. For, what person giving credit to him, and expecting such a Felicity, will not order his Life in the best manner, will not exercise Righteousness and Temperance, and will not have an Aversion for Wickedness? Agreeably to these Words also, he has subjoyned, that the Souls of wicked Men are tossed up and down in the Streams of Acheron and Pyriphlegon, floating <sup>k</sup> like the Remains of a Shipwreck'd Vessel.

<sup>1</sup> ἡ ἀλλὰ καὶ βίωσις. Before these words, after the verb ἔσονται in the Gene-va Edition these words are inserted, ἡ δὲ ἐν μόνον θαλάσῳ, which assertion, &c. Christophorson, Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruet put in these words, as 'tis remark'd at the margin of that Edition. I likewise found the same emendation in Moræus's Book, in Tinnæus's Sir, Henry Savil's, and in the Fukeian Copy; in which Copies also 'tis βίωσις. Valef.

<sup>k</sup> Ναυαγίων τεύχεον. I have rendred it, Navis fractæ reliquias, the Remains of a Shipwreck'd Vessel; that is, The Tackle or Furniture of the Ship. For after a Shipwreck, these provisions and utensils of the Vessel, are tossed up and down in the Sea. But Christophorson renders it Merces, the Wares or Goods of the Merchant; a rendition that can in no wise be agreeable here. For when a Vessel is lost at Sea, most commonly the Goods sink to the bottom. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning those Men, who do not only reject the Dogmata of the Sacred Scriptures, but them of the Philosophers, also: and, that we either ought to give the Poets credit in all things, or in nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ τῶν μὴ μόνον τὰ θεοφιλῶς, It must be μὴ μόνον, not only, as the Learned man, at the margin of Moræus's Book, had conjectured it should be. And thus Christophorson read; nor is it otherwise written in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

NEVERTHELESS, there are some Men so depraved as to their Minds, that, when they read these very discourses, neither care, nor are abashed with any thing of Fear: but, as if they heard some forged Stories and Fables, they condemn and laugh [at them.] They highly extol a Variety and Fluency of Expression; but abominate the Solidness and Severity of the

<sup>\*</sup> That is, The more sublime and hidden Doctrines and parts of the Christian faith.

<sup>b</sup> Μύθους τε καὶ μυθολογίας. I read μύθους δὲ, &c. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Περὶ τῶν φημῶν. Christophorson renders it ill, Praconis celebrant. φημῶν here imports nothing else but the Fables, where, with the Poets filled the world. So a little lower, speaking of the same Poets, he says, ἐμμελῶς τε ἀντὶ τῶν διασημῶν, They divulge the Fates of the same [Gods] also; and so in the eleventh chapter, where he inveighs against Blasphemy or Impiety. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Or, Laws.

dogmata. <sup>b</sup> But, yet the same Men give credit to the Fables of the Poets; and fill all Greece and the Barbarous Regions with vain and <sup>c</sup> false Stories. For the Poets affirm, that some Men, Sons of the Gods, do judge Souls after death; and they constitute them the Inspectors and Triers of those departed, and celebrate their Sentences, and Judiciary proceedings. But these very Poets commemorate the Fights of the Dæmons, and <sup>†</sup> Rights of War amongst them. They divulge the Fates of the same [Gods] also. And affirm, that some of them are by nature cruel and austere; that others of them are strangers to all Care over Men; and, that some of them are morose. Moreover, they bring in [the Gods] lamenting the slaughter of their own Sons; as if they were unable to give relief, not only to Strangers, but to them also

whom they love most entirely. They also feign them lyable to the same Passions and Troubles with Men whilst they sing their Wars and Wounds, their Joys and Mourning. And they seem worthy of credit, when they affirm these things. For, whereas they attempt Poetry, incited thereto by some Divine Motion; 'tis fit we should believe, and be persuaded by them, in reference to those things which they utter, <sup>†</sup> when moved by a Divine Spirit. They likewise relate the Calamities of the Gods and Dæmons. Indeed, their Calamities are <sup>a</sup> wholly agreeable with Truth. But some body will say, that 'tis lawful for Poets to lye. For this

[ 'tis asserted ] is the Property of Poetry, to recreate the Minds of the Hearers: but, [that is said] to be Truth, when what is spoken, is in it self no otherwise, than so as 'tis delivered. Let this be the property of Poetry, sometimes to conceal and withdraw the Truth. But, they who lye, never lye in vain and for nothing. For they do this, on account either of Gain and Profit; or else, being (as 'tis likely) conscious to themselves of some ill practice, they hide [the Truth,] out of a fear of that danger which the Laws threaten them with. <sup>e</sup> But doubtless, it might (in my judgment) be possible for them, when relating nothing save the Truth concerning the Divine Nature, neither to lye, nor act impiously.

<sup>†</sup> Ἐνθεοῦ ὁρμή, when acted by a fanatick fury.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιπολαιῶν. It must, I suppose, be παντοίας; which I have followed in my Version. Valef.

and have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

## CHAP. XI.

Concerning our Lord's Coming in the Flesh what it was, and for what reasons it has hapned.

IF therefore there be any Person unworthy of [an acquaintance with] the best way of <sup>a</sup> living, <sup>a</sup> and be conscious to himself, that he <sup>τὸ</sup> τῷ. It hath lived wickedly and in a disordered manner; may he repent and look towards the Deity, having first clear'd the eye of his Mind, and being made a Stranger to his former most vitious courses. Nevertheless, he ought to rest satisfied, if even in his declining Age he may <sup>b</sup> attain wisdom himself; But no Learning [that has proceeded] from which I Men, was ever any assistance to Us. But, what ever things are commendable in Mens Lives and Morals, amongst those that have understanding think of.

Further, from the beginning of this period, that is, from these words ἐν ἧ ἐστὶν ἀνάξιστος, the eleventh chapter begins, both in the Sheets, and in the Fukeian Copy. And in this Manuscript, wherein the Contents are prefixt before each Chapter, this is the Inscription of this Chapter; περὶ τῆς καὶ σάρκα ὡς καὶ παλαιῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ καὶ καὶ τῶν καὶ γένων τῶν καὶ μυστηρίων, &c. Concerning Our Lord's coming in the Flesh, what [it was] and for what reason it has hapned. And concerning those who knew not this Mystery; &c. But in the Kings Sheets, and in Robert Stephens's Edition, which Christophorson has followed, this chapter is divided into two, and concerning those who knew, &c. is the title of a new chapter. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Τὴν σοφίαν ἐντυχεῖν. Doubtless it must be ἐντυχῶν, or ἐντυχασαί, may attain; which I wonder neither Christophorson, nor Scaliger, nor others perceived; who have mended it τὴν σοφίαν ἐντυχῶν. But 'tis not Greek to say ἐντυχεῖν τῆς σοφίας, but ἐντυχεῖν τῷ σοφίᾳ. Yet in the Fukeian Copy the reading is τῆς σοφίας ἐντυχῶν. Valef.



are all accounted the Gifts of God. Moreover, against those poisoned darts which the Devil has framed, I have no mean Buckler which I may oppose; the Knowledge namely, of those matters which are acceptable to God. Out of which [Knowledge] having selected those things that are suitable to the discourse in hand, I will attempt to laud the Father of all things. But, be Thou Thy Self (O Christ, Thou Saviour of all!) favourably present with this design of those poisoned darts. Our Devotion, and do Thou adorn Our discourse concerning Thine own Power, prescribing to us the way and method of uttering praises. Where Scaliger, Bongarsius, Curterius, and others saw not. So Constantine expresses himself in the fifteenth Chapter near the beginning, *πιστὴν τῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξάζας, ἀντικεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀντικεῖ- μῶν φύσει φέρει.* Yet in the Fukeian Copy, and that of Turnebus, *τὸ ὅς καὶ διδασκάλων ἀντικεῖν.* Valef.

Who would not admire, that Scaliger, Bongarsius, and the rest (out of whose Copies the emendations are taken, and set at the margin of the Geneva Edition,) should not have seen the true emendation of this place; which nevertheless, is very obvious and easy. For, the words being parted, which had grown together into one, it must be written thus, *ὅς καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν, &c.* The word γνώσεως, knowledge, is understood; which word was made use of a little before. But Christopherson renders this place thus; *Hec igitur commodè ad eum sermonem qui à me institutus est, delegi.* Whence it appears, that either he has followed that emendation which occurs in the Books of Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruer; (which amendment I also found in Moræus's Book,) or else that Scaliger and the rest, having followed Christopherson's Version, mended it in this manner: which latter I think truer. But, that amendment can't be born with. For, it departs too far from the footsteps of the vulgar reading, if instead of *ὅς καὶ*, you write *τὰ πρὸς τὸν.* Yet in the Fukeian and Savil. Copies, *τὸ ὅς καὶ τὸν, &c.* Valef.

In Moræus's Book the Learned Man had at the margin mended it, *αὐτὸς.* I think this whole place is to be read in one breath, thus; *αὐτὸς ὁ σωμωρόμω τῇ τῆς καθεστώσας σπουδῇ πείθει καὶ &c.* But, be Thou, &c. Which amendment the Kings Copy does confirm: wherein a point is set before the word *αὐτὸς.* From those words therefore the twelfth chapter is to be begun; although in the Kings Copy, and in Robert Stephens's Edition, a new chapter is begun from the word *πείθει.* The Fukeian Manuscript does plainly confirm our conjecture; wherein the reading is, *αὐτὸς τὸ σωμωρόμω τῇ τῆς καθεστώσας σπουδῇ, πείθει, &c.* But in the Kings Sheets I found it written, *αὐτὸς τὸ σωμωρόμω, as Christopherson read.* In the same Sheets a new chapter is begun from those words which follow presently, *οὐδὲ δὲ τίς, &c.* Some inconsiderate, &c. But, there is no need of beginning a new chapter here; in regard one is begun a little before, at, *If therefore there be, &c.* both in the Sheets, and in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

Farther, let no person expect, that he shall hear an Oration garnished with a singular elegancy of Words. For I know accurately well, that that Oration which is soft and loose, and composed to please and allure, will be unacceptable to the prudent; when they who speak, make noise and applause, rather than a sober and modest discourse, their Care and Business. Some inconsiderate and impious Men do affirm, that Our Christ was deservedly condemned to punishment; and, that he who is the Author of Life to the Living, was himself deprived of Life. But, 'tis not in the least strange, that those who have once dared to be impious, and who

have \* taken a Resolution neither to be afraid, nor conceal their own wickedness, should assert this. But, that has exceeded the utmost degree of folly and madness, which they seem to have persuaded themselves of; that the immortal God underwent Force from Men, and did not [suffer] merely out of his own benignity and kindness [towards them.] Nor do they consider, that magnanimity and patience, is neither to be \* changed by ignominy, nor removed from its natural constancy and firmness by reproach; but, by consideration and an height of mind, does always break and beat back their fierceness, who invade and assault it. The Clemency of God had indeed resolved, wholly to destroy injustice, and to advance Modesty and Equity. And therefore, having gathered together the wisest of Men, it instituted a most beautiful and most advantageous doctrine to mankind; to the end it might make the Good and Blessed, to emulate and admire his own providence, in reference to worldly affairs. Than which, what can be termed a greater Good? God Himself || prescribing the Laws of Justice, and rendering those, who shall deserve to be his Disciples, like himself: to the end that, Goodness and Virtue being diffused amongst all persons, an everlasting Felicity might be procured for Men. This is a Glorious Victory; this is true Power; this is a mighty work, and most befitting [God;] the amendment namely of all People, and the reducing them to a better Temper. And to Thee O Thou Saviour of all, with Praises and Acclamations we ascribe the Glory of this Victory! \* But, Thou, O wicked and infamous Blasphemy, who dost advance Thyself by Lyes, Reports, and Rumours every where published; Thou [I say] deceivest young Men; and by Perswasion dost impose upon Youths, and those Men who are endued with a childish disposition; drawing them off from the worship of Him who is truly God; and erecting Images, to which they may pray, and pay an Adoration! currs in the foregoing line. Farther, this Disputation of Constantine is, in my judgment, designed against Porphyrius, or some other Græcian Philosophers; who objected this against the Christians, because they asserted that Christ was crucified, and put to death by Men. For thus they argued against the Christians. If Christ be God, how could Force and Violence have been made use of against Him by Men, in regard 'tis plain, that Men are able to do nothing against God. Valef. In this Edition of Valerius's, the term ἀρεξίκαλον is left out, by a mistake of the Press I suppose; for 'tis in Stephens.

So Constantine calls the Apostles; who nevertheless, 'tis manifest, were illiterate and unskilful persons. So also lower in this chapter, he terms the same persons *εὐπεφυκότας*, that is, Men endued with an Excellent Wit. It was indeed Constantine's Sentiment, that we were to think honourably of the Apostles, whom the Church had so high a veneration for. But the holy Fathers speak far otherwise concerning the Apostles, and especially John Chrysostome; who confesses, that the Apostles were persons wholly ignorant and unskilful; and from thence fetches a most cogent argument in confirmation of the Christian Faith; that illiterate Men [had prevailed upon] the Philosophers; that the meanest sort of Fishermen of Judea had persuaded the Romans, who were Conquerors of the World, to worship a person that was Crucified. Constantine repeats the same thing hereafter. Valef.

This term seems to be used instead of *ζηλωται* πειθεσ; [and we have rendered it accordingly.] The meaning of this place is to be fetch'd from a passage which occurs hereafter in this chapter where Constantine expresses himself thus; *τὸ ὅς τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐξαιρέτων, ἐν τῷ τοῦ εὐπεφυκότος τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέει καὶ μακαρίᾳ ζηλωτῇ ποιῆται βίη, &c.* But, this is the eminentest gift of Thy Clemency, that Thou hast rendered Men, indued with a good, &c. For these two places borrow light one from the other. In the Fukeian, Turneb. and Savil. Copies, the reading is *ζηλωται*, not *ζηλωται*. Valef.

From these words a new chapter is begun in Robert Stephens's Edition, and in the Kings Copy; wherein these words are set at some little distance from the words foregoing. But in the excellent Fukeian Manuscript, and in the Sheets, there is no distinction made here. Valef.

I had rather write it adverbially, *ὡς ὅντως*; [and have rendered it so.] And thus I found it plainly written in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

That



That so, being deceived, the Reward of their own senselessness may<sup>m</sup> await them. For they accuse and calumniate Christ the Authour of all Good, who is both God, and the Son of God. Is not this God deservedly worshiped by the \* Soberest and most prudent Nations and People? Who being possessor of all manner of Power; and always continuing firm to his own purpose, has not made the least abatement of his innate Clemency. Be gone therefore, Ye impious! (For that is permitted to You, in as much as no punishment is now inflicted on Your wickedness;) Be gone, I say, to your slaughters of Victims, and to Your Banquets, Festivals, and Drunken Debauches. Wherein, under the Mask

of Religion, you make pleasures and intemperance your Business. You pretend indeed to perform Sacrifices; but in reality you serve your own Lusts. For you know nothing of Good, not so much as the first Command of the Great God; who has both prescribed Laws to mankind, and also given it in charge to his Son, that he should form and govern the Lives and Morals of Men: to the end that they who shall lead their Lives well and soberly, may, according to the Judgment of His Son, have a second Life allotted them, which will be blessed and happy. I have declared

<sup>n</sup> He means the Decree of God concerning the assuming manhood, or concerning the Incarnation, by which the life of Men was repaired. 'Tis apparent therefore, that the Chapters are well digested by us; unless any one should have a mind, to make the tenth chapter reach to these words; which I should willingly yield to. Valef.

and He is wholly a Stranger to all Mixture and Copulation. But, it ought to be considered, that Generation is twofold; the one from † Conception, which is known to all Men; the other, from an Eternal Cause. The manner of which [Generation,] by the favour of Divine Providence that Person sees even amongst Men,

<sup>o</sup> Ως ἐκεῖνος φίλος ὁ πατήρ. Robert Stephens, in those various Readings which he has remarked at the close of his Edition, gives notice, that in some Copies this place is read thus; Ως ἐκεῖνος φίλος ὁ πατήρ, who is dear to him, that is, to God. Which doubtless is the true writing. For Constantine says, that the manner of a Natural Generation is known to all; but, that very few know the way of the Divine Generation; those namely whom God shall have a peculiar affection for. In the Kings Copy the reading is φίλος. But in the Sheets 'tis written, Ως ἐκεῖνος φίλος. But the Fukeian and Turneb. Copies give the true reading. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας. The Geneva-men did ill, in admitting the two last words into the Text from the conjecture of Scaliger, as 'tis noted at the margin. But 'tis plain enough, that

\* Or, Modestest. servedly worshiped by the \* Soberest and most prudent Nations and People? Who being possessor of all manner of Power; and always continuing firm to his own purpose, has not made the least abatement of his innate Clemency. Be gone therefore, Ye impious! (For that is permitted to You, in as much as no punishment is now inflicted on Your wickedness;) Be gone, I say, to your slaughters of Victims, and to Your Banquets, Festivals, and Drunken Debauches. Wherein, under the Mask

of Religion, you make pleasures and intemperance your Business. You pretend indeed to perform Sacrifices; but in reality you serve your own Lusts. For you know nothing of Good, not so much as the first Command of the Great God; who has both prescribed Laws to mankind, and also given it in charge to his Son, that he should form and govern the Lives and Morals of Men: to the end that they who shall lead their Lives well and soberly, may, according to the Judgment of His Son, have a second Life allotted them, which will be blessed and happy. I have declared God's Decree concerning the Life of Men, neither wandering in ignorance, as many do; nor yet led by guess, or conjecture. But some body will perhaps say, whence is this appellation of a Son; or, what is the manner of this Begetting; For there is but One only God, who is dear to God.

For any wise Man knows the Cause of the Disposition and order of the Universe. There being nothing therefore which has not a Cause; 'tis necessary, that before all things which are, their Cause should exist. Whereas then the World, and the things therein, do exist; and whereas the preservation of those things does exist also; 'tis necessary, that before all things which are, the Preserver should exist. So that, Christ Himself is the Cause [of Preservation] of things,

they are to be rejected. For, they both disturb the whole meaning of this place, and also occur not in the Manuscript-Copies. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> and Preservation, the Effect. In the same manner as the Father is the cause of the Son; and the Son, the Effect. Now, that Christ Himself existed before all things, we have already proved sufficiently. But in what manner came he down to Men, and [why descended He] into the World? The Intent and purpose of his Coming, as the Prophets have predicted, proceeded from His care over the Universe. have been observed,

that the reading here ought to be τὸ ἀνίστασθαι. For here Constantine compares the Son with preservation, and the Father with the Preserver. As therefore the Father is the Cause of the Son, but the Son, the Effect, or τὸ ἀνίστασθαι: So the preserver is the Cause of the safety of all things; but safety is the Effect, or τὸ ἀνίστασθαι of the Preserver. Valef.

<sup>r</sup> The ancient Divines, those especially amongst the Greeks, affirmed, that one person in the Trinity, God the Father namely, was the Cause; but, that the other Two, to wit the Son and Holy Spirit, were the *Causata*, i. e. the Effects. So Athanasius in *Question Second*, Chap. 11. and 12. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ὃν ἔστιν αἰὶν, ἀλλ' αἰτιατὸς, But the Son is not the Cause, but the Causatum. So also Johannes Damascenus in his first Book de Imaginibus, not far from the Beginning. Imago, says he, Dei invisibilis est ipse Filius, &c. The Image of the invisible God is the Son Himself, who bears the Father in Himself, and is in all things the same with Him, save in this one, that He is from Him, as from the Cause. For the Natural Cause is the Father, from which the Son proceeds. Also, Gregory Nazianzen, in *Orat.* 29, which is de Dogmate, does in express words assert, that the Father is the Cause of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But, amongst the Latines, Martinus Victorinus has expressed himself in the same manner, in his first Book against Arius. Valef.

<sup>t</sup> Ἡ μὲν ἀρχαίσις τῆς κατὰ θεὸν. Our Copies vary not here: Yet I would rather read τῆς κατὰ θεὸν, that is, of the Lord's Advent. Valef.

For 'tis requisite, that the Framer should take care of His own Works. But, when he was about to \* assume a terrene Body, and to stay \* Or, Ap- upon Earth for some time, (necessity requiring preach to this;) He devised for Himself a new way of a worldly being born. For the Conception [was] without a Marriage; and the † Child-birth of a † Or, pure Virginity; and a Virgin the Mother of Birth. God; and a Temporal Beginning of an Eter- || Or, nal Nature; and a || Perception of an intel- Sense. ligible Essence; and a mat- ter of an incorporeal Brightness. All things therefore, which then were seen, were agreeable hereto. A bright Dove, [such a one as heretofore] flew out of Noah's Ark, descended into the Bosom of the Virgin. Those other things are likewise consonant, that were the consequences of this \* unspotted\* Marriage, which is purer than all Chastity, and

Apocryphal Books, wherein 'twas related, that the Holy Ghost, under the shape of a Dove, descended into the Bosom of Mary, according as the Angel had foretold to her. And perhaps these things were related in this manner, in the Gospel of the Hebrews. But Christopherson supposes that Dove to be meant here, which Noah heretofore sent out of the Ark: and that that Dove was a figure of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards to come upon the Virgin Mary. But I would rather read here ἀνίστασθαι πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν πάλαν ἐν τῇ νύκτι λαλῶν ἀποσταλέν, &c. a Bright Dove, &c. Thus the sense is plain and elegant. Valef.

<sup>w</sup> Τμήμαον. After this word, as plac'd in the Greek Text, I have set a point, from the authority of the Kings Copy: which Christopherson having not perceived, corrupted the meaning of this whole place; by adding some words. For thus he read; ὑμῶν, διανομεῖται ἡ ἐκ καταβολῆς σοφία τῷ θεῷ δαυμάσει. Nevertheless, the Fukeian Copy does plainly confirm this reading and punctuation of Christopherson; save that it has, τῷ θεῷ σοφία. As it is also in Turnebus's Book. Valef.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀσπιδότα φανότα ὁ υἱός. It must, I think be written φανό- τας, as Christopherson read. For Constantine alludes to that place of Saint Paul, wherein Christ is termed the Brightness of the Glory of God the Father. See Hebr. 1.3. In the Fuke. and Savil. Copies, 'tis φανότας. Valef.

<sup>v</sup> Αἰσθητὰ πνεῦμα. In the Kings Copy at the margin, the word λαμπερόν is written, which is an explanation of the term αἰσθητὰ. The Emendation therefore of Scaliger and the rest is needless, who read αἰσθητὰ. Farther this story of Constantine's is taken out of the



more excellent than Contineny it self. The [wonderful] Wisdom of God from his very Cradle: and Jordan, [the River] which afforded Him Water for Baptism, receiving Him with a Reverence. Besides this, a Royal Un-  
 \* Or, Action \* joynd with the knowledge of all things. greeable. A Doctrine also, and power which performed wonderful things, and healed incurable Diseases.

† Καὶ εὐχὰν ἀνδραγῶν τι-  
 χεῖα καὶ ἀνεμπόδιον βεβαίως;  
 which Valerius renders thus,  
 Mira denique celeritas in ho-  
 minum precibus audiendis, Lastly,  
 a wonderful swiftness in hearing  
 mens prayers.

\* Τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρετὰς. Phi-  
 losophers make two sort of Ver-  
 tues; the one πραγματικὰς, pra-  
 ctical; which Constantine does  
 here term πολιτικὰς, Civil;  
 the other θεωρητικὰς, contempla-  
 tive, which lead our minds  
 to the contemplation of God.  
 Whence, some of Pythagoras's  
 disciples were termed πολιτικοί,  
 others θεωρητικοί, as the Old  
 Author concerning the Life of  
 Pythagoras, in Photius's Biblio-  
 theca chap. 259. informs us.  
 Farther in the Fukeian Copy  
 the reading of this place runs  
 thus; διδόνουσαν τοῖς φασμα-  
 τῶν τὰς πολιτικὰς λεγόμενας ἀρε-  
 τὰς διδόνουσαν ἐκμανδάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς  
 εἰς τὸν νοῦν κόσμον ἀπεργα-  
 ζόμενας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ καὶ ὑσώτως ἐχούσας, &c.  
 The same also is the reading in  
 the Books of Turnebus and Sir  
 Henry Savil. But I agree with  
 Sir Henry, who, after he had  
 written this reading at the mar-  
 gin of his own Book, blotted it  
 out again, having added this  
 note; Lectio vulgata retineri  
 potest, paucis immutatis; the  
 common reading may be retained,  
 a small alteration being made.  
 Valef.

† Ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ῥώσεως, instead  
 of soundness. Doubtless it is to  
 be written, τῆς περὶ ῥώσεως, Blind-  
 ness. Presently, from the Kings  
 Copy I have mended it, ἀντὶ δὲ  
 περὶ ῥώσεως, instead of a faintness  
 and weakness of body. And so it is  
 in Sir Henry Savil's Copy. A lit-  
 tle before. I had rather write, τὰ  
 γὰρ τοὶ οὐκ ἐνεργητικῶν, &c.  
 instead of τὰ γὰρ τοὶ, &c. Valef.  
 In Robert Stephen's, instead of  
 περὶ ῥώσεως, the reading is παρὰ  
 ῥώσεως.

amongst Men, that hath ever praised Thee ac-  
 cording to Thy worth? For Thou art He,  
 who art said to have created things of nothing;

and to have given them light; and with  
 Order and Measure to have beautified the

† Or, Dis- this is the eminentest Gift of Thy  
 confusion. Clemency, that Thou hast rendred

Men, indued with a good Disposition,  
 \* mulatores and Admirers of a Divine and

given, &c. Blessed Life; and hast taken order, that, \* ha-

Kings Sheets, and in Sir Henry Savil's Book, the reading is οὐκ ἐπὶ φῶς  
 &c. But the Fukeian Copy, has it, οὐκ ἐπὶ. Valef.

\* Κατασκευάζει. Which though I condemn not, yet it does not  
 seem necessary. In the Fukeian Copy, this place is thus read, ἀπεργα-  
 ζόμενας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑσώτως ἐχούσας, &c.  
 without those words τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑσώτως ἐχούσας. Valef.

† And a swift and unbun-  
 dred Assent to Humane  
 Prayers. And his whole  
 Life in general was benefi-  
 cial and useful to Men.  
 But, his Preaching [was  
 such as might] not instill  
 prudence, but wisdom: For  
 his Disciples did not learn  
 those termed the \* Civil  
 Vertues, but the paths which  
 lead to an intelligible world;  
 and laboured in the Con-  
 templation of that Nature,  
 which always continues in  
 one and the same State;  
 and made continual rescar-  
 ches into the notion of the  
 supream Father. Now, as  
 to his Favours and Acts of  
 kindness, they were in  
 no wise mean. Instead of  
 Blindness, sight; instead  
 of faintness and a weakness  
 of body, a sound and heal-  
 thy Constitution; Lastly, in-  
 stead of death, a Restora-  
 tion to Life. I omit that  
 plentiful provision of Ne-  
 cessaries for food in the  
 Wilderness, and that abun-

\* Or, In- \* raised from small  
 small, &c. quantities of Vi-

etuals, wherewith numerous  
 multitudes were for a long  
 space of time sufficed. This  
 Thanksgiving, according as  
 we are able, we render to  
 Thee, Christ Thou God and  
 Saviour, the supream Pro-  
 vidence of the Great Fa-  
 ther! Thou who savest us  
 from Evils, and teachest us  
 a Most Blessed Doctrine.  
 For I speak not these words,  
 that I might praise Thee,  
 but in order to my giving  
 Thee thanks. For who is he

ving been made Merchants of those things which  
 are truly good, they should impart their own  
 wisdom and happiness to many others; and  
 that they themselves should reap the immortal  
 fruit of Vertue; being freed from Intemperance,  
 but made partakers of Clemency; having mercy  
 before their Eyes, but hoping for the \* Promises \* Or, Ex-  
 of Faith; Lastly, embracing Modesty and all man-  
 ner of Vertue, [instead of  
 injustice,] which the former  
 Life of Men had cast upon  
 their Morals, [that it might  
 be cut off] from him who  
 makes provision for all things.

For no other person could be found, who might  
 be a fit Physician for the curing such great  
 Evils, and that injustice, which had prevailed  
 in that Age. Providence therefore coming even  
 to the Earth it self, easily composed and beau-  
 tified all things, which by wickedness and in-  
 temperance had been disordered. Nor [did  
 Christ perform] this secretly and in a con-  
 cealed manner. For he knew, that there were  
 some Men, who with prudence and understanding  
 would \* contemplate his own  
 Power: but, that others, in  
 regard as to their Nature  
 they were like irrational  
 creatures, would \* Or,  
 \* rely upon their Senses to-  
 own senses rather.

† Wherefore, that no per-  
 son, whether good or ill,  
 might be in doubt; [he  
 performed it] openly, and  
 hath exposed this Blessed-  
 ness and admirable Cure to  
 publick view: restoring a-  
 gain to Life, those that were  
 dead; and commanding, that  
 such as had been deprived  
 of their senses, should again  
 recover their former sound-  
 ness of sense. But that he  
 rendred the Sea solid, and  
 in the midst of a Storm or-  
 dered a Calm to arise; and  
 in fine, that (after he had  
 performed wonderful works,  
 and from an incredulity had  
 brought Men over to a most  
 strong Faith;)

He † ascended up † Or, Flew  
 into Heaven; away to, &c.

whose work was this, save  
 God's, and [a performance]  
 of a most transcendent power?  
 Nor did that time, which  
 was nearest to his Passion,  
 want those Sights that were  
 highly admirable; when the  
 darkness of night obscured  
 the brightness of day; and  
 \* totally eclips'd the Sun.

For, a terror had seized all the People every where,  
 [who believed] that the end of all things \* Εως ὅτε  
 was now come, and that a Chaos, such a one as write εως  
 had been before the Composure of the World, would ὅτε ἡνίκα  
 now prevail. Moreover, the Cause of so great a μετὰ το-  
 Calamity was inquired into, and what horrid im- χία, &c.  
 piety that might be, which had been committed by and have  
 Men against the Deity. \* Till such time as, rendred it  
 with a pleasing greatness of mind, God had ly. Valef.  
 with

† Ἀποκαταστασὶς. After this  
 word in the Greek, something  
 seems to be wanting. Nor can it  
 be made sense, unless you add  
 these words, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας  
 ὁ Θεὸς βίβη, &c. Which writ-  
 ing I have followed in my Ver-  
 sion.

† Τὴν ἐαυτῶν διακρίσιν δι-  
 νάμην, would contemplate their  
 own power. I doubt not but it  
 should be read τὴν ἐαυτῶν δι-  
 νάμην, his own power, Which is  
 plainly evidenced from the fol-  
 lowing words. For Constantine  
 gives the reason, why Christ,  
 who had come to cure the  
 Diseases and Vices of Men,  
 and to bring news of a blessed  
 and happy life in heaven, would  
 perform so many Miracles on  
 earth, by restoring eyes to the  
 blind, health to the sick, life to  
 the dead. This therefore, he  
 says, he did, in favour of those  
 whose understandings are more  
 slow and heavy; that they might  
 not doubt of his virtue and  
 power, in regard they saw him  
 perform so many Miracles. These  
 are they, whom a little after he  
 terms φαῦλας, ill men. Valef.

† Διὰ παντός, &c. I have, as I think, restored this  
 place very happily; although  
 Scaliger, Bongarsius, and others,  
 whose amendments occur at the  
 margin of the Geneva-Edition,  
 saw nothing in it. But I have  
 restored this place to its for-  
 mer Lustre, and have in a  
 manner made no alteration at  
 all; thus; διὰ παντός, ἵνα  
 μὴδε ἀμφισβόλλοι, &c. and have  
 rendred it accordingly. There is  
 nothing more certain than this  
 reading. Indeed, the Fukeian  
 Copy agrees with the reading of  
 Scaliger and Bongarsius. But I  
 have found from many places,  
 that the authority of this Copy is  
 sometimes weak. Which thing is  
 evident enough, even from this  
 one place. Valef.

\* Or, Blotted out the Sun.



with contempt look'd upon the contumely of the Impious, and had restored all things, and beautified the whole Heaven with the usual \* course of the Stars. The Face therefore of the World, which † in a manner had been wholly covered with Mourning and Sadness, was again restored to its † Native beauty.

† Or, Own.

\* Or, Daunce. There was no need of the Emendation of the Learned, who make it ποῶς; in regard ποῶ may also be used adverbially, instead of ἐν ποῶν. Yet in the Fok and Turneb. Copies, 'tis ποῶς. Valef.

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning those who knew not this Mystery; and, that their ignorance is voluntary; and, what great blessings await those who know it, and especially them who have died in Confession.

<sup>a</sup> From these words the twelfth chapter is to be begun: Concerning those who knew not this Mystery; &c. For hitherto Constantine has treated about the Coming of Our Lord, and on what account Christ descended to the Earth. But now he treats of those persons, who have been ignorant of this Mystery. Valef.

thing; how could [the admonition] of one absent and un-heard, be of force? What therefore was the Obstacle of that most Blessed Doctrine? The perverse, untractable, and fierce humour of Men. For, when with an angry and displeased Mind we receive those things which are well and fitly enjoyned, the \* acuteness of our understanding is dull'd as 'twere, and clouded.

<sup>b</sup> Τὴ δὲ ὅτι ἀποστολὴς ἦν. I had rather write, ἐν δὲ ὅτι &c. Besides, &c. For Constantine brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. Valef.

besides, it was pleasure to them, to neglect the commands; and in a loathing and disdainful manner to give ear to the Law that was made. For, had they not been negligent and careless, they had received rewards befitting their Attention, not only in this Life present, but in that to come also, which is really and truly The Life. For the reward of those who obey God, is an immortal and eternal Life. The attaining whereof is possible to them only, who shall know God, and shall propose their own lives, as

† Pattern, some perpetual † Exemplar, for their imitation, or Sample. <sup>c</sup> that have resolved to live by way of Emulation with a desire of excelling. On this account therefore the Doctrine was delivered to the wise, that what they shall command, might † in a pure mind be preserved with care, by

† Pattern, some perpetual † Exemplar, for their imitation, or Sample. <sup>c</sup> that have resolved to live by way of Emulation with a desire of excelling. On this account therefore the Doctrine was delivered to the wise, that what they shall command, might † in a pure mind be preserved with care, by

† Pattern, some perpetual † Exemplar, for their imitation, or Sample. <sup>c</sup> that have resolved to live by way of Emulation with a desire of excelling. On this account therefore the Doctrine was delivered to the wise, that what they shall command, might † in a pure mind be preserved with care, by

their companions; and that the observance of God's Command might thus continue true and firm. For, from such an observance, and from a pure Faith, and a sincere Devotion towards God, springs a fearlessness and contempt of Death. [Such a mind as this] therefore, gives a resistance to the Storms and Tumults of the World,

being fortified in order to Martyrdom, by an inexpugnable strength of Divine Vertue. And when with a magnanimity it has conquered the greatest Terrours, it is vouchsafed a Crown from Him, † to whom with courage and constancy it hath born witness. Nevertheless, it does not boast in respect hereof. For it knows I suppose, that even this is the Gift of God, that it has both endured Tortures, and hath also cheerfully fulfilled the Divine Commands.

Farther such a Life as this is followed by an immortal Memory, and an Eternal Glory; and that most deservedly. For, both the Life

of a Martyr is found to be full of Modesty, and of a Religious observance of the Divine Commands; and † his Death likewise [appears] full of magnanimity and \* Gallantry.

Wherefore, Hymns, Psalms, Commendations, and Praises are sung to God the Inspector of all things; and such a † Sacrifice of thanksgiving as this is performed in memory of these Persons: [a Sacrifice] not polluted with Blood, and void of all manner of Violence. Neither is the Odour of Frankincense required, nor a kindling of the Funeral-pile: but a pure Light only, as much as may be sufficient for the enlightning them, who pray to God. Sober † Feasts and Banquets are likewise celebrated by many, made for the relief and refreshment of the indigent, and to help them who have been deprived [of their Estates and Country.] Which [Banquets] should any one think to be burdensome and inconvenient, his Sentiment would be repugnant to the Divine and most Blessed † Discipline.

† Or, Doctrine. markable, concerning

the Sacrifice of thanksgiving, which was offered to God in memory and honour of the Martyrs. For so these words *ὑποψαφῶν* are to be explained, which Christopherson understood not. For the Christians did not offer sacrifice to the Martyrs; but only to God; giving him thanks, that he had conferr'd on them a Crown of Martyrdom, as St. Augustine writes, Book 8. de Civitate Dei, Chap. the last. And this is what Constantine does here term *ὑποψαφῶν* τῶν εὐχαιστίων, a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving. But because the Christians offered to God this unbloody Sacrifice, at the Monuments and Sepulchres of the Martyrs, that they might give him thanks for the rewards of the Martyrs, and for their Crowns and Victories; therefore Constantine says this honour was given to the Martyrs. Valef.

Concerning these Banquets and Feasts of the Christians, which were made at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, mention is made by St. Austin, at the book and chapter now cited, in these words. *Quicunque etiam epulas suas eo deferunt, &c.* Also, whoever carry their Banquets thither, which is not indeed done by the better Christians, and in many parts of the world there is no such Custom: Yet, Whoever do that when they have set them [there,] they pray, and take them away that they may eat them; or distribute also of them to the indigent; they will have them sanctified there, by the merits of the Martyrs, in the name of the Lord of the Martyrs. Farther, at first these Feasts were sober and moderate. But afterwards, when licentiousness was arrived at a greater height, they were perverted to Drunkenness and Levity. And therefore in most places they were wholly



abolished, as St. *Austin* attests, *Epist.* 64. In the *Fuketian* Copy, the reading is *συνεργήσαντα δὲ πολλῶν καὶ συμπόσια*, &c. not *πολλῶν*, as 'tis in the ordinary Editions. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIII.

That a difference of the Parts of the Creation is necessary; and that a propensity to Good and Evil, springs from the will of Men: and therefore, that the Judgment [of God] is necessary, and agreeable to Reason.

**B**UT now, some Persons do boldly and inconsiderately presume, to find fault with God even in this matter. What was his meaning [say they,] that he has not framed the nature of things, one and the same; but has commanded, that even most things should be produced different, and therefore should be endued with a nature and disposition that

are contrary? Whence springs a diversity of the Morals and Wills of us Men. It had peradventure been better, both as to what respects an obedience to the Commands of God, and as to an accurate \* Contem-

\* Knowledge, or, Comprehension.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνην πίστιν. It must, I suppose, be τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν πίστιν, of the faith of every particular person. *Valef.*

• Οὐκ ἢ πρὸς τὸ κόσμον διάταξις. I had rather make it, ἢ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάταξις, ὅστις καὶ ἔστι κοσμητικὸν; which we have express'd in our Version. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύμπαντα κόσμον. After these, there are many words wanting, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of the Chapter. We chose to get out any sense from a corrupt and imperfect place, rather than with *Christophorson* to expunge the whole passage. *Sr. Henry Savil*, in his Copy, has also expunged this whole period, as far as those words, τὴν δὲ θεῖαν ἀποδοτέον, &c. Neither is *Manikind*, &c. Indeed in the *Fuketian* Copy that whole period is wanting. *Valef.*

ference [partakers of the Divine Goodness:] but those only, who have search'd into the Divine Nature, and who have propos'd to themselves this, as their chief purpose of Life and primary Study, the knowledge namely of things Divine.

## C H A P. XIV.

That a created Nature is at a vast distance from an Essence which is uncreated: and, that Man \* approaches nearest to God, by a virtuous Life.

Or, is made a neighbour to Virtue.

to it; that is, to an uncreated essence, by a life according to

**M**OREOVER, to compare things that are made, with them which be eternal, is unquestionably the highest degree of madness. For these have neither beginning, nor end. But those, in regard they are brought forth and begotten; and because they have received a beginning both of their existing, and of their living for some set time; must consequently of necessity have an end also. But, how can those

things which are <sup>a</sup> begotten, be any ways compared with him, who hath commanded them to be begotten? <sup>b</sup> For, if these things were equal to him, the Command whereby he ordered them to be produced, would in no wise fit and be agreeable to him.

But, neither can things celestial be compared with him; in the same manner that the sensible world [is not to be compared] with the Intelligible; nor Images, with the Originals, <sup>c</sup> But, is not the confusing and mixing of all things, a thing wholly ridiculous? in regard the dignity of the Divine Nature would be

\* clouded, <sup>d</sup> by a comparing of it with Men, or with Beasts.

And, is not a desire of power, which might strive to equal the power of God, is not [I say such a desire] to be esteemed as peculiar to Mad-men and such as abhor a sober, modest, and virtuous course of Life?

For if with earnestness we strive to attain divine felicity, we ought to lead our lives according to the Command of God. For by this means, when we shall have lived in Conformity to that Law appointed by God; being made superiour to all Fate, we shall take up our Residence in immortal and eternal Mansions. For, this is the only strength in Man, which is like to the divine power, [namely] a sincere and unfeigned worship paid to God; and a Conversion to him; and a Contemplation and knowledge of those things which are acceptable to the Deity: not to be enclined towards the Earth; but as far as we are able, to raise our minds to things sublime and celestial. For by such an endeavour

<sup>a</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>b</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>c</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>d</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>e</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>f</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>g</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>h</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>i</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>j</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>k</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>l</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>a</sup> Τὰ δὲ ἡρώδεια. *Christophorson* seems to have read ἡρώδεια, begotten; which reading pleases me best. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Εἰ γὰρ παντα. I am of opinion, that this place is to be corrected thus; εἰ γὰρ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐσείω, ὅδ' ἀδυνατῶν ἀποδοτέον; For if, &c. That is, if the things which are made, be equal to God, that Command whereby he has ordered them to be made, would not be agreeable to him. For, an equal can't have authority and empire over an equal. Away therefore with the Emendation of Learned Men, which I found in the *Fuketian* Copy, and in *Moræus's* Book; namely this, εἰ γὰρ παντα ταῦτα ἐσείω παρὲξ ὁρίζων, ἢ ἀδυνατῶν τὸ ἡρώδεια, &c. For if it be madness to liken these things to him, the Command, &c. But if you read thus, there is no sense; nor will the following words cohere with the foregoing. *Christophorson*, had indeed found it so in his Books, as 'tis visible from his Version. But the common reading is supported by the authority of the *Kings* Copy, and the *Old Sheets*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ δὲ σύγκρισις πάντων. *Musculus* seems to have read σύγκρισις, which I am extraordinarily pleased with; For he renders it; *Quomodo autem omnium comparatio non ridicula est*, &c. But, how is not the comparing of all things ridiculous, &c. Certainly, 'tis either thus to be read, or to be understood thus. For *Constantine* terms that equaling of all things, a confusion. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> Εἰ τὰ γὰρ θεῖα συγκρίνεται. Without doubt it must be συγκρίνεται. For thus *Constantine* argues. Even things Celestial, says he, cannot be compared with God. Much less things Terrestrial, and Brutes. This is the meaning of this place. But the Manuscript Copies of *Christophorson*, *Sr. Henry Savil*, *Gruter*, and *Mr. Fuket*, word this place thus; συγκρίνεται τῇ τῇ θεῇ τιμῇ τῇ τῇ θεῇ τιμῇ, in regard the dignity of, &c. Which reading seems to me better, and more elegant. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>f</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>g</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>h</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>i</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>j</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>k</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>l</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>m</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>n</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>o</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>p</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>q</sup> Or, Covered.

<sup>r</sup> Or, Covered.



τὸ νικῶν endeavour as this a Victory is procured for us, \* of equal value with many Blessings. The cause therefore of the dissimilitude of things, † which is plac'd in a distance both of dignity and power, has this reason. Wherein they who are wise, do willingly acquiesce, and are eminently thankful. But the ingrateful, and the foolish, receive a punishment † befitting their Arrogance.

Chapter of the Revelations; where God says: *Vincenti dabo Coronam, &c.* To him that overcometh I will give a Crown, &c. Indeed, the life of a Christian Man is wont to be compared to Champions, as it frequently occurs in St. Paul's Epistles. But the word *φναι* is redundant, after the usual manner of Græcians, as 'tis well known to those skill'd in the Greek Tongue. Valef.

† Τὴν ἐνδοξασιν. In the Kings Copy 'tis τὴν ἐνδοξασιν, as Robert Stephens has also remarked in his *Various Readings*. I read therefore, τὴν ἀξίαν, befitting, or agreeable to; with Christopherson, Scaliger, Gruter, and others: or τὴν ἐπαξίαν, which comes nearer to the footsteps of the written reading. In the Fuketian Copy 'tis, ἡ τὴν ἀξίαν. Valef.

## CHAP. XV.

What Precepts Our Saviour delivered, and what Miracles He wrought; and how beneficial He hath been to those who own a subjection to Him.

Further, the Son of God exhorts all Men to Vertue, and constitutes himself a Teacher to such as are prudent, [instructing them]

α Τὼν τῶ σωτῆρος ἐγγυσελμῶν, in the Saviour's Commands. It should I think, be made, ἡ τῶ σωτῆρος ἐγγυσελμῶν, in the Precepts of Salvation; as 'tis noted in the margin of the Geneva-Edition. You may also write, ἡ τῶ πατρὸς, &c. in the Father's Commands. For the mistake seems to have risen from a contracted way of writing. In the Kings, and Fuketian Copy, and in the Sheets, at this place 'tis thus written, *ogs*. Valef.

β Τὼν πνικαῦτα βιαφελῶν, &c. Christopherson has rendered this place thus: *Et ex illis qui id temporis hominum vitæ adjumento fuerunt, longè optimos advocasse ad se, and had called to himself, by far the best of those Men, who at that time were an assistance to the life of Men.* But, who ever exprest himself in this manner, τὼ ἀείους τῶν βιαφελῶν, the best Men of the most useful? Wherefore, I doubt not, but this place is thus to be mended and pointed; ἡ καλέσας ἐς ἑαυτὸν τὼ ἀείους τῶν πνικαῦτα. βιαφελῶν παυδελῶν ἐπαίδωτε, and having called together unto, &c. as we have rendered it. In the Fuketian and Turnebian Copies, the reading is τῶν πνικαῦτα. Valef.

γ Ὁ δολοῦν μὲν. In Turnebus's, and Moræus's Book, 'tis mended δολοῦν ἡ ἐξαπατᾶν, &c. to allure and deceive, &c. But the Fuketian Copy has it truer written, ἡ δολοῦν ἡ ἐξαπατᾶν. Valef.

δ Τὸ μετ' ἐνδοξῆς. In Robert Stephens's Edition it was Printed, τὸ μετ' ἐνδοξῆς τῆς φερνίσσεως μίστερον; which reading is confirmed by the Kings and Fuketian Copy, and by the Sheets. But in Moræus's Book I found it mended μετ' ἐνδοξῆς; and I don't understand why the Geneva men admitted this emendation into the Text. Τῆς φερνίσσεως μίστερον has the same import with μετεω-φερνῆν. St. Paul calls it *supere ad sobrietatem, to think soberly, or, to sobriety*. Valef.

mand, that with a Courage and Patience of Mind we should bear all manner of injury, and every sort of contempt: teaching us, that the

Visitation of his Father

is of this sort: so that, they who could magnanimously endure accidents,

might always obtain the Victory. For he affirmed,

that this is the most superlative degree of strength, [namely] a constancy of

Mind joyned with Philosophy; which is nothing else but a knowledge † of what

is True and Good, accustoming those who get riches fairly and justly, to impart

what they possess, by a kind and liberal distribution to the poorer sort. But he wholly

forbids mastership, and bearing sway over others; openly declaring, that as he came to give

assistance to the humble, so he would desist from favouring those, who should disrespect the humble.

Having therefore made Tryal of the Faith of those People subject to him, by such and so powerful an Experiment, he rendered them not

only Contemners of the terriblest and most formidable things, but most genuine disciples also of an hope and confidence in himself. Moreover,

he once sharply rebuked, and by his words repress one of his Companions, who had \* been \* Or, Gē

over much heated with anger. That [Disciple] had † with a drawn sword made an assault upon

some body; exposing his own life, that he might assist our Saviour. But [his Lord]

commanded him to be quiet, and to put up his Sword; reproving the Man severely,

because he had despaired of a defence and refuge in Him Himself. And he enacted a Law in express

words, that † whoever should begin an assault upon another with the hands of Violence, or should attempt to

injure him who had begun, or [whoever in general] should make use of the sword,

should perish by a violent Death. This is most undoubtedly the Celestial wisdom, to choose to be injured, rather than to injure; and, as often as necessity shall require, to be in

a readiness to undergo, rather than do evil † For, whereas the mischief of being injurious is very great; not he who suffers the wrong,

but he that does it, \* incurs the heaviest Punishment. Farther,

\* 'tis in the power of him who pays an obedience to God, neither to do, nor suffer an injury; provided he

places his confidence in the protection of God; L l l x

ε Εἰπομεν τινὰ τῶ πατρὸς. I had rather write ἐμφομεν, as 'tis noted in the margin of the Geneva-Edition. For, 'tis our common usage to term such Calamities as these, which do

sometimes happen to good Men, the Visitation of God. But Christopherson has followed the common reading, and renders it

Mandatum, the Command. Valef.

† Τῶ ἀλνθῆς ἡ τῶ ἀπαθῆς. In Moræus's Book the Learned Man has mended it at the Margin, τῶ ἀπαθῆς, which displeases not. For there are many Platonick Expressions in this Oration. Valef.

ε Ζητήρη τινὰ ἐμπορεῖται. I read Ζητήρη, as 'tis in Moræus's Book; wherein 'tis also mended τινὶ ἐμπορεῖται, not ill.

In the Fuketian Copy 'tis likewise Ζητήρη, τινὶ ἐμπορεῖται, and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

ζ Πάντα τῶν ἀδίκων χερσὶν κατέχευται. This place is thus to be restored from the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, νομοθετῶν διαρρήδην, πάντα τῶν ἀδίκων, &c.

As to the following clause, ἡ περὶ τὸν κατὰ κράτος ἀδικεῖν ἐμχειρῶνται, I had rather write thus, ἀντιδικεῖν ἐμχειρῶνται, or should attempt to resist him, &c. Valef.

η Μετὰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶ ἀδίκῳ καὶ καμῶ. In Moræus's Book, the Learned Man hath set these words at the margin, σωπατικῶν ἀπὸ ἀδίκου. There are indeed many passages in this Oration,

taken out of Plato's Philosophy; which the Learned Reader will of himself acknowledge. Valef.

θ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

κ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

λ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

μ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

ν Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

ξ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

ο Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

π Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

ρ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

σ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.

τ Τὸ δ' ὑποκλῶν τῶ Θεῷ ἐξῆν. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ἐξῆν. Valef.



who is present with, <sup>a</sup> and gives him Assistance; to the end no one of His Subjects may receive any [harm. But, how should he [endeavour] <sup>1</sup> to assist himself,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀυτὸς ἐαυτῷ βῶν-θῆν. Scaliger, Gruter, and others have mended it, βῶν-θῆν δεῖ δαψ-ῖν, which emendation I likewise found written in Moræus's Book. It might also be written, βῶν-θῆν ἐμελλε, the two last words being left out; which, as every one sees, are not very necessary here. But the Fukeian Manuscript agrees with those Books of Scaliger and Gruter. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Μάχη δ' ἦν. I doubt not but it should be written, ἕως ἃς μάχη μὴ ἦν μεταξὺ δυνάμει. Where ἦν is made use of instead of ἐν, or ἐμελλεν ἔσθαι. But the Translator who rendered this Oration of Constantine into Greek, had but little skill in the Greek tongue, and was careless enough, as 'tis apparent from many places. Constantine gives a reason here, why the worshippers of the supreme God would never revenge themselves, nor resist force by force. For, should they do that, saith he, they must fight with their adversary, but they would be uncertain of the Victory. But, if they shall in no wise defend themselves, then they have a most certain Victory; for God fights for them. This is the meaning of this place, which (I admire at it,) neither Christopherson nor Musculus understood. Valef.

<sup>n</sup> Μὲν δὲ νόμος, by the will of the only God. It must be made νόμος, &c. by the sole &c. as I found it mended in Moræus's Book. And a little after I read πᾶσι θεοῖς ὁδὸν as 'tis in the same Book. For δαδῶν is understood. In the Fukeian Copy and Old Sheets, the reading is μόνος δὲ νόμος. Valef.

<sup>o</sup> Ἡνίκα δὲ πᾶσι ἀπεσιώμεθα πᾶσι καὶ ὡς. I would rather write πᾶσι, in the Non-Inter-Cafe. For that seems to me far more elegant. Presently, the reading must doubtless be, καὶ τὸ ἀπεσιώμεθα, &c. For the verb ἀπεσιώμεθα is understood, which is used a little before. In the Fukeian Copy, and in the Sheets, the reading is, ἡνίκα δὲ πᾶσι ἀπεσιώμεθα καὶ ὡς, καὶ τὸ ἀπεσιώμεθα, &c. when any trial of Calamities falls out, &c. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Μὴ μεταμέλει. In the Fukeian Manuscript 'tis μὴ μεταμέλει. Valef.

<sup>q</sup> Τὸ ἀνίστην. At the margin of the s. oras. Copy 'tis mended, τὸ ἀνίστην ἔχειν, p. 115. b. 1. 1. 1. Which reading Christopherson has followed. And so 'tis written in the Fukeian Manuscript. Valef.

<sup>r</sup> Πᾶσι δὲ. I read πᾶσι δὲ, πᾶσι μεταμέλει, Byjus, we have, &c. where πᾶσι is taken adverbially, for πᾶσι. Valef.

who puts his trust in God? For, by this means a <sup>m</sup> Fight betwixt two would ensue, and a doubtful and uncertain Victory. But, no Man of understanding prefers dubious matters, before those that are fixt and certain. But, how will he make any scruple about God's presence and assistance, who has had experience of so many perils, and has always been easily delivered from dangers, by the <sup>n</sup> sole will and pleasure of God; who has walk'd thorough the Sea, which by our Saviour's command was paved, and afforded a solid and firm way to the People that passed over it. For this, as I suppose, is the

<sup>\* Ground-work.</sup> most evident and firm <sup>\* Basis of</sup> faith, this is the

Foundation of Confidence; when we behold these admirable and incredible things performed and perfected by the command of the provident God. Hence likewise it happens, that <sup>o</sup> when any one falls into the trial of Calamities, he does <sup>p</sup> not repent himself of his Faith and retains his hope in God firm and unshaken. Which habit being once firmly fixt in the mind, God takes up his Habitation in the inmost thought. And whereas he is invincible; that mind also, which in its inmost thought <sup>a</sup> possesses him that is thus invincible, can never be vanquished by those dangers that surround it. <sup>r</sup> Besides, we have learn'd this very thing from God's own Victory; who, whilst he was making provision for the good of all Men, when reproach'd and insulted over by the impious and unjust, received no damage from his Passion, but obtained a most Glorious Victory over Wickedness, and was encircled with an immortal Crown: having brought to effect the design and purpose of his own Providence and Love, towards the Just; but, trampled upon the Cruelty of the unjust and Impious.

## CHAP. XVI.

That the Coming of Christ is foretold by the Prophets; and, that He was appointed for the destruction of Idols, and idolatrous Cities.

Moreover, his Passion was long since foretold by the Prophets; and his Corporal Nativity foretold. The very time likewise of his Incarnation was predicted, <sup>a</sup> wherein the Shoots springing from injustice and intemperance, which are hurtful to just Actions and Morals, might be destroyed; and [wherein] the whole World might be made partaker of Prudence and Modesty; that Law namely, which our Saviour has promulg'd, prevailing upon the Minds of almost all Men; the worship of the Deity being confirmed and establish'd; and Superstition wholly abolished. On account of which [Superstition,] not only slaughters of irrational Creatures, but Sacrifices of humane Bodies also, and detestable pollutions of Altars were exercised: for according to the Assyrian and Egyptian Laws, <sup>\* in</sup> <sup>\* Or, just</sup> innocent Men were Sacrificed to Brazen or Earthen Souls.

Images. Wherefore, the Fruit they reapt, was agreeable to such a Religion. Memphis [says he] and Babylon shall be made desolate; and both of them, with the Gods of their Countries, shall be left uninhabited. Nor do I relate these things from report and hear-say; but I my self was present and saw them; <sup>b</sup> and was made an Eye-witness of the miserable and calamitous fortune of those Cities. <sup>c</sup> Memphis lies desolate, that Pride and Glory of the then most powerful Pharaoh. <sup>b</sup> Epiphanius <sup>c</sup> Or. just

he himself had been a spectator of the ruin and destruction of those two Cities, Memphis namely and Babylon, which had heretofore been most potent. We must therefore make enquiry, at what time Constantine might go to those places. Whilst he was but a youth he went into Egypt, at such time as he had a Military Employ in the Court of Dioclesian, by whom he was kept as an Hostage. For Dioclesian waged a War many years in Egypt, against Achilleus who had rebelled in Egypt, as Eutropius relates. Out of Egypt, Constantine went afterwards, in company with Dioclesian, into Syria, and past through the Province of Palestine, where he was first seen by Eusebius, as he himself attests. Now Dioclesian had made a journey into Syria, that with his own Forces he might assist Galerius Caesar, who waged a War with the Persian. And he made a long stay in Syria, in order to his making a Peace with the Persians, as we are informed from the History of Petrus Patricius. At that time therefore Constantine might take a View of the Rubbish and Remains of the City Babylon. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> I am of opinion, that this place is corrupted merely by the misplacing of the words. For the sense is most apparent, if you restore the words in this manner; μέμνηται ἡ πόλις, ἡ δὲ δυνάστης τῆς πόλεως ἔσθαι. Memphis lies desolate, &c. What is more plain than these words? The import of ἔσθαι here, is glory τὸ καύχημα, that boasting, wherewith namely Pharaoh pufft himself up. Away therefore with the conjecture of Christopherson, Gruter, and others. And this was heretofore our conjecture concerning the reading of this place. But after we had gotten the Fukeian Copy, we found out the true and genuine reading. For in that Manuscript, this passage occurs worded thus: ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀντιόχειας ἔσθαι πόλεως καὶ δυνάστης μέμνηται ἡ πόλις, καὶ τῇ δυνάτει τῆς πόλεως ἔσθαι πόλεως, &c. And thus 'tis plainly read in Turnebus's and Gruter's Book; save only, that that punctuation we have made use of, is peculiar to the Fukeian Copy only; wherein, after the word μέμνηται, a point is set. The Translator therefore of this Oration has used μέμνηται, in the Genitive Case, whereas he ought to have said μέμνηται. Moreover, ἀντιόχειας is put instead of ἀντιόχειας. This then is the import of this reading; and was made an Eye-witness of Memphis the miserablest and most unfortunate of Cities. But Moses, according to the Divine Command, has laid waste the Country of the then most powerful Pharaoh, &c. Farther, according to this reading, Constantine affirms, that Memphis only was seen by him; which I do indeed look upon to be truer. For he could never see Babylon, in regard



regard he had never gone into *Affyria*. In the *Kings Sheets*, the reading of this place runs thus; *τὸς διὰ τῶν πόλεων πύχης μέμρις ἡρήμωται*, &c. as in the ordinary Editions. But in the *Kings Copy* 'tis *ἡρήμωται*, as Stephens has publish'd it. Sir Henry Savil in his Book has mended this place thus; *πόλεων πύχης μέμρις ἡρήμωται ἡρήμωται δὲ μωσὶ*, &c. But that expression *μέμρις ἡρήμωται* would be foolish and trifling, nor would it agree with the following words. Besides, neither has *Christophorson* retained those words in his Version. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Or, <sup>a</sup> Whom Moses ruined according to the Divine Command: and destroyed his Forces (which had gained the Victory over many, and the stophorson greatest Nations,) whilst well fortified and renders it, compleatly furnished with Arms; not by the quem info-shooting of Arrows, or the throwing of Darts; *ἰεντὰ ἐλα* but by an Holy Prayer only, and a quiet Supplication.

*whom raised with insolency he broke in pieces*. Whence it appears, that he put in *ἐπεμύον*, or some such word. But there is no need of this Emendation, in regard *ἡρήμωται* may be taken in the Nominative Case. Indeed, in all Our Copies, the *Kings*, the *Fuketian*, and the *Sheets*, this word occurs without the *ἰωτα* subscript. So he expresses himself below, chap. 19, *ἡ ἀγνοία τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδραυνε*, &c. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Καθωπλισμένον*. It must I think be made *καθωπλισμένον*, and compleatly furnished with Arms. Presently, where the reading is *ἡρέμω λιτανεία*, a quiet supplication; I had rather write *ἡρεμώω*, humble. In the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* the reading is *περραγμένον τε καὶ καθωπλισμένον*. Nor does Sir Henry Savil's conjecture displease me, who has mended it, *περραγμένον καὶ καθωπλισμένον*. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Wisdom of Moses, which was emulated by the Wise Men amongst the Heathens; also concerning Daniel, and the Three Children.

<sup>\*</sup> The <sup>\*</sup> *Is- raelites*. **F**Arther, no People ever were, or could have been blessedder than \* that [Nation;] had they not voluntarily alienated their Minds from the Divine Spirit. But what Man is he, that can speak concerning Moses according as he deserves? Who having reduced † the confused multitude of the Jews into Order, and beautified their Minds with Obedience and Modesty; instead of Captivity, conferred on them Liberty; instead of their Sadness, rendred them Joyful. Who raised those Mens Minds to such an height, that by reason of the [unhop'd-for] change of their Affairs for the better, and because of their fortunate Successes and Victories, they became puff'd up with Pride and Insolence. Who in Wisdom so far excelled those that had lived before him, that those Persons which are most celebrated by the Gentiles, whether Wise Men <sup>a</sup> or Philosophers, have been Emulators of His Wisdom. For Pythagoras having imitated his Wisdom, has been so highly fam'd for his Modesty, that that most \* prudent and sober Person Plato, proposed his abstinence as a pattern for his own imitation. <sup>b</sup> Daniel also, he who foretold things future, who shewed a \* Specimen of a most transcendent greatness of Mind,

<sup>a</sup> *Καὶ φιλοσόφος*. A particle seems to be omitted here, which, if inserted, the passage would be made far more elegant. I write therefore, *ἡτοι σοφὸς ἢ καὶ φιλοσόφος*, that is, whether wise Men or Philosophers. Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Or, Modest.

<sup>b</sup> After he has spoken \* Pattern, concerning the Egyptians, and concerning the Destruction of Memphis; he passes to the Affyrians, and to the desolation of Babylon. And on occasion of the Egyptians, he has inserted the praise of Moses. But now treating concerning the Affyrians, he prosecutes Daniel's Praises, who lived a Captive amongst the Affyrians or Babylonians. Valef.

and who was egregiously eminent for the \* Sanctity of his Morals and his whole Life; what Beauty, and how rigorous a Cruelty did he vanquish, of that Tyrant which then reigned in Syria? His Name was Nabuchodonosor; all whose Race being now extinct, that vast and formidable power is transferred to the Persians. The Riches of that Tyrant, were, and to this very day are, much spoken of in all Mens Discourses; as likewise his unmeet and foolish Care about a misbecoming worship; and <sup>c</sup> his great plenty of Metals of all sorts, for the making of Gods; and the tops of Temples [which he erected,] reaching as high as Heaven itself; and lastly, his horrid Laws about Religion, made and designed for Cruelty. All which <sup>d</sup> Daniel despised, on account of his sincere Piety towards him who is truly God; and foretold, that that inconvenient Earnestness of the Tyrant, would be the occasion of some great and sore Mischief. Nevertheless, he prevailed not with the Tyrant. For an affluence of Riches is a mighty hindrance to sober and good Thoughts. But, at length the King manifested the Cruelty of his own mind; having given order, that this just and guiltless Person should be cast to the wild Beasts, that he might be torn in Pieces. More-

over, the Consent of those Brethren in undergoing Martyrdom, was highly Courageous: whom Posterity afterwards imitated, and procured transcendent Glory, on account of their Faith towards our Saviour. Who appearing unburnt by the Fire, and Furnace, and by those other Tortures appointed to consume them; by the approach and Touch of their pure Bodies repelled the Fire contained within the Furnace. But after the ruine of the Affyrian Empire, which was <sup>e</sup> destroyed by <sup>e</sup> *Ἀνατολῆς καὶ δεινὸς καὶ βασιλῆως Κορραίων* Constantine had this, his affirming namely, that the kingdom of the Affyrians was destroyed by the casting of Thunder; which I don't remember, to have read any where else. Neither do I well understand that. For, Men, Towers, and Cities may be destroyed by Thunder-bolts, as the Poets have told us concerning the Phlegya. But, truly I can't see, how a kingdom could be ruined by Thunder. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is *καραινῶν βολαῖς*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> At this place these words [*ἐκ τῶν τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῶν δαμάσκη, καὶ ναῶν*] are wanting in the Greek Text of *Valesius's* Edition; omitted I suppose by the carelessness of the Printer; though *Valesius* has taken no notice of this mistake in his Errata. They occur in *Robert Stephens's* Edition; from whom we have inserted them into our Version. Nor has *Valesius* omitted them in his Translation.

<sup>d</sup> *Ὁ Δανιὴλ καταπορευόμενος*. After these words, the *Antiquarius* who transcribed the *King's Copy*, offended at the multitude of Faults wherewith the Copy abounded, here made an end of writing. And he has attested this in these words set at the bottom of the page: *... οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι τὸ πᾶν τῶν σφαλμάτων τὰ βιβλία, ἐπὶ τῶν γὰρ τῶν γράφων, ὅτι μὴδὲν ὀφείλει εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὸν πᾶν, καὶ τὸν γὰρ γράφων τὸν τεκμήριον τὸ ἀναγνώσκοντα; ...* to the Sea of faults of this Book, I stop'd my hand from writing, because there was nothing found in the original Copy, as the Readers may conjecture from what is written. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> *Ἀνατολῆς καὶ δεινὸς καὶ βασιλῆως Κορραίων*. I can't imagine whence Constantine had this, his affirming namely, that the kingdom of the Affyrians was destroyed by the casting of Thunder; which I don't remember, to have read any where else. Neither do I well understand that. For, Men, Towers, and Cities may be destroyed by Thunder-bolts, as the Poets have told us concerning the Phlegya. But, truly I can't see, how a kingdom could be ruined by Thunder. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is *καραινῶν βολαῖς*. Valef.

<sup>\*</sup> Magicians, or Wise Men. <sup>\*</sup> Pattern. <sup>†</sup> Or, Of Works, &c.

don't remember, to have read any where else. Neither do I well understand that. For, Men, Towers, and Cities may be destroyed by Thunder-bolts, as the Poets have told us concerning the Phlegya. But, truly I can't see, how a kingdom could be ruined by Thunder. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is *καραινῶν βολαῖς*. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> *Ἐξουσίας ἀρετῆς*. Constantine had in Latin termed it *Vertutes*; which word is in the sacred Books usually taken to signifie Miracles, as every one knows. The Translator of this Oration has done ill, in rendring it *ἀρετῆς*; whereas he ought rather to have translated it *δυνάμεις*. Valef.



thereto by Envy, calumniated the very prevalence of his Prayers; making the King acquainted, that that great Power of the Man<sup>s</sup> was very dangerous:—<sup>h</sup> and [at length] they persuaded him, that this very Person, who had been the Occasioner of so many, and such eminent Blessings to the State of the Persians, should be condemned to be devoured by fierce Lyons. Daniel therefore, [in this manner] condemned, not that he should be destroyed, but in order to his eternal Glory; was shut up in the Den. And whilst he was conversant amongst the Wild-beasts, found them more gentle and tamer, than those by whom he had been shut up. For, a Prayer of Modesty and Soberness, giving Assistance by its powerfulness, tamed all those Beasts, though by their own nature they are fierce and raging. Which things being made known to Cambyfes, (For 'twas impossible, that the performances of so great, and such a Divine Power should lie conceal'd;) he was stricken with an Amazement at the wonderfulness of what was told him; and he repented himself, because that great cause he had been so easily prevailed upon by the Calumnies of the Magi. Nevertheless he had a desire to be an Eye-witness of that spectacle. And when he beheld Daniel praising Christ, both his Hands being lifted up on high; but [saw] the Lyons couching, and as 'twere worshipping the Footsteps of the Man; immediately [he condemned] the Magi, who had persuaded him hereto, [to the very same Punishment, and shut him up in the Den of the Lyons.] But the Wild-beasts, which a little before had fawned upon and made much of Daniel, set upon the Magi, forthwith, and, agreeable to their own fierceness of Nature, tore all of them in Pieces.

contradict the Sacred Scripture. For, the Magi are not in the Sacred Volumes said to accuse Daniel. But the Presidents and Princes: Nor is he called Cambyfes, who ordered Daniel be to cast to the Wild-beasts, but Darius the Median; concerning whom the Opinions of Chronologers are various. For most of them will have him to be Cyaxares, Son to Astyages. But Scaliger affirms him to be Nabonnidus; to whose opinion our Petavius agrees. The consent of which two Persons I value highly. For, whereas they are wont to dissent in most things; wherever we see them agree, it is the greatest Argument of Truth. Nevertheless, Abydenus in his History of the Assyrians, seems to contradict their Opinion. For he writes, that Nabuchodonosor, inspired by God a little before his Death, foretold the Babylonians, that not long after, their City should be ruined. For, that Mulus the Persian should come, who should put the yoke of slavery on them. But, that Medus, the glory of the Assyrians, should be his Assistant in the besieging of that City. For so I render these words of Abydenus, & δι σωμαίνου ἔσω μέδους. 'Tis certain, the Greek words have no other import, than that which I have mentioned. Now, if Medus was Cyrus's Companion and Assistant in besieging Babylon, and in reducing it to slavery; then Medus is not Nabonnidus. But Scaliger, who will have Darius Medus to be Nabonnidus, does thus explain Abydenus's words, that by Medus's fault that Calamity would befall the Babylonians. But Abydenus has not said & δι ἀνδρός, but σωμαίνου; by which term is signified a Society and Communion of some fact, with another Person. So the Son of God is termed σωμαίνου because together with the Father He is the Author of all things. 'Tis therefore plain from Abydenus's words, that Medus is not Nabonnidus. Valef.

<sup>1</sup> Πάτρως γὰρ εὐχῆ. I had rather write it in the Nominative Case, thus, πάτρως γὰρ εὐχῆ κατισχύουσα καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀρετῇ σωμαίνουσα, πεισύνου ἀπειράζουσα, For, a Prayer, &c. The meaning is, so great is the power of Prayer, that it tames the most savage Beasts. Indeed, in the Fukeian Copy, the reading is, εὐχῆ καὶ σωφροσύνης σωμαίνουσα, &c. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἄνδρα. In the Fukeian Copy, and in the Sheets, tis, καὶ ἰδὼν. Valef.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Sibylla Erythræa, who prophesied in an Acrostick of Verses manifesting [Our] Lord and [His] Passion. The Acrostick is this; JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS.

BUT, I am \* desirous likewise of mentioning \* Or, Rec. some Testimonies concerning the Divinity of Christ, taken from Foreigners. For by this means, even they whose usage it is to speak reproachfully of Christ, will also acknowledge Him to be God and the Son of God; if they will give credit to the Discourses of their own Party.

Sibylla Erythræa therefore, who says that She lived in the Sixth Age after the Flood, was the Priestess of Apollo: She wore a Crown on her Head, in the same manner with that God who was worshipped by Her; and kept a Tripod, about which a Serpent was twisted; and gave forth Oracles to those who consulted Her: having by the folly of Her Parents been enslaved to this Worship, from which nothing that is decent and vertuous, but immodest Fury only is produced; agreeable to those very things which are related concerning Daphne. This Woman therefore, entering in great haste one time into the

\* Adyta of Her unseasonable Superstition, and \* Places in a being really filled with Divine Inspiration, uttered a Prophecy in Verses, containing all those things which should happen in reference to God: plainly setting forth the History of the Advent of Jesus, by those Letters which stand in the front of every verse; which sort of Poem is termed an Acrostick. Now, the Acrostick is this, JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS. And Her Verses are these.

amongst the Christian Writers, produced the Oracles of the Sibyls in confirmation of the Christian Faith, they were constrained to say the same concerning the Sibyls, which Constantine does here; namely, that being inspired by a Divine Spirit, they uttered predictions concerning Christ. So Justin in his *Parænesis to the Græcians*; & εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡρώδης τὸν δευτὲρ διωκόμενος ἐν μέσσοις τῆς παλαιᾶς σιβύλλης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ ἐπινύκιοι; διὰ χριστιανῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκόντος, μανθάνειν, &c. But, 'twill be easie for us, to learn the true worship of God, in part from the Old Sibyl, who from some powerful Inspiration, teaches us by Oracles, &c. Agreeably whereto St. Augustine writes, in his *de Civitate Dei* B. 18. Chap. 23. and St. Jerome in his first Book against Jovinianus. For he says, that Divination was by God allowed to the Sibyls, as a reward of their Virginity. And St. Austin is not afraid of enrolling them in the City of God. But Gregory Nazianzen in his Poem to Nemestius, says that Hermes Trismegistus and Sibylla, whatever they predicted concerning God, did not foretell those things by Divine Inspiration, but had them out of the Sacred Books of the Hebrews, which they had incidentally perused.

Οὐδέθεν, βίβλων δὲ ἀποκρίσεις ἐμέω. Indeed, Gregory or Nazianzen, and those most Holy Fathers of the Church did believe, that those verses were really composed by the Sibyls; whereas notwithstanding, they were made by idle People, and published for the Sibyl's Verses, about the times of the Emperor Hadrian. 'Tis certain, no writer ancienter than Justin, has made mention of them. And Celsus, who, as we have shown above, lived in the Empire of Marcus Antoninus, affirms that the Christians had forged and inserted many passages into the Sibylline Verses. Origen records his Words in B. 7. νῦν δὲ παρεγγράφειν μὴ εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλά καὶ βλάσφημα εἶναι δύναται. I know indeed, that Origen denies this, For

Whatever persons embrace the amendment of Learned Men, which I also found in Moræus's Copy; ἔρετα ἢ τὸ σπύλλον, was the Priestess of Apollo. So indeed 'tis in the Fukeian Copy, and in the Sheets. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Τῇ ἡλιθιότητι. He had better have said, διὰ τὴν ἡλιθιότητα. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ Σελ. καὶ ὁπποῖα καὶ ἕντος, ἡμεῖς.

<sup>e</sup> Whatever persons embrace the amendment of Learned Men, which I also found in Moræus's Copy; ἔρετα ἢ τὸ σπύλλον, was the Priestess of Apollo. So indeed 'tis in the Fukeian Copy, and in the Sheets. Valef.







## CHAP. XIX.

That this Prophecy concerning Our Saviour, was not forged by any of the Christians; but was written by Sibylla Erythræa, whose Books Cicero rendred into Latine Verse, before the coming of Christ. And, that Virgil makes mention of this Sibyl, as also of a Virgin delivered of a Child: but He sang of this Mystery, \* obscurely; out of a fear of those then in power.

\* Or, In Riddles.

<sup>a</sup> In the Fuketian Copy, and p<sup>b</sup>etefs, yet ) disbelieve [this prediction.] For they suspect, that some body of our Religion, not unskilled in the Art of Poetry, made these Verses, and put a false Title to them, and affirmed them to be the Pre-

dictions of the Sibyl; in regard they contain Sentences that are of great use to the Life of man, whereby both the immoderate use of pleasures is restrained, and a way also is opened to a sober and temperate Life.

<sup>b</sup> Ev <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>aa</sup> <sup>ab</sup> <sup>ac</sup> <sup>ad</sup> <sup>ae</sup> <sup>af</sup> <sup>ag</sup> <sup>ah</sup> <sup>ai</sup> <sup>aj</sup> <sup>ak</sup> <sup>al</sup> <sup>am</sup> <sup>an</sup> <sup>ao</sup> <sup>ap</sup> <sup>aq</sup> <sup>ar</sup> <sup>as</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>au</sup> <sup>av</sup> <sup>aw</sup> <sup>ax</sup> <sup>ay</sup> <sup>az</sup> <sup>ba</sup> <sup>bb</sup> <sup>bc</sup> <sup>bd</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>bf</sup> <sup>bg</sup> <sup>bh</sup> <sup>bi</sup> <sup>bj</sup> <sup>bk</sup> <sup>bl</sup> <sup>bm</sup> <sup>bn</sup> <sup>bo</sup> <sup>bp</sup> <sup>bq</sup> <sup>br</sup> <sup>bs</sup> <sup>bt</sup> <sup>bu</sup> <sup>bv</sup> <sup>bw</sup> <sup>bx</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>bz</sup> <sup>ca</sup> <sup>cb</sup> <sup>cc</sup> <sup>cd</sup> <sup>ce</sup> <sup>cf</sup> <sup>cg</sup> <sup>ch</sup> <sup>ci</sup> <sup>cj</sup> <sup>ck</sup> <sup>cl</sup> <sup>cm</sup> <sup>cn</sup> <sup>co</sup> <sup>cp</sup> <sup>cq</sup> <sup>cr</sup> <sup>cs</sup> <sup>ct</sup> <sup>cu</sup> <sup>cv</sup> <sup>cw</sup> <sup>cx</sup> <sup>cy</sup> <sup>cz</sup> <sup>da</sup> <sup>db</sup> <sup>dc</sup> <sup>dd</sup> <sup>de</sup> <sup>df</sup> <sup>dg</sup> <sup>dh</sup> <sup>di</sup> <sup>dj</sup> <sup>dk</sup> <sup>dl</sup> <sup>dm</sup> <sup>dn</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>dp</sup> <sup>dq</sup> <sup>dr</sup> <sup>ds</sup> <sup>dt</sup> <sup>du</sup> <sup>dv</sup> <sup>dw</sup> <sup>dx</sup> <sup>dy</sup> <sup>dz</sup> <sup>ea</sup> <sup>eb</sup> <sup>ec</sup> <sup>ed</sup> <sup>ee</sup> <sup>ef</sup> <sup>eg</sup> <sup>eh</sup> <sup>ei</sup> <sup>ej</sup> <sup>ek</sup> <sup>el</sup> <sup>em</sup> <sup>en</sup> <sup>eo</sup> <sup>ep</sup> <sup>eq</sup> <sup>er</sup> <sup>es</sup> <sup>et</sup> <sup>eu</sup> <sup>ev</sup> <sup>ew</sup> <sup>ex</sup> <sup>ey</sup> <sup>ez</sup> <sup>fa</sup> <sup>fb</sup> <sup>fc</sup> <sup>fd</sup> <sup>fe</sup> <sup>ff</sup> <sup>fg</sup> <sup>fh</sup> <sup>fi</sup> <sup>fj</sup> <sup>fk</sup> <sup>fl</sup> <sup>fm</sup> <sup>fn</sup> <sup>fo</sup> <sup>fp</sup> <sup>fq</sup> <sup>fr</sup> <sup>fs</sup> <sup>ft</sup> <sup>fu</sup> <sup>fv</sup> <sup>fw</sup> <sup>fx</sup> <sup>fy</sup> <sup>fz</sup> <sup>ga</sup> <sup>gb</sup> <sup>gc</sup> <sup>gd</sup> <sup>ge</sup> <sup>gf</sup> <sup>gg</sup> <sup>gh</sup> <sup>gi</sup> <sup>gj</sup> <sup>gk</sup> <sup>gl</sup> <sup>gm</sup> <sup>gn</sup> <sup>go</sup> <sup>gp</sup> <sup>gq</sup> <sup>gr</sup> <sup>gs</sup> <sup>gt</sup> <sup>gu</sup> <sup>gv</sup> <sup>gw</sup> <sup>gx</sup> <sup>gy</sup> <sup>gz</sup> <sup>ha</sup> <sup>hb</sup> <sup>hc</sup> <sup>hd</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>hf</sup> <sup>hg</sup> <sup>hh</sup> <sup>hi</sup> <sup>hj</sup> <sup>hk</sup> <sup>hl</sup> <sup>hm</sup> <sup>hn</sup> <sup>ho</sup> <sup>hp</sup> <sup>hq</sup> <sup>hr</sup> <sup>hs</sup> <sup>ht</sup> <sup>hu</sup> <sup>hv</sup> <sup>hw</sup> <sup>hx</sup> <sup>hy</sup> <sup>hz</sup> <sup>ia</sup> <sup>ib</sup> <sup>ic</sup> <sup>id</sup> <sup>ie</sup> <sup>if</sup> <sup>ig</sup> <sup>ih</sup> <sup>ii</sup> <sup>ij</sup> <sup>ik</sup> <sup>il</sup> <sup>im</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>io</sup> <sup>ip</sup> <sup>iq</sup> <sup>ir</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>iu</sup> <sup>iv</sup> <sup>iw</sup> <sup>ix</sup> <sup>iy</sup> <sup>iz</sup> <sup>ja</sup> <sup>jb</sup> <sup>jc</sup> <sup>jd</sup> <sup>je</sup> <sup>jf</sup> <sup>jj</sup> <sup>jk</sup> <sup>jl</sup> <sup>jm</sup> <sup>jn</sup> <sup>jo</sup> <sup>jp</sup> <sup>jq</sup> <sup>jr</sup> <sup>js</sup> <sup>jt</sup> <sup>ju</sup> <sup>jv</sup> <sup>jw</sup> <sup>jx</sup> <sup>ky</sup> <sup>kz</sup> <sup>la</sup> <sup>lb</sup> <sup>lc</sup> <sup>ld</sup> <sup>le</sup> <sup>lf</sup> <sup>lg</sup> <sup>lh</sup> <sup>li</sup> <sup>lj</sup> <sup>lk</sup> <sup>ll</sup> <sup>lm</sup> <sup>ln</sup> <sup>lo</sup> <sup>lp</sup> <sup>lq</sup> <sup>lr</sup> <sup>ls</sup> <sup>lt</sup> <sup>lu</sup> <sup>lv</sup> <sup>lw</sup> <sup>lx</sup> <sup>ly</sup> <sup>lz</sup> <sup>ma</sup> <sup>mb</sup> <sup>mc</sup> <sup>md</sup> <sup>me</sup> <sup>mf</sup> <sup>mg</sup> <sup>mh</sup> <sup>mi</sup> <sup>mj</sup> <sup>mk</sup> <sup>ml</sup> <sup>mm</sup> <sup>mn</sup> <sup>mo</sup> <sup>mp</sup> <sup>mq</sup> <sup>mr</sup> <sup>ms</sup> <sup>mt</sup> <sup>mu</sup> <sup>mv</sup> <sup>mw</sup> <sup>mx</sup> <sup>my</sup> <sup>mz</sup> <sup>na</sup> <sup>nb</sup> <sup>nc</sup> <sup>nd</sup> <sup>ne</sup> <sup>nf</sup> <sup>ng</sup> <sup>nh</sup> <sup>ni</sup> <sup>nj</sup> <sup>nk</sup> <sup>nl</sup> <sup>nm</sup> <sup>nn</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>np</sup> <sup>nq</sup> <sup>nr</sup> <sup>ns</sup> <sup>nt</sup> <sup>nu</sup> <sup>nv</sup> <sup>nw</sup> <sup>nx</sup> <sup>ny</sup> <sup>nz</sup> <sup>oa</sup> <sup>ob</sup> <sup>oc</sup> <sup>od</sup> <sup>oe</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>og</sup> <sup>oh</sup> <sup>oi</sup> <sup>oj</sup> <sup>ok</sup> <sup>ol</sup> <sup>om</sup> <sup>on</sup> <sup>oo</sup> <sup>op</sup> <sup>oq</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>os</sup> <sup>ot</sup> <sup>ou</sup> <sup>ov</sup> <sup>ow</sup> <sup>ox</sup> <sup>oy</sup> <sup>oz</sup> <sup>pa</sup> <sup>pb</sup> <sup>pc</sup> <sup>pd</sup> <sup>pe</sup> <sup>pf</sup> <sup>pg</sup> <sup>ph</sup> <sup>pi</sup> <sup>pj</sup> <sup>pk</sup> <sup>pl</sup> <sup>pm</sup> <sup>pn</sup> <sup>po</sup> <sup>pp</sup> <sup>pq</sup> <sup>pr</sup> <sup>ps</sup> <sup>pt</sup> <sup>pu</sup> <sup>pv</sup> <sup>pw</sup> <sup>px</sup> <sup>py</sup> <sup>pz</sup> <sup>qa</sup> <sup>qb</sup> <sup>qc</sup> <sup>qd</sup> <sup>qe</sup> <sup>qf</sup> <sup>qg</sup> <sup>qh</sup> <sup>qi</sup> <sup>qj</sup> <sup>qk</sup> <sup>ql</sup> <sup>qm</sup> <sup>qn</sup> <sup>qo</sup> <sup>qp</sup> <sup>qq</sup> <sup>qr</sup> <sup>qs</sup> <sup>qt</sup> <sup>qu</sup> <sup>qv</sup> <sup>qw</sup> <sup>qx</sup> <sup>qy</sup> <sup>qz</sup> <sup>ra</sup> <sup>rb</sup> <sup>rc</sup> <sup>rd</sup> <sup>re</sup> <sup>rf</sup> <sup>rg</sup> <sup>rh</sup> <sup>ri</sup> <sup>rj</sup> <sup>rk</sup> <sup>rl</sup> <sup>rm</sup> <sup>rn</sup> <sup>ro</sup> <sup>rp</sup> <sup>rq</sup> <sup>rr</sup> <sup>rs</sup> <sup>rt</sup> <sup>ru</sup> <sup>rv</sup> <sup>rw</sup> <sup>rx</sup> <sup>ry</sup> <sup>rz</sup> <sup>sa</sup> <sup>sb</sup> <sup>sc</sup> <sup>sd</sup> <sup>se</sup> <sup>sf</sup> <sup>sg</sup> <sup>sh</sup> <sup>si</sup> <sup>sj</sup> <sup>sk</sup> <sup>sl</sup> <sup>sm</sup> <sup>sn</sup> <sup>so</sup> <sup>sp</sup> <sup>sq</sup> <sup>sr</sup> <sup>ss</sup> <sup>st</sup> <sup>su</sup> <sup>sv</sup> <sup>sw</sup> <sup>sx</sup> <sup>sy</sup> <sup>sz</sup> <sup>ta</sup> <sup>tb</sup> <sup>tc</sup> <sup>td</sup> <sup>te</sup> <sup>tf</sup> <sup>tg</sup> <sup>th</sup> <sup>ti</sup> <sup>tj</sup> <sup>tk</sup> <sup>tl</sup> <sup>tm</sup> <sup>tn</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>tp</sup>  <sup>tq</sup> <sup>tr</sup> <sup>ts</sup> <sup>tu</sup> <sup>tv</sup> <sup>tw</sup> <sup>tx</sup> <sup>ty</sup> <sup>tz</sup> <sup>ua</sup> <sup>ub</sup> <sup>uc</sup> <sup>ud</sup> <sup>ue</sup> <sup>uf</sup> <sup>ug</sup> <sup>uh</sup> <sup>ui</sup> <sup>uj</sup> <sup>uk</sup> <sup>ul</sup> <sup>um</sup> <sup>un</sup> <sup>uo</sup> <sup>up</sup> <sup>uq</sup> <sup>ur</sup> <sup>us</sup> <sup>ut</sup> <sup>uu</sup> <sup>uv</sup> <sup>uw</sup> <sup>ux</sup> <sup>uy</sup> <sup>uz</sup> <sup>va</sup> <sup>vb</sup> <sup>vc</sup> <sup>vd</sup> <sup>ve</sup> <sup>vf</sup> <sup>vg</sup> <sup>vh</sup> <sup>vi</sup> <sup>vj</sup> <sup>vk</sup> <sup>vl</sup> <sup>vm</sup> <sup>vn</sup> <sup>vo</sup> <sup>vp</sup> <sup>vq</sup> <sup>vr</sup> <sup>vs</sup> <sup>vt</sup> <sup>vu</sup> <sup>vv</sup> <sup>vw</sup> <sup>vx</sup> <sup>vy</sup> <sup>vz</sup> <sup>wa</sup> <sup>wb</sup> <sup>wc</sup> <sup>wd</sup> <sup>we</sup> <sup>wf</sup> <sup>wg</sup> <sup>wh</sup> <sup>wi</sup> <sup>wj</sup> <sup>wk</sup> <sup>wl</sup> <sup>wm</sup> <sup>wn</sup> <sup>wo</sup> <sup>wp</sup> <sup>wq</sup> <sup>wr</sup> <sup>ws</sup> <sup>wt</sup> <sup>wu</sup> <sup>wv</sup> <sup>ww</sup> <sup>wx</sup> <sup>wy</sup> <sup>wz</sup> <sup>xa</sup> <sup>xb</sup> <sup>xc</sup> <sup>xd</sup> <sup>xe</sup> <sup>xf</sup> <sup>yg</sup> <sup>yh</sup> <sup>yi</sup> <sup>yj</sup> <sup>yk</sup> <sup>yl</sup> <sup>ym</sup> <sup>yn</sup> <sup>yo</sup> <sup>yp</sup> <sup>yq</sup> <sup>yr</sup> <sup>ys</sup> <sup>yt</sup> <sup>yu</sup> <sup>yv</sup> <sup>yw</sup> <sup>yx</sup> <sup>yy</sup> <sup>yz</sup> <sup>za</sup> <sup>zb</sup> <sup>zc</sup> <sup>zd</sup> <sup>ze</sup> <sup>zf</sup> <sup>zg</sup> <sup>zh</sup> <sup>zi</sup> <sup>zj</sup> <sup>zk</sup> <sup>zl</sup> <sup>zm</sup> <sup>zn</sup> <sup>zo</sup> <sup>zp</sup> <sup>zq</sup> <sup>zr</sup> <sup>zs</sup> <sup>zt</sup> <sup>zu</sup> <sup>zv</sup> <sup>zw</sup> <sup>zx</sup> <sup>zy</sup> <sup>zz</sup> <sup>aa</sup> <sup>ab</sup> <sup>ac</sup> <sup>ad</sup> <sup>ae</sup> <sup>af</sup> <sup>ag</sup> <sup>ah</sup> <sup>ai</sup> <sup>aj</sup> <sup>ak</sup> <sup>al</sup> <sup>am</sup> <sup>an</sup> <sup>ao</sup> <sup>ap</sup> <sup>aq</sup> <sup>ar</sup> <sup>as</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>au</sup> <sup>av</sup> <sup>aw</sup> <sup>ax</sup> <sup>ay</sup> <sup>az</sup> <sup>ba</sup> <sup>bb</sup> <sup>bc</sup> <sup>bd</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>bf</sup> <sup>bg</sup> <sup>bh</sup> <sup>bi</sup> <sup>bj</sup> <sup>bk</sup> <sup>bl</sup> <sup>bm</sup> <sup>bn</sup> <sup>bo</sup> <sup>bp</sup> <sup>bq</sup> <sup>br</sup> <sup>bs</sup> <sup>bt</sup> <sup>bu</sup> <sup>bv</sup> <sup>bw</sup> <sup>bx</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>bz</sup> <sup>ca</sup> <sup>cb</sup> <sup>cc</sup> <sup>cd</sup> <sup>ce</sup> <sup>cf</sup> <sup>cg</sup> <sup>ch</sup> <sup>ci</sup> <sup>cj</sup> <sup>ck</sup> <sup>cl</sup> <sup>cm</sup> <sup>cn</sup> <sup>co</sup> <sup>cp</sup> <sup>cq</sup> <sup>cr</sup> <sup>cs</sup> <sup>ct</sup> <sup>cu</sup> <sup>cv</sup> <sup>cw</sup> <sup>cx</sup> <sup>cy</sup> <sup>cz</sup> <sup>da</sup> <sup>db</sup> <sup>dc</sup> <sup>dd</sup> <sup>de</sup> <sup>df</sup> <sup>dg</sup> <sup>dh</sup> <sup>di</sup> <sup>dj</sup> <sup>dk</sup> <sup>dl</sup> <sup>dm</sup> <sup>dn</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>dp</sup> <sup>dq</sup> <sup>dr</sup> <sup>ds</sup> <sup>dt</sup> <sup>du</sup> <sup>dv</sup> <sup>dw</sup> <sup>dx</sup> <sup>dy</sup> <sup>dz</sup> <sup>ea</sup> <sup>eb</sup> <sup>ec</sup> <sup>ed</sup> <sup>ee</sup> <sup>ef</sup> <sup>eg</sup> <sup>eh</sup> <sup>ei</sup> <sup>ej</sup> <sup>ek</sup> <sup>el</sup> <sup>em</sup> <sup>en</sup> <sup>eo</sup> <sup>ep</sup> <sup>eq</sup> <sup>er</sup> <sup>es</sup> <sup>et</sup> <sup>eu</sup> <sup>ev</sup> <sup>ew</sup> <sup>ex</sup> <sup>ey</sup> <sup>ez</sup> <sup>fa</sup> <sup>fb</sup> <sup>fc</sup> <sup>fd</sup> <sup>fe</sup> <sup>ff</sup> <sup>fg</sup> <sup>fh</sup> <sup>fi</sup> <sup>fj</sup> <sup>fk</sup> <sup>fl</sup> <sup>fm</sup> <sup>fn</sup> <sup>fo</sup> <sup>fp</sup> <sup>fq</sup> <sup>fr</sup> <sup>fs</sup> <sup>ft</sup> <sup>fu</sup> <sup>fv</sup> <sup>fw</sup> <sup>fx</sup> <sup>fy</sup> <sup>fz</sup> <sup>ga</sup> <sup>gb</sup> <sup>gc</sup> <sup>gd</sup> <sup>ge</sup> <sup>gf</sup> <sup>gg</sup> <sup>gh</sup> <sup>gi</sup> <sup>gj</sup> <sup>gk</sup> <sup>gl</sup> <sup>gm</sup> <sup>gn</sup> <sup>go</sup> <sup>gp</sup> <sup>gq</sup> <sup>gr</sup> <sup>gs</sup> <sup>gt</sup> <sup>gu</sup> <sup>gv</sup> <sup>gw</sup> <sup>gx</sup> <sup>gy</sup> <sup>gz</sup> <sup>ha</sup> <sup>hb</sup> <sup>hc</sup> <sup>hd</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>hf</sup> <sup>hg</sup> <sup>hh</sup> <sup>hi</sup> <sup>hj</sup> <sup>hk</sup> <sup>hl</sup> <sup>hm</sup> <sup>hn</sup> <sup>ho</sup> <sup>hp</sup> <sup>hq</sup> <sup>hr</sup> <sup>hs</sup> <sup>ht</sup> <sup>hu</sup> <sup>hv</sup> <sup>hw</sup> <sup>hx</sup> <sup>hy</sup> <sup>hz</sup> <sup>ia</sup> <sup>ib</sup> <sup>ic</sup> <sup>id</sup> <sup>ie</sup> <sup>if</sup> <sup>ig</sup> <sup>ih</sup> <sup>ii</sup> <sup>ij</sup> <sup>ik</sup> <sup>il</sup> <sup>im</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>io</sup> <sup>ip</sup> <sup>iq</sup> <sup>ir</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>iu</sup> <sup>iv</sup> <sup>iw</sup> <sup>ix</sup> <sup>iy</sup> <sup>iz</sup> <sup>ja</sup> <sup>jb</sup> <sup>jc</sup> <sup>jd</sup> <sup>je</sup> <sup>jf</sup> <sup>jj</sup> <sup>jk</sup> <sup>jl</sup> <sup>jm</sup> <sup>jn</sup> <sup>jo</sup> <sup>jp</sup> <sup>jq</sup> <sup>jr</sup> <sup>js</sup> <sup>jt</sup> <sup>ju</sup> <sup>jv</sup> <sup>jw</sup> <sup>jx</sup> <sup>ky</sup> <sup>kz</sup> <sup>la</sup> <sup>lb</sup> <sup>lc</sup> <sup>ld</sup> <sup>le</sup> <sup>lf</sup> <sup>lg</sup> <sup>lh</sup> <sup>li</sup> <sup>lj</sup> <sup>lk</sup> <sup>ll</sup> <sup>lm</sup> <sup>ln</sup> <sup>lo</sup> <sup>lp</sup> <sup>lq</sup> <sup>lr</sup> <sup>ls</sup> <sup>lt</sup> <sup>lu</sup> <sup>lv</sup> <sup>lw</sup> <sup>lx</sup> <sup>ly</sup> <sup>lz</sup> <sup>ma</sup> <sup>mb</sup> <sup>mc</sup> <sup>md</sup> <sup>me</sup> <sup>mf</sup> <sup>mg</sup> <sup>mh</sup> <sup>mi</sup> <sup>mj</sup> <sup>mk</sup> <sup>ml</sup> <sup>mm</sup> <sup>mn</sup> <sup>mo</sup> <sup>mp</sup> <sup>mq</sup> <sup>mr</sup> <sup>ms</sup> <sup>mt</sup> <sup>mu</sup> <sup>mv</sup> <sup>mw</sup> <sup>mx</sup> <sup>my</sup> <sup>mz</sup> <sup>na</sup> <sup>nb</sup> <sup>nc</sup> <sup>nd</sup> <sup>ne</sup> <sup>nf</sup> <sup>ng</sup> <sup>nh</sup> <sup>ni</sup> <sup>nj</sup> <sup>nk</sup> <sup>nl</sup> <sup>nm</sup> <sup>nn</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>np</sup> <sup>nq</sup> <sup>nr</sup> <sup>ns</sup> <sup>nt</sup> <sup>nu</sup> <sup>nv</sup> <sup>nw</sup> <sup>nx</sup> <sup>ny</sup> <sup>nz</sup> <sup>oa</sup> <sup>ob</sup> <sup>oc</sup> <sup>od</sup> <sup>oe</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>og</sup> <sup>oh</sup> <sup>oi</sup> <sup>oj</sup> <sup>ok</sup> <sup>ol</sup> <sup>om</sup> <sup>on</sup> <sup>oo</sup> <sup>op</sup> <sup>oq</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>os</sup> <sup>ot</sup> <sup>ou</sup> <sup>ov</sup> <sup>ow</sup> <sup>ox</sup> <sup>oy</sup> <sup>oz</sup> <sup>pa</sup> <sup>pb</sup> <sup>pc</sup> <sup>pd</sup> <sup>pe</sup> <sup>pf</sup> <sup>pg</sup> <sup>ph</sup> <sup>pi</sup> <sup>pj</sup> <sup>pk</sup> <sup>pl</sup> <sup>pm</sup> <sup>pn</sup> <sup>po</sup> <sup>pp</sup> <sup>pq</sup> <sup>pr</sup> <sup>ps</sup> <sup>pt</sup> <sup>pu</sup> <sup>pv</sup> <sup>pw</sup> <sup>px</sup> <sup>py</sup> <sup>pz</sup> <sup>qa</sup> <sup>qb</sup> <sup>qc</sup> <sup>qd</sup> <sup>qe</sup> <sup>qf</sup> <sup>qg</sup> <sup>qh</sup> <sup>qi</sup> <sup>qj</sup> <sup>qk</sup> <sup>ql</sup> <sup>qm</sup> <sup>qn</sup> <sup>qo</sup> <sup>qp</sup> <sup>qq</sup> <sup>qr</sup> <sup>qs</sup> <sup>qt</sup> <sup>qu</sup> <sup>qv</sup> <sup>qw</sup> <sup>qx</sup> <sup>qy</sup> <sup>qz</sup> <sup>ra</sup> <sup>rb</sup> <sup>rc</sup> <sup>rd</sup> <sup>re</sup> <sup>rf</sup> <sup>rg</sup> <sup>rh</sup> <sup>ri</sup> <sup>rj</sup> <sup>rk</sup> <sup>rl</sup> <sup>rm</sup> <sup>rn</sup> <sup>ro</sup> <sup>rp</sup> <sup>rq</sup> <sup>rr</sup> <sup>rs</sup> <sup>rt</sup> <sup>ru</sup> <sup>rv</sup> <sup>rw</sup> <sup>rx</sup> <sup>ry</sup> <sup>rz</sup> <sup>sa</sup> <sup>sb</sup> <sup>sc</sup> <sup>sd</sup> <sup>se</sup> <sup>sf</sup> <sup>sg</sup> <sup>sh</sup> <sup>si</sup> <sup>sj</sup> <sup>sk</sup> <sup>sl</sup> <sup>sm</sup> <sup>sn</sup> <sup>so</sup> <sup>sp</sup> <sup>sq</sup> <sup>sr</sup> <sup>ss</sup> <sup>st</sup> <sup>su</sup> <sup>sv</sup> <sup>sw</sup> <sup>sx</sup> <sup>sy</sup> <sup>sz</sup> <sup>ta</sup> <sup>tb</sup> <sup>tc</sup> <sup>td</sup> <sup>te</sup> <sup>tf</sup> <sup>tg</sup> <sup>th</sup> <sup>ti</sup> <sup>tj</sup> <sup>tk</sup> <sup>tl</sup> <sup>tm</sup> <sup>tn</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>tp</sup>  <sup>tq</sup> <sup>tr</sup> <sup>ts</sup> <sup>tu</sup> <sup>tv</sup> <sup>tw</sup> <sup>tx</sup> <sup>ty</sup> <sup>tz</sup> <sup>ua</sup> <sup>ub</sup> <sup>uc</sup> <sup>ud</sup> <sup>ue</sup> <sup>uf</sup> <sup>ug</sup> <sup>uh</sup> <sup>ui</sup> <sup>uj</sup> <sup>uk</sup> <sup>ul</sup> <sup>um</sup> <sup>un</sup> <sup>uo</sup> <sup>up</sup> <sup>uq</sup> <sup>ur</sup> <sup>us</sup> <sup>ut</sup> <sup>uu</sup> <sup>uv</sup> <sup>uw</sup> <sup>ux</sup> <sup>uy</sup> <sup>uz</sup> <sup>va</sup> <sup>vb</sup> <sup>vc</sup> <sup>vd</sup> <sup>ve</sup> <sup>vf</sup> <sup>vg</sup> <sup>vh</sup> <sup>vi</sup> <sup>vj</sup> <sup>vk</sup> <sup>vl</sup> <sup>vm</sup> <sup>vn</sup> <sup>vo</sup> <sup>vp</sup> <sup>vq</sup> <sup>vr</sup> <sup>vs</sup> <sup>vt</sup> <sup>vu</sup> <sup>vv</sup> <sup>vw</sup> <sup>vx</sup> <sup>vy</sup> <sup>vz</sup> <sup>wa</sup> <sup>wb</sup> <sup>wc</sup> <sup>wd</sup> <sup>we</sup> <sup>wf</sup> <sup>wg</sup> <sup>wh</sup> <sup>wi</sup> <sup>wj</sup> <sup>wk</sup> <sup>wl</sup> <sup>wm</sup> <sup>wn</sup> <sup>wo</sup> <sup>wp</sup> <sup>wq</sup> <sup>wr</sup> <sup>ws</sup> <sup>wt</sup> <sup>wu</sup> <sup>wv</sup> 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suppose, the Blessed and Salutory <sup>m</sup> Mystery of our Saviour. Therefore, to the end he might avoid the outrageous Cruelty [of Men,] He led the minds of His hearers, to an usage where- to they were accustomed: and says, that Altars must be erected, and Temples built, and Sacrifices performed to the New-born Child. The other words which He has subjoined, are likewise agree- able; [in favour] to those who might entertain such Sentiments. For he says,

instead of *σολήμιον*. In the Fuketian Copy 'tis *τελετήν*. Vales.

## CHAP. XX.

Other Verses of *Virgilius Maro's* concern- ing Christ, and the interpretation of them; in which 'tis shown, but obscure- ly, as the usage of Poets is, that *The Mystery* is disclosed.

**H**E a God's life shall take, with Gods shall see  
Mixt Heroes, and Himself their Object be:  
Namely the just.

Rule with paternal power th' appeased earth,  
Which shall to Thee (sweet Child) undrest, bring  
(forth

Berries, a wild Ivy, and shall pay First-Fruits  
Of mixt *Acanthus*, with *Egyptian Roots*,

the Learned Man had mended it at the margin, *κισσός*; that it might answer to *Virgil's Verse*, *Errantes Hederas*, *Wild Ivy*. But the Greek *Rendition* is looser and less bound up to the Original; and in many places 'tis far wide of *Virgil's* meaning. Vales.

Farther, this admirable Person, a Man that was  
accomplish'd with all manner of Literature; in  
regard he had an accurate knowledge of the  
Cruelty of those times; [has added these  
words;]

(bear:

The Goats themselves shall home full Udders  
Nor shall the Herds the mighty Lyons fear.

doubt not  
but it should be written,

*Σοὶ δ' αἰγῶν θαλασσεὺς μασοῖς καταβιβευοῖται.*

Which emendation is so necessary, that without it the sense is not plain. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* the reading is, *σοὶ δ' αἰγῶν θαλασσεὺς οἷσι*, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis, *σοὶ δ' αἰγῶν θαλασσεὺς οἷσι μασοῖς*, &c. Vales.

Wherein he speaks very true. For Faith will not  
be afraid of the Graces of the Imperial Palace.

Flowers shall thy cradle sprout; the Serpent shall,  
And the deceitful herb of <sup>a</sup> Venom fall:  
In each place \* *Roses of Assyria* grow.

\* Or, *Amomum*.

words, has these *ἀστὴρ ἐμπνύειν*: the *Sheets*, *αστὴρ ἐμπνύειν*. Vales.

For it answers to those words of *Virgil*, *Et fallax herba veneni*. But in *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended at the margin, *ὄλλυται ἄτην*. But, if you had rather read *πνίγν*, then it must be made *ὄλλυται*, that the verse may stand good. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis *πνίγν*. In the *Kings Sheets*, *πνίγν*. Vales.

Than which nothing truer, nothing can be said  
At more agreeable to our Saviour's Excellency and  
my peril Virtue. For the power of the Holy Ghost hath  
write, *τὸ πνέον ἔδωκεν ἀλυσέσθην*, &c. in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis  
*τὸ πνέον ἔδωκεν*. Vales.

presented the very Cradle of God, as 'twere some  
most fragrant flowers, to a new Generation. But  
the Serpent is destroyed, and the poison of that  
Serpent [is taken away,] who first deceived our  
First Parents, seducing their Minds from their in-  
nate [Temperance] to the enjoyment of pleasures;

And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But in the *Sheets* 'tis  
*νεολαία*. Further, the meaning of this place is very intricate. *Mus-  
culus* renders it thus; *Ipsis namque Dei Cunabulis Spiritus Sancti Virtut  
fragrantes quosdam flores, novam scilicet progeniem dedit*. For, to the  
very Cradle of God, the power of the Holy Spirit hath given some fra-  
grant flowers, to wit a new progeny. But *Christophorson* translates it  
in this manner; *Ipsa enim Dei Cunabula Spiritus Sancti Virtute fra-  
grantes flores novae soboli extulerunt*; For the very Cradle of God by the  
power of the Holy Spirit, hath brought forth fragrant flowers to a New  
offspring. *Musculus* therefore read *ἀποτὸς ἀπαρξάνοις νεολαίαν ἡγνάν*.  
But *Christophorson* only read *δυναμὶς* instead of *δύναμις*; which I  
rather approve of. By *νεολαίαν ἡγνάν* he means the new People of  
the Christians: concerning whom *Virgil* hath spoken above, in this  
Verse;

*Fam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.*

Vales.

that they might [not] understand the de-  
struction which hung over them. For, before the  
Coming of our Saviour, [that Serpent] had  
\* Subverted the minds of Men, which  
were blinded with an ignorance of  
the immortality of the Just, and  
† Buoy'd up with no hope that was  
profitable and advantageous. But af-  
ter His Passion, when the Body where-  
with he was clothed, had for some time been se-  
parated, [from His most Holy Soul;] by the  
Communication of the Holy Ghost, the  
of a Resurrection was discovered to Men: and  
if any spot of humane impieties were left remain-  
ing, it was wholly wash'd off in the Holy Laver.  
Then 'twas, that [Christ] ordered His Subjects  
to take courage; and from His adorable and most  
illustrious Resurrection, commanded them to hope for  
the like things. On a good account therefore it  
is spoken, that the Nature of things venomous is  
destroyed. Death it self is likewise destroyed;  
and the Resurrection is \* confirmed.  
Moreover, the Stock of the Assy-  
rians is destroyed also, who were the  
first beginners and chief promoters of a faith in God.

be maintained. Vales.

<sup>b</sup> *Ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἀγίας πνεύματος κοινωνίας*. *Constantine* had made  
use of the term *Spirit*, instead of *Soul*. But the *Translatour* seems  
to have taken it as meant of the Holy Spirit; as if *Christ* had  
had His Divinity in place of a Soul, which was the Heresie of *Apol-  
lunaris*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the word *χωρὶς ἐν*, *separa-  
ted*, a Comma is placed. Wherefore it is to be considered, whether  
those words, *ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἀγίας πνεύματος κοινωνίας*, ought to be  
joined with these which follow, *ἀπαρξάνοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, &c.  
or rather to be parted from them by a Comma; that the meaning  
may be this; that by the communication of the Holy Spirit, which  
*Christ* after His passion poured upon Men, the possibility of a Resur-  
rection was manifested. Vales.

<sup>c</sup> *τὸ δύνασθαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως*. I don't approve of *Christophor-  
son's* Version, who has rendred this place thus, *Resurrectionis vis ho-  
minibus patefacta est, the power of a Resurrection was made known to  
Men*. Nor has *Johannes Portesius* rendred it otherwise. But, I  
question not, but *τὸ δύνασθαι* has the same import with that express'd  
in my Version. *Constantine* says therefore that 'twas made known to  
Men after *Christ's* death, that 'twas possible for Bodies to rise. For  
before, the faith of a Resurrection was dark and obscure, even a-  
mongst the Jews. Which was the reason, that they feared death so  
much. Vales.

<sup>d</sup> *Ἀπόλετο δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀσσυρίων ἔθνος*. *Christophorson* hath in-  
terpolated this place, by blotting out the two former words. *Sir Henry  
Savil* also in his Book has expunged these words, *ἀπόλετο δὲ*, in  
the same manner with *Christophorson*. But both those Persons are  
much mistaken. For *Constantine*, whose skill in Grammer was but  
mean, had construed *Virgil's* Verse in this manner;

*Occidet Assyrium: Vulgò nascetur Amomum.*

The Assyrian [Stock] shall fall: Amomum shall grow every where.

And this is evident, both from this place, and also from the Version.



of the Greek Translatour, who renders this Verse of Virgil thus, *ἀσβεστον τὸ ὄρεται δάλλει δ' ἔτι τέμνει ἀμώμον*. For so this Verse is worded in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, and exactly according to Constantine's mind. Farther, as to this whole *Eclog* of Virgil's, the Christians always affirmed, that it was translated out of the *Sibylline Verses*, and ought to be understood concerning Christ's Birth. Nor can these words be spoken of any body else, but of Christ,

*Hoc duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,  
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.*

Thus, besides Constantine, St. Austin understood these words, in his *Epistle to Volusianus*, and in his 155 *Epist.* In his *Epistle to Volusianus*, he gives this interpretation of the *Affyrian Amomum*, namely that thereby is meant the Opinion of *Pherecydes the Affyrian*, who was the first that asserted the Immortality of the Soul. But this interpretation of St. Austin can't be born with, in regard *Pherecydes* was not an *Affyrian*; but, a *Syrian*, that is, of the Island *Syros*. Wherefore, Constantine's explanation is to be preferred, who says, that by the name *Amomum* the Faithful or the Christians are meant; because they are ἀμώμοι, that is without fault. But, that 'tis therefore termed *Affyrium*, because from the *Affyrians* sprang the first beginning of Faith. For *Abraham* an *Affyrian*, was the first who believed in God; whence he had the Name of the Father of Believers. Valef.

\* Or, Our And whereas he says, that \* *Amomum* shall Ladies grow every where; he gives the multitude of rose. the Christians that appellation. Which [mul- i ΠΑΝΘΟ- titude.] like a vast number of branches flourish- ον δέντρων ing with most fragrant flowers, springs from one and the same root. Most Learnedly spoken, O Maro, Thou wisest of Poets! And all the following words are likewise agreeable hereto. Sir Henry Savil's conjecture, who at the margin of his Book has noted, that perhaps it should be ἀμώμον. Valef.

As soon as Thou the Hero's praise shalt know  
And read Thy Father's Acts,  
And unto Vertue's knowledge can'st attain:

By the praises of the Heroes, he means the Works of just Men: and he terms the Constitution of the World and its accurate composure which is to last for ever, the Vertues or Acts of the Father. Perhaps also [he means thereby] the Laws, which the Church, beloved by God, does make use of;

\* Or, Following. \* directing to such a Course of life as is correspondent to [the Precepts of] Justice and Temperance. But, the † raising of the Life of largement. Men (who stand in some middle rank between m τὸ ἀντὶ- the Good and Bad,) m to things more μόνον πε- sublime, is worthy of admiration also; when παύξινης. The Pre- as notwithstanding, [such a life] admits not position of any sudden alteration. must be

added, which by mistake was omitted in Robert Stephens's Edition; thus, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντὶμύρον. For so 'tis written in the Kings Sheets, and in Turnebus's, and Moreus's Book. But I am better pleased with that reading, which is proposed from the Books of Scaliger and Bongarsius; which I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*; viz. ὅτι τὸ ἀντὶμύρον. For, ἀντὶμύρον is a Verb proper to the Platonic Philosophy, out of which several passages in many places of this Oration are taken. Hence comes the *Sensus Anagogicus*, the Mystick Sense, which occurs frequently in Proclus; and that saying of Platinus, extolled by Synesius, δὲ ἀντὶμύρον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῶν πρὸς τὸ ὄντως θεῶν. Valef.

The Fields shall mellow wax with golden grain.

That is, the Fruit of the Divine Law shall be produced for the use [of men.]

The blushing grape shall hang on Thorns,unset;

Which things were not at all visible in the wicked and depraved life [of men.]

And th'hardned Oaks with dewy honey sweat.

[In which words] he describes the folly and

hardned temper of mind, of the Men who then lived. And perhaps he likewise shews, that those who on God's account have been exercised with Labour, shall receive some sweet fruit of their own patient sufferance.

In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὸν εὐπρὸς τὸ θεῶν πόρον ἀντὶμύρον. I write therefore, τὸν εὐπρὸς τὸ θεῶν πόρον ἀντὶμύρον, those who on God's, &c. which emendation is most undoubtedly certain. Constantine explains that Verse of Virgil's;

*Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella.*

He says therefore, that by this Verse is meant those who undergo most sore labours for God's cause, or on God's account, shall receive most sweet fruit of their Labours. Valef.

Some steps of ancient fraud shall yet be found:  
Thetis to tempt with Ships, and to surround  
Cities with Walls, bids Earth in furrows tear.  
A second Typhis, a new Argo bear  
Choice Heroes: and another War, imploy  
Again a Great Achilles sent to Troy.

Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! For \* Exerci. Thou hast \* advanced ° Poetick Licence as far as, or, as it was becoming. For, it was not Thy design made use to utter Oracles, in regard Thou wert not a of. Prophet. I suppose likewise, that the present d m- o τὴν γδ ger was an hindrance, which danger hung over ποικιλίαν their heads, who would go about to confute those like Porthe. Rites instituted by their Ancestours. As warily fin's Ver- therefore, and as safely as 'twas possible, He has sion, (who represented the Truth to those who are able to un- renders it derstand it, whilst he lays the blame upon Terrors centiam,) and Wars, which at this very present are really better than visible in the Life of Men; and describes our Christo- Saviour going to the Trojan War. Now, by Troy phorson's, [He means] the whole World. ° For [Christ] who tran- slated it po- waged a War against the opposed Forces of wick- eticamfa- edness; His Mission into the World being occa- cultatem, sioned partly from the good will and pleasure of as Muscu- his own providence, and partly from the Order of likewise the Supream Father. But, what says the Poet rendred it. after these words? For Gra-

cians term that ἔργον, which the Latines call Poeticam Licentiam, Poetick Licence; as I remember, it frequently occurs in Themistius. Further, the Old Sheets begin a new Chapter here, from these words, εὖ γὰρ δὲ σφάπτει ποικίλῃ, Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! Which in my judgment is better. Here therefore the twentieth chapter is to be placed. Valef.

° Ἐπὶ λέμμεν ἀντικρὺς τῆς ἀντικρῆνης. In the *Fuketian Copy* and Turnebus's Book, this place is written thus; ἐπὶ λέμμεν γὰρ ἀν- πικρὺς μὲν τῆς ἀντικρῆνης ἔχ' ποικίλῃς συνάμειν. But Sir Henry Savil had mended it in his Copy, ἐπὶ λέμμεν γὰρ ἀντικρὺς ἔχ' τῆς ἀντικρῆνης. Valef.

Here when full years shall make Thee perfect Man,

That is, when, after Thou art arrived at Man's Estate, Thou shalt have pluck'd up by the roots those Mischiefs, which infest the Life of Men; and shalt have adorned the whole World with Peace,

° The Sailor shall forsake the Ocean;  
Nor navigable pines shall traffick Ware;  
But each part of the World shall all things bear.

not, that it should be written, ἐχ' ὁρίν ναύτησιν, &c. In the third verse from hence, I read αὐτῇ δ' ἀπαρτίθῃ: for γαῖα is understood. Valef.

\* Nor earth feel harrows, nor the vine the hook; - \* After this verse, there is one of Virgil's Verses left out, in this quotation of Constantine's; this namely; Robustus quoque jam tauris juga solvet Arator; that is, Nor shall his Steers the brawny Tiller yoke. Besides this, some other verses are left out hereafter, in this quotation.

Nor



Nor wool with various colours shall deceive.  
But in the meadows Rams shall scarlet have;  
And changing, sometimes golden fleeces wear.  
And feeding Lambs shall native purple bear.—  
Attempt great honours, for the time draws near,  
Dear Race of God's, great Stock of Jupiter!  
Behold! The world shakes on its ponderous axle,  
See, Earth, and Heavens immense, and th' Ocean's

(tracts;  
How all things at th' approaching Age rejoyce!  
Oh that my Life would last so long, and voyce,  
As would suffice Thy Actions to rehearse:  
Not Orpheus then should vanquish me in Verse,  
Nor Linus, though their Parents present be;—  
Should Pan strive with me, by Arcadia's doom,  
Although a God, Pan should be overcome.

A little after, I would rather read ὅγε εὐπικτε δαίμονα, in the Imperative. For 'tis a rendition of this Verse of Virgil's, *Aspicere con- vexo nitantem pondere mundum*. Valef.

Ζῶντι τ' ἔχε νῦν δὲ ἰχθῆ. In Moræus's Book, the Learned man hath mended it, Ζῶντι γ' ἔχε. But, neither is the Verse made good this way. Wherefore, I should rather read Ζῶντι γῆ. For these words are spoken in the Optative Mood. In the following Verse write εἰν ἀρετῶν, from Moræus's Book. This Amendment admits of no doubt. But, concerning the former we must think further. For that place may, I think, be restored with less trouble, if you alter the punctuation only, in this manner,

Γηδύσων τ' εἰδὼν ἀπορεῖν λάσιν κῆρ  
Εἶδε με γηδύσων, Ζῶντι τ' ἔχε νῦν δὲ ἰχθῆ.  
Σὴν ἀρετῶν καλαδῶν, &c.

Nothing more certain. Ἐχε is put for ἰχθῆ. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, Ζῶντι γε νῦν δὲ ἰχθῆ. σὴν ἀρετῶν, &c. without the Verb ἔχε. Further, the Reader is to be acquainted, that all these Verses of Virgil, as well in the Fuketian Copy, as in the Sheets, are not written from the head; but the first words only of every Verse are severed some little space from the preceeding. Which is therefore done, because these Verses are not recited without intermission, but with frequent interlocations of Constantine's. Valef.

\* Or, Behold, says he, the Joy of the \* tottering World, immense. and of all the Elements.

## CHAP. XXI.

That 'tis impossible for these things to be spoken concerning a meer Man: and, that unbelievers, by reason of their ignorance of the divine Worship, know not even whence they have their being.

Some one of their number, whose Sentiments have less of Prudence in them, will perhaps suppose, that these things are spoken concerning the Birth of a Man. But,

\* Ἦτοι δὲ ἔχει λόγον. I had rather write, πῶς ἂν ἔχει λόγος; and have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

what reason can there be assigned, that upon the Birth of a Son of Man, the Earth should be unfown and unplowed; and, that the Vine should not need the edge of the Hook, nor any other care or cultivation? How can these things be thought to be spoken concerning the Off-spring of a Man?

\* Ἦτοι γὰρ εὐσας. In the Fuketian and Turneb. Copies, 'tis Ἦτοι γὰρ εὐσας, For Nature, &c. Valef.

For Nature is the Handmaid of the Divine Will, and does not execute humane Commands. Besides, the Joy of [all] the Elements denotes the Advent of God, not the Birth of any Man. And this, namely the Poets praying that the term of his Life might be prolonged, is a certain Evidence of Divine Invocation. For, 'tis our usage to ask life and safety of God, not of Men. Thus therefore Sibylla Erythræa [speaks]

to God. Why, O Lord, says She, dost Thou lay upon Me a necessity of Prophesying; and not rather keep Me raised on high from the Earth, until the day of Thy Most Blessed Coming? But Maro adds these Verses also, to those we have quoted above.

\* Begin Sweet Child, with smiles Thy Mother (know: ἀρχέο μεδιόων ἀνορῶν. Robert Stephens  
Who ten long Months did with thy burthen go. Sweet Child begin: cheer'd by no parents look, To's Board no God, t' Her Bed no Goddess took. was the first that

published this Verse in this manner, from conjecture as I suppose. For in the Kings Sheets and the Fuketian Copy, it is written thus, ἀρχέο μεδιόων ὡς ἂν ὀρῶν, &c. From which words it was most easie to restore the true reading of this place. Thus therefore I mend it;

\* Ἀρχέο μεδιόωσαν ὀρῶν τλὴν κατερε καδὴν γνῶσιζεν.

Than which emendation, there is nothing more certain. Valef.

\* Σοὶ δὲ γονεῖς ἔ παμπαν. Neither Constantine, nor the Greek Translator apprehended the true meaning of Virgil's words. For, he understood them in this manner, as if Virgil had said that the Parents had not smiled on the child; nor, had a God taken him to his Table, nor a Goddess to her Bed. Constantine supposed, that that verse of Virgil.

Incipe, parve puer, cui non risere parentes, &c.

was to be read in one breath, without any distinction or stop: whereas nevertheless, after the word puer, a point is to be set; a thing which even Boys know. Christophorson, because he perceived not this, interpolated Constantine's following words, by adding a Negative, against the mind of the Authour, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies. Farther in the Fuketian Copy the reading is ἐρημειῶς ἐχέλασαν; which is truer, if I mistake not. Indeed, in the Sheets 'tis ἐρημειῶς. Valef.

For how should his Parents have smiled on him?

\* For God, who is His Father, is a Power void of Quality. And He Himself wants all figure, but [exists] in the Circumscription of others; nor is he endued with an humane Body. Who like- wise is ignorant, that the Spirit of God is

\* unconcern'd in a Marriage Bed? For, what desire, what Appetite [can there be] in the affection of the chiefest Good, whereof all other things are desirous? What can be wholly com- mon to Wisdom and Pleasure? But, it may be permitted them to speak these things, who [feign to themselves] a certain humane [Generation of Christ:] and who make it not their business, to cleanse their mind from every ill fact and word. Valef.

\* Void of, or, has no part in. Love, or, longing. written, ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παθεῖν θεός, &c. In the Fuketian Copy, τὸ αὐτῶν θεός, ἀποίης ἔσθαι δυνάμει.

πνεῦμα. By the Holy Spirit Constantine seems to mean the Divinity; or the Divine Nature, as we have already remarked in the foregoing chapter. For he explains those words translated out of Virgil, ἔ δ' ἡψα λεχέων; which are spoken of Christ, not concerning the Holy Spirit. Therefore, at this place I chose to render it the Spirit of God; rather than the Holy Spirit, as Portesius and Christophorson have done. Valef.

\* From these words it appears, that that mistake, which we have taken notice of above, was not committed by Constantine himself, but by the Greek Translator, who misunderstood Virgil's last Verses. For Constantine himself took those Verses of Virgil in their true sense, as 'tis visible from hence. For, when he had quoted Virgil's words; (which run thus;

Cui non risere Parentes,  
Nec Deus hunc Mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est.)

presently, finding fault with the Poet as 'twere, he adds these words. How, says he, could his Parents, smile on him, in regard His Father is God, who wants both a body, and figure also. Besides, how can a Bed and a Table be any ways agreeable to God, who, 'tis manifest, is wholly void of a Marriage-bed, nor is he affected with the pleasures of meats. Then he adds these words, (whence what I have said, plainly appears, namely that Constantine understood Virgil's Verses excellently well;) Verum illis qui humanam quandam Generationem exponunt, concedamus ut ita loquantur; But, let us permit those, who set forth a certain humane Generation, to speak thus. In which words he excuses Virgil, in regard he was ignorant of Christ's Divine Generation. But in the Greek translation, wherein Virgil's Verses are expounded ill, this period has no coherence with the foregoing words. Valef.

\* Οἱ δὲ τλὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. I embrace the conjecture of Learned Men, which I likewise found noted in Sir Henry Savil's Book; ἔ δ' τλὴν ψυχὴν, &c. and who make it not, &c. Valef.

I here



I here appeal to Thee, O Piety! I implore Thy Assistance in reference to those things which are spoken: Thou, who art [nothing else but] the Law of Chastity [and Holiness]; the most desirable of all Goods; the School-mistress of a most Holy Hope; the most certain and unfeigned Promise of immortality! Thee I adore, O Piety, and Clemency! To Thee we owe eternal Thanks, for the benefit of thy Cure, which we stood in need of! But, the Generality of Men, void of Thy Assistance, by reason of their innate hatred towards Thee, have an Aversion for God also. Nor do they understand, that the very Cause, as well of their Life and Being, as of all other Persons who are impious, depends upon that Service and Worship, [which is paid] to the Deity. For the whole World, and whatever is contained therein, is His Possession.

<sup>1</sup> tis basely corrupted by an ill punctuation. I read therefore; πάντων τε εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκπαιστούμεθα, ἐλπίδι δὲ ὁπωπιᾶς διδύσκον, ἀθανάσιος ὑπόχρεον ἀνέσθλον; the most desirable of all Goods, &c. Nothing certainer than this reading, nothing more elegant. Constantine terms Religion the School-mistress of a most Holy Hope, in regard She teaches us to hope for things Celestial, and to place all our hope in God, not in earthly and frail Goods. In the Fukeian Copy the reading is, ὁσιότητι διδύσκον. ἀθανάσιος ὑπόχρεον ἀνέσθλον. There is the same punctuation in the Sheets. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ δυνάμεις, we stood in need of. It must questionless be written, οἱ ἰαθέντες, whereby they were healed. For 'tis elegantly said αὐτὸς θεραπεύει τοὺς ἰαθέντες, That is, healed by Thy Remedies. Valef.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκεῖνε κτῆμα. I had rather write, ἐκεῖνε κτῆμα, His Work, or, workman'ship. Valef.

## CHAP. XXII.

The Emperour's Thanksgiving, wherein He ascribes His Victories, and all His other Blessings, to Christ; also a Reproof of Maximinus the Tyrant of those times, who by the severity of his Persecution had increased the Glory of the Christian Religion.

I Ndeed, I my self do ascribe mine own Felicity, and all that I am possess of, to Piety, as to the Cause thereof. Whereto the Event of

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν κατ' εὐχὰς ἀπάντων. Any one might with good reason guess, that it ought to be written, πάντων κατ' εὐχὰς ἀπάντων, But whereas the sense is plain without this Emendation, I think no alteration is to be made here. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Μεγαλόπαις. So the Greeks are wont to call Rome, as may be made appear by innumerable instances. Thus Tatianus terms it, in his Oration adversus Græcos, where he speaks concerning the worship of Jupiter Latiaris; as also Porphyrius, in his Book de Absteminitate. Moreover Eusebius, in his Tricennalian Oration concerning Constantine's praises, terms Rome thus, as we shall see here. Valef.

all things, which have been answerable to My desires and wishes, does bear witness. My Battles, My Victories over mine Enemies, and my Trophies [are an Evidence hereof.] The Great City knows these things, and celebrates them with praises. The same likewise is the Sentiment of the Inhabitants of My most beloved City; although, deceived by false hopes, She hath chosen a Prince unworth of Herself, who forthwith underwent a Conditigne punishment, and such as was agreeable to his own audacious impieties. But, I

<sup>3</sup> Πῶς εἰν εἰσὶν. I had rather write, ὅπως εἰν εἰσὶν &c. that I might address, &c. Valef.

\* Or, Chast and good.

how I may address myself to Thee, in discourses that are \* pure and seemly. Nevertheless, I will say something, which shall neither appear foul nor indecent. A fierce and implacable War, abounding with

[instances of] Madness and Cruelty, was by the Tyrants [waged,] both against Thee, O Piety!

and against all Thy most Holy Churches. Nor, were there some Persons wanting in the City Rome, who rejoiced in such great and publick Mischiefs. A Field was likewise pitch'd in order to an Engagement. But, Thou camest forth, and didst voluntarily deliver up Thyself, being supported by a Faith in God. Then the Cruelty of the impious, having, like some furious fire, without intermission preyed upon all things which it met with, procured for Thee an admirable, and ever-to-be-celebrated Glory. For, on this account [it was,] that a veneration [of Thee] seized the very Spectators themselves. You might indeed have seen the Executioners and Tormenters, wearied out with torturing the Bodies of the Pious, and sorely perplexed at the Labour and Trouble they met with: but the Bonds [you might have beheld] broken; and the Engines of Torture loosed; and the fires which were brought, extinguished: but, [on the contrary,] the Constancy and Boldness [of the Pious] not in the least weakened or abated. What advantage therefore hast Thou made, by attempting these things, O Thou wickedest of Men? What was the occasion of this thy outrageous Fury; Thou wilt peradventure say, that [thou performedst these things] in honour to the Gods. What Gods were those? Or what

Notion conceivest thou in thy mind, that is worthy of the Divine Nature? Didst Thou suppose the Gods to be angry in the same manner with Thee? If therefore they were such, it was expedient to wonder at their Resolution, rather than obey their impudent Commands, whereby they \* ordered \* just Men to be unjustly slain. Or, Per-

served before, that many ill corrections are found in that Copy. Valef.

<sup>1</sup> Ταῦτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν σφύραται. After these words Christopherson, Scatiger, and others add ἢν εἰδεῖν, you might have seen; as I also found it in Morani's Book, and in the Fukeian Copy. But there is no need of adding these words here, in regard the term θεραπεύει precedes, whereto all these words, ought to be referred. Nevertheless, I do acknowledge, that the discourse would be far more perspicuous, if you should add these words. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> He speaks to one of the persecutors; Maximinus namely, as 'tis in the Title of this Chapter. For he persecuted the Christians with more of Cruelty and Malice, than the others. Valef.

<sup>3</sup> Διὰ τὴν ἀδελφικὴν σφύραται. The reading, I think, ought to be εἰς τὴν ἀδελφικὴν. Valef.

a καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐσεβέσι. Before these words there is an Asterisk plac'd in Robert Stephens's Edition, whereby 'tis shown, that some words are wanting here in the Manuscript Copies. But the Geneva Edition has taken out those Asterisks which had been diligently noted by Robert Stephens, especially in the end of this book. Further some words are wanting here, which I made good thus; οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐσεβέσι, οὐκ ἐκκαταλείπει; Both against Thee, &c. For, he speaks to the Christian Religion. Valef.

<sup>4</sup> He means the field, where in the Martyrs underwent their last punishment. For, it was the usage, as well amongst the Grecians, as Romans, that Criminals should have punishments inflicted on them, without the Gates; as I have at large remarked in my notes on Amm. Marcellinus. Whence it was, that Offenders led to punishment, were said ad campum duci, to be led to the field. So Saint Austin in his first Book against the Epistle of Parmenianus, chap. 8. Valef.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπεδωκας εἰς τὸν ἐπεπεδωμένον. It must be, εἰς τὸν ἐπεπεδωμένον, &c. That is, and dost voluntarily deliver up thyself, being supported, &c. Constantine alludes to the courage of the Martyrs, who voluntarily offered themselves to the Judges, and ran to death on their own accord, without compulsion. Indeed, εἰς τὸν ἐπεδωκας is not said, but concerning Him, who does any thing voluntarily; as for instance, concerning Christ, who of his own accord delivered Himself for the Salvation of Mankind. Christopherson therefore has rendered this place ill, thus, teipsum adversarius opposuisti, thou hast opposed thy self against the Adversaries. Our conjecture is confirmed by the Fukeian Copy, wherein 'tis written, ἐπεδωκας σεαυτῷ ἐπεπεδωμένον. Valef.

<sup>6</sup> Οὐσίαν δυνάμεν ἀμότης, the cruelty of impious Mortals. In mine own judgment I have happily found out the emendation of this place. For, whereas before these words, the term πῆσι occurs, the two last Letters of this word being repeated; I have restored the place thus; εἰς τὴν δυνάμεν ἀμότης, &c. Then the cruelty of the impious, &c. Nothing more certain. Away therefore with Gruter's and Christopherson's conjecture, who read, συντῶν δὲ δυνάμεν, &c. Yet the Fukeian Copy confirms that reading of Gruter's. But I have observed before, that many ill corrections are found in that Copy. Valef.

<sup>7</sup> Ταῦτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν σφύραται. After these words Christopherson, Scatiger, and others add ἢν εἰδεῖν, you might have seen; as I also found it in Morani's Book, and in the Fukeian Copy. But there is no need of adding these words here, in regard the term θεραπεύει precedes, whereto all these words, ought to be referred. Nevertheless, I do acknowledge, that the discourse would be far more perspicuous, if you should add these words. Valef.

<sup>8</sup> He speaks to one of the persecutors; Maximinus namely, as 'tis in the Title of this Chapter. For he persecuted the Christians with more of Cruelty and Malice, than the others. Valef.

<sup>9</sup> Διὰ τὴν ἀδελφικὴν σφύραται. The reading, I think, ought to be εἰς τὴν ἀδελφικὴν. Valef.

But,



But, Thou wilt perhaps affirm, [that these things were done by Thee,] on account of the institutions and establishments of Thy Ancestours, and by reason of the Opinion of Men. I pardon Thee. For those institutions are exactly like to the Actions done by Thee, and [flow from] one and the same [Fountain of] ignorance. Thou thoughtest perhaps, that there was some excellent power and virtue in Images made in the shape of a Man, by Workmen and Artificers. Wherefore, Thou paidst a worship to them; making it Thy whole business, that they should not at any time be polluted with filth; those Great and Eminent Gods, forsooth! standing in need of humane Care.

<sup>1</sup> *Εἶπας.* The last word must be blotted out, in adding which, Christopherson, Scaliger, and Gruter did ill. I found the same term added likewise, in the Euketian and Moræan Copies. But it is not at all necessary; only, after the verb *πορρωθεῖν*, or polluted with filth, a Semicolon must be placed. And thus Portesius understood this place; who has indeed rendred these words more happily than Christopherson, in this manner. *Omnis illa Cura tua, Omne studium ne sordibus opplerentur. Ita Magni primarique Dii humanæ se ofe sustinebant; istam diligentiam requirebant.* And so Musculus allo.

### CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Polity of the Christians: and, that the Deity rejoices in those who lead Vertuous lives: and, that we ought to expect a Judgment, and a Retribution.

Compare Our Religion with Your [Rites.]

Is there not amongst Us a genuine Concord, and a lasting Humanity and Goodness of Nature? Is there not amongst Us such a Reprehension for a fault, as may produce amendment, not ruine? <sup>a</sup> And a cure, which [may bring forth] Safety, not Cruelty? Is there not amongst Us, a <sup>b</sup> sincere Faith also, in the first place towards God; and then, towards the Natural Community of Men? Do not We exercise a Compassion towards those, against whom Fortune has waged a War? Is there not an honest, plain and sincere life, and such as does not cover wickedness with [the mask of] any subtil fraud; and a knowledge of him that is truly God, and of his Monarchy? This is true Piety; this is a Religion that is sincere, and wholly uncorrupt. This is the most prudent course of life; and they who have embraced it, tend directly to an eternal life, making their passage through some splendid High way as 'twere. For no person, who enters upon such a course of life, and who purifies his mind from [all pollution of] his Body, does wholly die: but he must be said to perform the Office appointed him by God, rather than to die. For he who has confessed God, <sup>c</sup> does not give place, either to Contumelie, or Rage.

It appears from the following words, that instead of *πίστιν*, faith, it should be *ἀγάπην* or *ἀγάπην*, Love. For Love is in the first place towards God, then towards our Neighbour. But Faith is not but in the one and only God. Therefore *πίστιν* can't in any wise be agreeable here. Besides, in regard he treats at this place concerning Reprehension; on that account Charity or Love is a fitting term. For a kind rebuke begets Charity. But, 'tis better to read here, *καὶ πίστις εἰλημὴν*, as I have said already. And so Musculus read, as it appears from his Version. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Οὐ δίδεται παράρρητον ὕψους.* What the import of this term *παράρρητον* is, we have observed in the foregoing Books of Constantine's Life; (See Book 1. Chap. 27. note (b.) and Book 2. Chap. 52. note (a.)) For Translations have in no wise hit the meaning, of this

term; which nevertheless, was easie to have been done here. Christopherson renders it thus. *Qui deum ingenuè confitetur, non contumelia, non iracundia sponte succumbit.* From which words, there is no body but would extract this sense, that He who confesses God, is not angry, is not Contumelious. But, the meaning of the Greek words is far different; namely, that he who confesses the Name of Christ before the Judge, does not yield to the Reproach and fury of the persecutors. *Valef.*

But, courageously enduring necessity, has the Trial of his sufferance as his <sup>a</sup> Viaticum, in order to his procuring himself the Divine Clemency. <sup>c</sup> Nor is it to be doubted, but the Deity gives a kind reception to <sup>\*</sup> Men <sup>\*</sup> Or, The endued with Vertue. For it would be most absurd, that as well <sup>f</sup> Persons <sup>Men.</sup> in great power, as Men of an inferior Rank, should shew themselves grateful towards those, and should compensate their favours, by whom they are either revered, or which I have kindnesses shown them: but, that he who is above all, and who is the Ruler over all, and is the Chiefest good it self, should be negligent in making a Retribution. <sup>e</sup> Who does accompany us thorowout all Our Lives, and is present with us, as often as we do any good. And forthwith commends and rewards Our Fortitude and <sup>h</sup> Obedience: but defers the complement and perfection [of that Reward till another time.] For, the whole Account of Our lives shall then be cast up. And if all things be found well and right, the Reward of an Eternal life shall follow: but, a condign punishment shall be inflicted on the wicked.

presses himself, Book 29. pag. 393. *Cæsar Dictator aiebat, miserum esse instrumentum senectutis, recordationem crudelitatis.* Where see what I have long since remarked, at pag. 389. of my notes. I have rendred it *Viaticum, Voyage-Provision*, or, all things necessary for a journey. Nor has Musculus rendred it unfitly, in this manner: *tolerantie experientiam compendii vice habet ad consequendam Dei Benevolentiam*, He has his sufferance, in place of an advantage, in order to his obtaining God's favour. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμφίβολον.* In Moræus's Book, the Learned Man had set these words at the margin; *πλάττωσκον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ*; that is, a passage of Plato's taken out of his *Common Wealth*, B. 10. Indeed, in that Book, Plato disputes concerning those Rewards, which are given, by God to just Men, both in this life, and after death. But the argument whereby Constantine proves that, occurs not in Plato; at least I don't know that it does. *Valef.*

<sup>f</sup> *Τῶν ὑψίστης ἐπελημμένων.* I doubt not but it is to be written thus; *καὶ μὴ ἐξουσίας ἐπελημμένους καὶ ὑποσέβους, εἰ δὲ ἀπειροὺς τυγχάνουσιν ἢ εὐεργετῶντες αὐτοὺς πνέες, εὐχαρίστως κατὰ τὸ δεῖν, &c.* That is, For, it would be most absurd, that as well Persons in great power; and likewise, have kindnesses shown them, has a reference to Men of an inferior Rank; which Christopherson perceived not. In the Euketian and Turneb. Copies, and in Sir Henry Savil's, the reading is, *καὶ ἀπειροὺς μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εὐεργετῶντες*; which reading I like not. But Musculus read, *εἰ καὶ ἀπειροὺς τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εὐεργετῶντες*; not ill. *Valef.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ὁ συμπαρομαρτῆς.* Doubtless it must be written, *ὁ συμπαρομαρτῆς*. For, 'tis referred to *τὸν ὃ ἐπὶ πάντας*, He who is above all, that is the Supreme God. Whom though he has termed *τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ*, the Chiefest Good it self; yet, *ὡς* in the Masculine Gender, ought to follow. *Valef.*

<sup>h</sup> *Εὐδοκίας.* Christopherson renders it *Propensam Voluntatem*, ready will. Musculus translates it *Benevolentiam*, Benevolence. I chose to render it *obedientiam*, obedience. For, this is the import of the Verb *εὐδοκεῖν*, *morem gerere, obsequi Voluntati Divinæ*, to follow, to obey the Divine Will. *Εὐδοκία* therefore, to render it exactly, is *allubescencia*, a willingness to please. In which sense 'tis taken in Saint Luke, in that Anthem of the Angels, after our Lord's Birth; *ὡς ἀνδρώπῳ εὐδοκία*. This term occurs frequently, in both Testaments, as others have already observed. In the Euketian Copy, 'tis, *εὐδοκίας*. *Valef.*



## CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Decius, Valerianus, and Aurelianus, who ended their lives<sup>a</sup> miserably, because of their Persecution of the Church.

<sup>a</sup> In the very Title of the

chapter there is a fault, but such a one as may easily be mended. For, instead of ἀθλίως, it must be written ἀθλίως, miserably; as 'tis in the Fukeian Copy, and the Kings Sheets. Valef.

**I** Ask Thee now, Decius! who heretofore didst insult over the Labours of the Just; who hatedst the Church; and didst inflict punishments on those who had lived holily: <sup>b</sup> what dost Thou now do, after this life? With what, and how afflictive Miseries art Thou now prest? In deed, that interval of time, which was between Thy Life and Death, has sufficiently demonstrated \* Thine Infelicity: when, having been overthrown with Thy whole army in the Scythick Fields, Thou didst expose the Roman Empire, so highly celebrated in all places, to the contempt and scorn of the † Goths. Thou also, Valerian! After Thou hadst declared the same Bloodiness and Cruelty towards God's Servants, hast made a manifest discovery of God's Holy and Just Judgment; being taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and carried up and down in Bonds, drest in thy purple, and thine other Imperial Attire; but at length, by the order of Sapor King of the Persians, Thy skin was pull'd off, and preserved 'tis, from corruption by salt, whereby Thou wert made an Eternal Trophy of Thine own Calamity. Valef.

\* Or, promoter of all impieties, by how manifest a Stroke of Divine Vengeance, whilst raging with fury Thou randest thorow Thracia, wert Thou slain in the midst of the High-way, and filledst the Tracks of the publick Road with Thine impious Blood?

Further, concerning the Emperour Valerian's skin, which was flea'd off by the Persians, and salted; other Writers do likewise speak Petrus Patricius mentions it, in his *Excerpta Legationum*, in which Author Galerius upbraids the Persians, because they detained Valerian Prisoner, he having been circumvented by fraud, to the last period of his old age; and because after his death, they most wickedly preserved his skin, and thereby fix'd an immortal Brand of infamy upon his dead Body. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. The Geneva men did ill in inserting the particle ἰδίαν, from the Books of Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruter; as they tell us: which particle I likewise found added in Moræus's Copy. But, whereas that conjunction does disturb the sense, and occurs not, either in the King's Sheets, or in Stephens's Edition; I am of opinion, that 'tis to be removed. Yet the Fukeian Copy retains it. Valef.

## CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Dioclesian, who with infamy resigned the Empire; and, by reason of his persecuting the Church, was stricken with Thunder.

**B**UT Dioclesian, after that Bloody Cruelty of his Persecution, being condemned by a sentence which he pronounc'd against himself; <sup>a</sup> because of the harm he received by the loss of his wits, was punished by being shut up in one despicable House. <sup>b</sup> For what reason Dioclesian resigned the Empire, is a thing not agreed on amongst Writers. Some tell us, that Dioclesian (in regard he was a Curious Searcher into things

future, when he had found by the Answers of the Soothsayers, that most fore Calamities hung over the Roman State;) voluntarily relinquish'd the Empire. This is attested by Aurelius Victor. Others write, that Dioclesian being grown old, when he perceived himself to be less fit for the management of the Government, both by reason of his age, and on account of his unhealthiness; took this Resolution. Thus Eutropius, a most faithful, and most elegant Writer. The same is recorded by that unknown Author, in the Panegyrick which he spoke to Maximianus Herculus and Constantine. Sed tamen, says he, utcumque fas fuerit, eum principem quem anni cogerent, et valetudo deficeret, receptui canere. Te vero in quo adhuc sunt ista integra solidaeque vires. &c. There are those who write, that Dioclesian, when he saw the Christians could not be overcome by him; by reason of grief and impatience, resigned the Empire; as we may read in Zonaras. But Constantine does affirm in express words here, that Dioclesian voluntarily removed himself from the Empire, on account of the loss of his wits. And who is he, that dares contradict Constantine's Testimony, in regard he had lived in Dioclesian's Court; nor could any of these affairs be unknown to him. Eusebius relates the same also, in the Eighth Book of his History. But, there are many things, which may make us doubt concerning this matter. For first, although Dioclesian survived his Resignation of the Empire a long while, yet he never gave any indication of a distracted mind. Even that very one saying of his, (which was his answer to Herculus and Galerius, inviting him to re-assume the Empire) how much of wisdom is there in it? Utinam Salona posses visere olera nostris manibus sata, I wish you could come to see the Pot-herbs sown with our hands at Salona. Therefore, in that Retirement he was always honoured by all the Emperours of that time, who paid a dutiful observance to him, as to a Father. Hear Eumenius in the Panegyrick which he spoke to Constantine. Atenim divinum illum virum, &c. But, that Divine Person, who was the first that was a partner of and resigned the Empire, repents not of his own Resolution and Deed. Happy and truly Blessed Man, to whom now a private Person, your dutifulness, who are so great Princes, doth pay an honour! Would Dioclesian have been so highly honoured, by four Emperours that were Augusts, had his Intellectuals been depraved? Or, would Eumenius have termed him a Divine Person, on this account especially, because he was the first that had resigned the Empire, if that had been done by him, by reason of his madness and dotage? Lastly, Dioclesian had taken a Resolution of resigning the Empire, long before the Persecution; then namely, when he triumphed over the Persians and other Barbarous Nations, at Rome. For there, in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he required an Oath of his Colleague Herculus, that they should both resign the Empire on one and the same day. This Eumenius informs us of, in the Panegyrick now cited. Hunc ergo istum qui, &c. This Man therefore was ashamed to imitate that Person, who had been made a Brother [in the Empire] by him; it repented this Man, that the other had sworn in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Now, Dioclesian triumphed at Rome, with his Colleague Herculus, on the eighteenth year of his Empire, as Jerome relates in the Chronicon; that is, on the year before the Persecution was raised against the Christians. 'Tis certain, the Author of the Panegyrick spoken to Maximianus and Constantine does attest, that that Resolution was taken by Dioclesian, and communicated to Herculus, long before his Resignation: his words are these. Tale est Imp. quod omnibus nobis incluso gemitu mœrentibus facere Voluisti: non quidem tu Resp. negligens, aut Laboris fugâ, aut desidia cupiditate ductus, sed consilio olim, ut res est, inter vos placuit constanti, &c. Which things being so, how can that which Constantine says, stand good, that Dioclesian ran mad after the Persecution of the Christians, and for that reason voluntarily removed himself from the Empire? Indeed, I might be easily induced to believe, that Dioclesian was seized with a sickness, after the Persecution was begun, and was for some time distracted; especially, in regard Constantine and Eusebius do constantly affirm that. For this usually happens to sick People, and specially to melancholick Persons; of which sort Dioclesian was, as may be guessed from his Coyns. But, I deny, that for this reason he resigned the Empire. Further, in the Fukeian and Turneb. Copies, the reading of of this whole place runs thus. Εαυτὸς καταψοφισμένη, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν βλάβην μὲν καταψοφισμένη διήστω καὶ θεοῦ μὲν εαυτὸν πτεύσας· ἢ δὲ μὲν τὴν τὴν κεραυνὸν βοῶν δειδὼς διαχάροι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς βίον. ἢ δὲ τὴν τὴν σωάνηκα πρὸς τὸν δὲ τὸν πόλεμον αἰσθήσας· λαλεῖ, &c. Valef.

What was the advantage therefore which he got, by his raising a War against our God? This, I think; that he might finish the remaining part of his Life, in a continual fear of being Thunder-struck. The City Nicomedia does attest this: nor, are they silent, who saw the thing with their own eyes; of which number I my self am one. <sup>b</sup> The Palace was destroyed, and Dioclesian's own \* Room; Thunder, and a fire \* Or, from Heaven ruining and devouring it. House. <sup>c</sup> He means the Palace of Nicomedia which was consumed by an accidental fire, a little after the Persecution against the Christians was raised by Dioclesian. And [the Emperours themselves]



elves, and the rest of the Heathens, blamed the Christians as the Authors of this fire, and therefore raged against them with severe punishments: as our Eusebius relates in the Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, Chap. 6. about the close of the Chapter. But Constantine attests, that that Palace was consumed by fire sent from Heaven. Whose testimony has so much the more authority, because he himself was present, when these things were done at Nicomedia. And Dioclesian, astonished by this clap of Thunder, seems till his death to have continued ἐμὲν ἡμῶν, always fearing he should be struck with Thunder. 'Tis certain, this Narrative of Constantine's seems to intimate this. From hence it appears, how egregiously mistaken Christopherson is, in translating the Title of this Chapter. For he thought, that Dioclesian's Palace had been burnt, after his resignation of the Empire: whereas, nevertheless that happened whilst Dioclesian as yet held the Empire, and made his Residence in the Palace of Nicomedia. Valef.

Indeed, the event of those things had been predicted by prudent Persons. For they were not silent, nor did they conceal their lamentation of affairs, which were managed with so much of indignity: but with freedom spake their minds openly and in publick, and discoursed one with another [in this manner.] What outrageous fury is this? How extravagant is this arrogance of power, that Men should dare to wage a War against God; and should resolve to insult over and reproach the most holy and most righteous Religion; and [should not scruple] to Plot and Contrive the Ruine of so numerous a multitude, and of such just Men, when there is not the least fault in them?

Σωφροσύνης διδασκαλόν. The last word is wanting in the Fuke-tian Copy. Valef.

O Rare Instructor of the Modesty of all Subjects! O [Excellent Teacher] of that care which the Army bore towards their own Citizens! The Breasts of their own Country-men were wounded by those, who had never seen the backs of their Enemies in a fight. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the punishment of such impious facts; and yet, Tyrones, not without damage to the Empire. 'Tis certain, the slaughters committed were so numerous, that had they been made [in Battels] against the Barbarians, they might have been sufficient to have procured us a perpetual Peace.

Melitia, had never yet engaged with an Enemy; or else concerning those cowardly and faint-hearted Soldiers, whose usage it was to flee out of the Fight, and had never conquered their Enemies. Indeed, Dioclesian's Army is said to have done nothing memorable, save only the taking of the Achilleum at Alexandria, by a long Siege. Farther, 'tis very hard to understand what Constantine should mean, when he says, that those Soldiers had wounded the Breasts of their own Citizens, that is, of the Christians. 'Tis probable, that Dioclesian, in regard he was incensed against the Christians, by whom he supposed his Palace to have been fired, had given his Soldiers order, that whatever Christians they could find in the City or in the Fields, they should slay. 'Tis certain, many thousands of Christians are related to have been slain at Nicomedia, under Dioclesian, and Maximian: the memory of which Persons thus murdered, is by the Greeks celebrated, on the fourth of September, and on the twenty eighth of December. Valef.

Τοσούτοι γὰρ ἐχθροὶ σφαγὰι. This period is removed out of its place, For, it ought to have been placed immediately after the word δεσποτῶν in this manner: μετὰρρηνα δεσποτῶν τοσούτοι γὰρ ἐχθροὶ σφαγὰι, οὗτοι εἰ καὶ βαρβάρων ἐχθροὶ, ἵκαναὶ ἔδωκεν ἐχθροὶν εἰς τὴν γῆν &c. That is, — who had never seen the backs of their Enemies in a Fight. 'Tis certain, the slaughters committed were so numerous, that had they been made [in Battels] against the Barbarians, they might have been sufficient to have procured us a perpetual peace. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the punishment of such impious facts; and yet, not without damage to the Empire. For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour, &c. What can be clearer than these words, what more plain? Questionless, he must be very obstinate, who shall deny, that these words are thus to be restored. Valef.

Ὅσα εἰ καὶ βαρβάρων ἐχθροὶ. There may be a double meaning of this place. For, either it may be rendred thus, as Portesius has turn'd it. Sanè cædis & sanguinis tanta vis fuit, ut si Barbarorum esset, ad fœdus sempiternum sufficeret. Indeed, so great was the abundance of slaughter and blood, that had it been of the Barbarians, it might have sufficed for a perpetual League. Or, else, with Christopherson, it may be translated in this manner. Tot planè factæ sunt cædes, quot si in barbaros factæ fuissent, satis multæ ad æternam pacem constituendam

videri potuissent. So many slaughters were committed, that had as many been made against the Barbarians, they might have seemed enough to have establish'd an Eternal Peace. And this latter sense pleases me best. Lucan's opinion is wholly the same, in the beginning of his Pharsalia, when he says;

Heu quantum potuit terra pelagique parare  
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextera!

Yet, instead of οὗτοι, it would be better written, ὅσα. For it follows, ἵκαναὶ ἔδωκεν. Valef.

For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour, when afterwards it came under the Command of a worthless Person, who by force had seized upon the Empire of the Romans, (Divine Providence having at length set at us, as 'tis Liberty that great City;) was totally ruined in many and those \* Bloody Battels. Moreover, the Cries to God of those that were oppressed, and who ardently desired their Native freedom; the Praises also and Thanksgivings paid to God, after a deliverance from those Mischiefs, when Liberty and contracts with Justice were restored to them; do not these things all manner of ways declare the Providence of God, and his Paternal Love towards Men?

After the Resignation of Dioclesian, Galerius Maximianus received his Forces; part whereof he delivered to Severus Caesar, for the defence of Italy. Some little time after, when Maxentius had seized the Empire of Rome, Galerius sent Severus with his Forces against him. But Maxentius having corrupted Severus's Army by fraud, and with promises, brought them over to his own side. After this, when Galerius had made an Expedition against Maxentius with a greater number of Forces, he also was deserted by a like Revolt of his Soldiers. Thus Dioclesian's Forces came under the Command and Power of Maxentius. Valef.

ὁ πρῶτος δὲ τὴν μέγαν πόλιν. In the Fuke-tian Copy, and in Turnebus's Book, this place is read thus, πρῶτος τε δὲ ἡ μέγαν πόλιν ἐκ εὐμοιρῶν. Valef.

Ἄλλα μὲν καὶ. It must be ἀλλὰ μὲν αἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκφωτισθεὶς &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. In the Fuke-tian Copy 'tis ἀλλὰ καὶ καὶ αἱ. Valef.

Καὶ τῶν κατὰ δικαιοσύνης συμβολαίων. Constantine does glory because, having crush'd the Tyranny of Maxentius, he had restored to the Romans, Liberty and Contracts with justice. For, after the slaughter of the Tyrant, whatever things had been done, either by Him or his Judges, were null'd. Therefore, if any one had been preferred to a dignity by him, he was reduced to his former condition; and was forc'd to bring in the Codicills [or, Patent] of the dignity he had obtained, to the Lawful Prince. The Sentences also, and Decrees, which the Judges had made in those times, were taken away out of the Publick Scrinia and Offices of Record. Lastly, that whole time of the Tyranny was accounted for nothing, in the same manner as if it had never been. Wherefore, neither was it of advantage for the prescription of a long time. Compacts also and Bargains, and Contracts of what sort soever, which had been made between private Persons during that space of time, were in like manner null'd, and that even with the strictest authority and power. But lawful Princes, after they had gotten the Victory over Tyrants, and had rescinded all their Acts; were wont to confirm Bargains, Sales, Donations, Manumissions, and such like Acts of private Persons, by granting an indulgence of a publick constitution: least, if all these should be made null, the quiet and security of private Persons might be disturbed. Hereof we have information, from the Emperours Laws in the Theodosian Code, B. 15. De infirmendis his quæ sub Tyrannide gesta sunt: Whence we understand, why Constantine says, that he had restored Contracts to the Romans. In the Fuke-tian Copy, the reading is συμβολων, not συμβολαίων. To this usage Rufinus seems to allude, in the end of his ninth Book, when he says, Edictis namque frequentibus per omnem locum propositis, non solum tyrannicas adversus Christianos depulerat leges, jusque civile reddiderat, &c. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVI.

That God is the Cause of the Emperour's Piety; and that we ought to seek prosperous Events from God, and to impute them to Him; but must ascribe faults to our own sloth and negligence.

But, when they commend my Labour and Service, which took its rise from the Inspiration of God; do they not plainly avouch, that God is



the Authour of my Valorous Actions? \* No-thing more certain. For, 'tis God's property to do whatever is best: but, 'tis the property of Men, to pay an obedience to God. Farther, this is, I suppose, the best and most excellent Ministry; when a Man, before his taking an affair in hand, makes such provision, that all things be done with the greatest safety. Indeed, all Men know, that the most Holy Ministry of these very hands, is owing to God, together with a pure and most sincere Faith; and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected: in regard, so much of utility has redounded to all Persons, both privately and publickly, as each Man could have desired, not only for himself, but for his dearest Relatives.

Christophorson's Version, who renders it, *Manuum ad cælos sublatarum cultum*, the worship of hands lift up to Heaven. I doubt not, but *ἀσπεία* here has the same import with *Ministerium*, Ministry. For Constantine says, that Men ought to give the Ministry or Service of their own hands to God; and that, with a pure and sincere Faith. He has made use of *διακονίαν* and *ἐκποίησιν* above, in the same sense. Truly, I can't perceive, how *χείρας* can be taken in such a sense, as to signifie hands lift up to Heaven, or, Prayers. Besides, the following words do most apparently refute Christophorson's Version. For Constantine adds, *ὅτι σύν τε ταῖς χερσίν, &c.* and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected. For, after Constantine hath said, that Men ought to give the Service of their hands to God, he adds, that not only the hands are to be lent to God, but Prayers also and Supplications are to be used, that the affairs which we have undertaken to perform, may succeed happily. This is what *Græcians* are wont to say in a common proverb, *σὺν ἰδνῶ καὶ χεῖρεσσι ζῆναι*; whereby they shewed, that together with prayer the hand was to be put to the work. Farther, when Constantine says *τῶν ὅτι τῶν χειρῶν ἀσπείαν*, he speaks concerning himself, in the same manner that *Aeneas* does in *Virgil*.

— Si Pergama dextrâ  
Defendi possent, dextrâ hæc defensa fuissent. Valef.

Ἐπεὶ γενομένης ὁφελείας. It must be written in one word, *ἁποσφουμένης*; which I admire Scaliger and the rest did not perceive. So 'tis certain, the reading is in the *Fuketian* Copy. Valef.

They have likewise seen Fights, and have been Spectatours of a Battle, when Divine Providence bestowed Victory on the People: and they have beheld God favouring and assisting our Prayers. For righteous Prayer is a thing invincible; and no Man ever mist of his design, who besought God holily. For, there is no pretence left for a Repulse; save only where Faith is wavering. For God is always favourably present, and gives a gracious Reception to the probity of Men. Wherefore, sometimes to slip and stumble, is a thing common to Men: but God is in no wise the Author of humane Lapses and Mistakes. All Persons therefore, whatever, who are followers of Piety, ought to give thanks to the universal saviour, both for our and their own safety, and for the flourishing posture of the publick affairs: and with holy Prayers and continual Supplications, to render Christ pitious to us, that he would preserve and perpetuate his own Favours. For he is the invincible Assistant and Defender of the Just: He is the best Judge; the Prince of immortality; the Dour of Eternal life.

that there is something of a fault here. And perhaps the reading should be, *τῷ νικῶν τῷ ἐμῷ στρατεύματι βραβεύσας*, bestowed Victory on my Army. Valef.

Πελαίματι κόσμῳ. At this place *κόσμῳ* is made use of to signifie *prætextum*, a pretence or colour; which term in Constantine's *Latin* Oration being not understood by the Translatour, he rendered it in this manner: but, would have done better, had he made use of the word *ὑπόφωρος*. Christophorson therefore, and Portesius have done ill, in rendering it *mundum*, the World. Valef.

Ἄνεμῳ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ μᾶτον. It must be written *ἁπομᾶτον*, Errours, or mistakes; as I found it mended in *Moræus's* Book. And this the *Geneva-men* have already put us in mind of, from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian* Copy. Valef.

Τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῷ σωτηρίας. I am not of the same mind with *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and *Gruter*, who mend this place thus, *τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας*, for our own safety. I had rather read, *τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας* which reading I have followed in my Version. In the *Fuketian* Copy 'tis written, *τῆς τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*. But in the Sheets 'tis, *τῆς τε ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν*. Valef.



# Eusebius Pamphilus's ORATION IN PRAISE OF THE EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE, SPOKEN AT HIS Tricennalia.

## The <sup>a</sup> Prologue [to the Oration] in Praise of *Constantine*.

<sup>a</sup> It was heretofore the usage of the *Sophists*, before their Orations to make a kind of a Flourish as 'twere, in a short Preface; after the manner of Harpers, who before the Song, sing some thing for Tryal sake. This Preface was commonly termed *μεγέθεια*. So in *Themistius's* fifteenth Oration, and in *Libanius's* Declamations, it often occurs. Hence; *μεγέθεια* is by *Theodore* taken to signify a Prologue. *Valef.*

**I** Come not hither with a Composure of Fables, nor with an Elegancy of Expressions framed to captivate the Ears; that by the Voice of Syrens as 'twere, I might charm [my Hearers:] nor, that in Golden Cups, namely the beautiful flowers of words bedeck'd with the most exquisite art of Rhetorick, I might present the delicate potions of pleasure, to persons in Love with those things. But rather, paying an Obedience to [the Precepts of] the Wise, I perswade all men, to shun and avoid the publick Roads; and entreat them, that they would not herd with The Many. I am come therefore, that I might <sup>b</sup> begin amongst You a \* New Song of the Emperour's Praises. And although numerous persons have attempted to tread the same † path with me, yet <sup>c</sup> I will decline the Foot-steps of men, and will go in an untrodden way, into which 'tis impious to enter with unwash'd feet. Indeed, they who affect Vulgar Discourses, and Expressions worn with the || Witticisms of Lads, and who Court a pleasing and popular Muse; may dash mens Ears with humane Narratives; whilst they submit the Arbitrage [of all things] to pleasure. But such as be initiated in the Mysteries of Universal Wisdom it self, (in regard they are Masters of the knowledge of things Divine and Humane;) accounting the choice of what is better, to be the highest felicity; [such I say] esteem and prefer the God-lov'd Vertues of our Emperour, and his Pious Actions, before his humane accomplishments and Deeds, leaving those His Secondary Excellencies, to be celebrated by inferiour persons. For, whereas the Emperour's mind is endued with a knowledge of matters Divine and Humane; and whereas those have a reference to God; but these, to Men: Let them, <sup>d</sup> whoever namely are fit for the performance of this

allure and please the minds of his Hearers. So above, *χρῆσις δὲ δέσμιος* is a poetick expression. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> "Ὅτι δὲ οἱ πρὸς δὲ ἐπιλήδες. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote, *ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς οἱ ἐπιλήδες*, whoever namely are fit, &c. The Verbe *οἱ* are, must be understood. But *Christopherson* the Translatour of this Oration, in regard he perceived not these things, has confounded the whole meaning of this place, in his Version. In the *Eusebian Copy*, these words *ὅτι δὲ* are wanting; excellently well. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπαρχόμενος. Write *Ἐπαρχόμενος*, from the *Eusebian Copy*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> Πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλγέων. It must be made *πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, the path, or footsteps of men. For 'tis a noted half-verse of *Homer's*, concerning *Bellerophon*, which *Cicero* renders in the very words I have made use of in my Version; namely, *Hominum Vestigia Vitans*. 'Tis certain, in the *Eusebian Copy* 'tis plainly written, *πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλγέων*. Farther, *Eusebius* has designedly besprinkled this Prologue, with many pieces of verses taken out of the Poets, as with flowers; that by this kind of Elegance he might



Office, suggest things Humane to such as stand without the Sacred Rails. For, even these things are both illustrious and transcendent, and of great use to mankind. Yea, all the perfections visible in our Emperour, are eximious; nevertheless, they are far out-

<sup>c</sup> Πάν ἐν λαμπρόν. So also the reading is in the Fukeian Copy; yet I had rather read, πᾶν ἐν, nevertheless. Valef.

done by His Diviner Excellencies. But, let those persons, who are within the Holy Sanctuaries, and who have entred into the Adyta and invious Recesses [of the Church;] (after they have shut the doors against prophane and impious Ears,) unfold the secret Mysteries of the Emperour, to those men only who are initiated therein. Farther, when they have cleansed their

Ears in the Fountains of Piety, and mounted their understanding upon the sublime wing of the mind it self, let them lead a dance about [God Himself] the supream King, silently learning the

<sup>f</sup> μάλλον ἢ μανίας. A transposition of the Divine [Spirit,] <sup>g</sup> be our Instructors in the Sacred Rites: [let them give us information] \* Or, Both the one and the other Order; that is, the true Royal-power; and the counterfeit, or, false one. Divine [Mysteries.] And let the Oracles, not those which are the products of Divination, or rather of rage and madness; but them that are uttered by the illumination and inspiration of the Divine [Spirit,] <sup>h</sup> be our Instructors in the Sacred Rites: [let them give us information] concerning the Kingdom it self; and concerning the Supream King; and concerning that Divine Guard which surrounds the Universal Governour: as also, concerning that Copy of Royal Power which is amongst us, drawn from that Original of the Celestial Kingdom; and concerning that other false one, which does counterfeit the Impress thereof: and lastly, concerning those things which do accompany \* each sort of Empire. <sup>i</sup> Having therefore learned the Divine Mysteries Presently, from these [Oracles,] as from some Hierophantæ, we will thus begin our Divine Discourses.

ing in the Fukeian Copy is ἐπιπνοίας, not ἐπιπνοίας.

<sup>b</sup> Τῶν τελεῶν ἡμῶν ἡμέτερον διδασκαλοί. Doubtless it is to be written, τῶν τελεῶν, in the Sacred Rites, or Mysteries, which emendation is confirmed by these words which follow presently, οἱ δὲ τὰς θεοπερεῖς τελετὰς ἱεροφαντῆρες, Having therefore learn'd the Divine, &c. For Eusebius says, that the Sacred Books, wherein are contained the Divine Oracles, are our Teachers of the Sacred Mysteries, and are as 'twere some Hierophantæ. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> ἱεροφαντῆρες. It has the same import with what he has said above, namely τελεῶν, learning the Divine Mysteries. For ἱεροφαντῆρες signifies the same with τελεῶν. Wherefore ἱεροφαντῆρες will import the same with τελεῶν. The Chief-Priests of the Eleusinian Sacra were, at Athens, termed Hierophantæ, who delivered and consigned the Rites of Ceres. Whom, persons initiated did so highly Revere, that they would never call them by their own names. Eusebius tells us this, in His Life of Maximus the Philosopher, in these words: τὸ δὲ ἱεροφαντῆς κατ' ἐξέχον ἢ χεῖρον, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι λέγειν, ὅτι μὲν δέμους λέγειν, &c; But, what his name was, who at that time was Hierophantæ, it is unlawful for me to declare: for, he had initiated me who write these things; and had enrolled me amongst the Eumolpidae. Lucian (or whoever else is the author of it) attests the same in Lexiphane; where one Megalonymus an Athenian says, that when he had gone out one day to visit the Magistrate, he found the Daduchus [Torch-bearer,] and Hierophantæ, and some other Ministers of the Sacred Rites, who haled one Dinias before the Magistrate, accusing the man because he had called them by their own names; whereas it was unlawful to call them by their own names, after they had been consecrated: ἔκλειμα ἐπιγοντὺς, ὅτι ἀνόμιμον αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰυτα εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ὡσαύτως, ἀνόμιμοι τε εἰσι, καὶ ἐκείνι ὀνομαστοί. Although Lucian says more than Eusebius. For Eusebius has told us, that it was unlawful only for those who had been Consecrated at Eleusina, to call that Hierophantæ by his proper name, from whom they had received initiation. But Lucian affirms, that that was forbidden to all persons in general. Hence 'tis, that amongst Libanius's Epistles, some occur with this Title, τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, to the Hierophantæ. And in the Fifth Book of Symmachus's Epistles, the first three are inscribed, To the Hierophantæ. For, in regard both those persons had been initiated at Athens, they look'd upon it as a thing unlawful, to call the Hierophantæ by his own name. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Θεῶν ἐξαφώμεθα. The Geneva-Printers had left out a word, which we have supplied from the Fukeian Manuscript thus, Θεῶν ὀργάνων ἐξαφώμεθα, we will begin our Divine Discourses, or Mysteries. Valef.

# EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S [ORATION IN PRAISE OF] THE EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE, SPOKEN AT HIS TRICENNALIA.

CHAP. I. **T**HIS is the Great Emperour's Solemn Festival; wherein We who are the Servants of the Emperour, inspired with the Instructions of Sacred Discourses, do rejoyce. He who gives beginning to, and Rules this Our Festival, is the Great Emperour Himself. Him I term The Great Emperour, who is truly Great. Him I mean, (nor will the Emperour, who is here present, be offended thereat, but will rather, together with Us, highly approve of this Our Discourse concerning the Divinity;) \* who is beyond the Universe; the Supream over all; the Highest; the most Immense. The Thrones of whose Empire, are the Celestial Arches; and the Earth, the Footstool of His Feet. <sup>a</sup> Nor can any one perfectly comprehend Him in His mind. For, the Glorious Light which surrounds Him, by the unspeakable Splendour of its Rays, drives off all persons, and binds them from beholding his Divinity. || Him the Celestial Hosts do en-  
<sup>†</sup> Or, <sup>a</sup> 'Οὐδ' εἰ τις ἐπαξίως. It must, I think, be written, εἰδ' αὖ τις; Nor can any one, &c. Nevertheless, something seems to be wanting here. In the Fukeian Copy, the reading is, εἰς τὴν ἐπαξίαν νοῦν αὐτοῦ; which is right. Valef.

|| Or, About him the Celestial Hosts make their Rounds. compass:



compass: His Guards are the Supernal Powers; Him They acknowledge their Master, Lord, and Emperour. The innumerable multitudes of Angels, and the Companies of Arch-Angels, and the Quires of Holy Spirits, \* deriving [their Splendour] from the Rays about Him, as <sup>†</sup> were from some everlasting Fountains of Light, are illustrated. Likewise, all the Lights, and especially those Divine and Intellectual Kinds of incorporeal Lights, which have their place beyond Heaven; do celebrate this Great Emperour with the highest and most Divine Hymns. The vast Firmament, like some azure Curtain, is drawn between, which separates those without, from them who are conversant within the Palace. Round this [Firmament,] in the same manner with the

<sup>†</sup> Δαδῶντες. Eusebius does elegantly compare the Sun and Moon to the Light-Bearers or Footmen, who were wont to go before the Emperour with Torches and Lights, as I have noted at Amm. Marcellinus. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Light-Bearers in the Imperial Porticus's, run the Sun and Moon, and those other Luminaries of Heaven: which do both highly honour the Emperour Himself and

also at his beck and word, afford the Splendour of an inextinguishable Light, to those who are without Heaven, and who inhabit a Gloomy Region. Whereas therefore I do presume, that Our Victorious Prince himself also, does with praises celebrate this Greatest Emperour; therein, in my own judgment, I <sup>†</sup> seem to do very well: in regard I am truly sensible, that \* all power amongst us is derivative from him. Him also the Religious Cæsars do acknowledge to be the Fountain of all <sup>†</sup> Blessings: having received this Command from their Father. Him, the Milice; the numerous multitudes of the people, as well in the Countries as Cities: and the Governours of Provinces assembling in the Church, do Religiously adore: being instructed by Our <sup>†</sup> Great Saviour and Master. Lastly, all mankind in general, all sorts of Nations, Tribes, and Languages; and all people, as well collectively and in one Body, as severally and apart; although in other matters they differ in their Sentiments, yet agree in this very one confession; invoking this One and Only God, by proper natural reason, by notions self-learn'd, and which assign the proceed not from the instruction of any Teacher. Monarchy. \* Or, Ele- ment. What, does not the whole \* Mass of the Earth acknowledge him Lord? By the Plants and Living Creatures produced out of it, does it not evidently demonstrate its plainly

show, that these are not spoken concerning Christ. Nevertheless, if any person be scrupulous of expunging any thing, he must set a distinction after the word βασιλεύς, that the meaning may be this; that God the Father, the highest King of all, is celebrated with Hymns, both by Christ, and by Constantine. For our Eusebius does a little lower say the same thing concerning Christ. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Εὐ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν. It must, I think, be written, δοκῶ ποιεῖν; which reading I have followed in my Version. But some words are undoubtedly wanting here, which may be supplied in this manner; τῶν ἡμῶν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, χειρὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καλλίκεν ἡμῶν βασιλέα εὐνοεῖν συνιδρυμένον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἡμέτερον βασιλέα, εὐ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν, &c. That is, Our Emperour well knowing, that this Greatest King is with Hymns celebrated by Christ, who himself also is our most invincible King; He Himself likewise extols him with Praises and Hymns, thereby doing that which is right and well; for he understands, that he only is the origin of Empire to us. Thus the sense is most plain; nor do I think, that Eusebius either wrote, or thought otherwise. Nevertheless, in the Fuketian Manuscript it is written, εὐ μάλα δοκῶ μοι ποιεῖν. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> The Translatour thought these words were spoken concerning Constantine; which truly I don't condemn. Yet, they may also be meant of Christ. Valef.

submission to his command who is far superiour in power? The Torrents also of Rivers overflowing with their waters, and the plentiful streams of Fountains, perpetually issuing out of the unknown and immense depths of the Earth, do profess him to be the Author of this inexplicable and miraculous performance. The Gulfs of the corrupted Sea, inclosed within unfathomable depths, and the swollen Waves which are raised to a vast height, and strike the adjacent Earth with terrour; as soon as they approach the Shores, dread Him, being bound by the Command of his Divine Law. At my

peril therefore write, τὴν πρὸς τὸν εὐμεγέθη καὶ ἀνεπίστατον ἀπειραν, its submission to the command of the Deity; which amendment is most undoubted. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Εὐ μάλα δοκῶν ἀπειραν. These four words are, in my judgment, to be blotted out, as being superfluous, and but little agreeable to this place. But if any person shall have a mind to retain them, they must be transposed in this manner; τῶν τε τῶν ἀπειραν καὶ εὐ μάλα δοκῶν ἀπειραν τῶν τε τῶν ἀπειραν. Although another participle would be substituted. For, τῶν τε τῶν ἀπειραν is no good expression. It would be better, were it made ἀναμειβέσθαι, as Eusebius expresses himself lower; or rather ἀναμειβεσθαι. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Εἰς τὸν ἀνεπίστατον. The last word is wanting in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

Moreover, the \* Determinate Quantities of \* Or, Meas Winter Showers; and the astonishing noise of the Thunder; and the flashings of the Lightning; and the variable and inconstant blasts of the Winds; and lastly, the aerie <sup>†</sup> Tracks of the Clouds, do plainly exhibit his presence to those, who can in no wise take a view of him with their own eyes. The all-enlightening Sun also, who bath \* finished so vast a number of ages, acknowledges him only as his Lord; and, in entire obedience to his command, never dare, go beyond his fixt Bounds. The Moon likewise, (<sup>†</sup> which for the splendour of her light is far inferiour to the Sun,) being lessened and again increased at set periods of Times, obeys the Divine Commands, &c. And the Beauty of Heaven, which glisters gorgeously with the Dances of the Stars, and \* moves with Order and Harmony, and measures over its own Circles; proclaims God to be the Donor of all manner of Light. Likewise, all the other Celestial Luminaries, having by his Beck and Word made up one harmonious Consort, finishing their long Course, by the Circles of so vast a number of ages, like Charioteers run over the Rounds of their Aethereal Stages. The successive Returns of nights and days, the changes of Seasons and Times, and the Order and Harmony of the Universe, do celebrate the manifold wisdom [of his infinite and immense power.] Those invisible Powers, which fly about the Plains that lie stretch'd through the Air, do render to this God, due and besetting praise. The whole World therefore with a joyn't consent doth laud this Great Emperour. The Heavens above, and those Quires which are higher than the Celestial Arches, do reverence him: the Hosts of Angels praise him with inexpressible Hymns: and the Spirits which are

Sun. But I think it should be written, τὸ εὐμεγές καὶ ἀνεπίστατον; that is, the Moon which goes under the light of the Sun. Valef.

<sup>†</sup> Τὴν ἀπειραν καὶ εὐμεγέθη. I had rather write, τὴν ἀπειραν καὶ εὐμεγέθη. Instead of σοφίαν ἀναμειβεσθαι, another verb must be substituted; viz. ἀνυμνεῖν do extol, or ἀνακηρύττειν do proclaim. For that verb ἀναμειβεσθαι is not at all agreeable here, and has crept in hither by mistake, out of the following period. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, τὴν πολυποίκιλον σοφίαν χαίρειν, do celebrate his manifold wisdom; without those words τὴν ἀπειραν καὶ εὐμεγέθη, of his infinite and immense power; nor do these words occur in the most ancient Palatine Manuscript. Valef.



the Off-springs of Intellectual Light, do pronounce Him their Parent and their God. \* Or, Those Ages \* unlimited by Time, which were before this Heaven and this World; and besides, infinite other Ages, before all constitution of things visible, do acknowledge one sole and Supreme Master and Lord. Lastly, He Himself, I who is in all, before all, and after all, don't see His only-begotten Son and preexisting Word; how this expression can be made use of, in reference to Supplication to Him for the Salvation of all men. The Word, Who enjoys a prebeminence in the Government of that which is before all the world; but possesses an equal share of things, and Glory with His Father, in His Father's Kingdom, after all dom. For, He is that Light which transcends all things; which dances about the Father, and which by its intervention Separates that Nature concerning which is without a Beginning and without a The Word Generation, from the substance of things begotten in ten. Which Light also, streaming from above, in which from the Deity which wants both beginning and end, \* diffuses it self without, and illustrates the Region above heaven, and all things that are within heaven, with the Rays of Wisdom, which are far more Glorious than the splendour of the Sun. This is he, who is the Last. It Leader of the whole World; the Word of God who goes before all, and through all, and is in all things; as well Visible as Invisible. By whom and through whom, Our Emperour dear to God, bearing a resemblance of the Celestial Empire, though He in imitation of the Deity, directs and manages was begotten the Helm of Government over all things upon the ten before Earth. all ages, is nevertheless continually begotten by the Father. And this is what is said in the Psalms; Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee, &c. Thus The Word is before all things, and after all things, and in all things, not by a succession of time, but by reason of an eternal Generation. For, he is the Origin and End of all things who begins and terminates all things which are, or which can be. Nevertheless, Eusebius's words may be understood otherwise, if they be construed with the verb *καταλαμβάνω*. So, the meaning will be this; The Word does appease God the Father before all persons and after all persons. But the former exposition is truer. For in this manner Dionysius Alexandrinus, in his Epistle to Hermammion, speaks concerning the Son of God; *ὅτι τὸν καὶ οὐκ ὡς τὸν πατέρα καὶ οὐκ ὡς τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, Neither had he regarded to the judgment of Him who was before all, is in all, and above all. Which passage is quoted in the Seventh Book of the Eccles. Hist. Chap. 10. Novatianus likewise, in his Book de Trinitate, Chap. 14. says Christ is before all things, and after all things; before all things, as God; but after all things, as Man. Valef.

\* Τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. The Translatour has rendered it *ill, dignitatis paternae particeps, partaker of His Father's dignity*; whereas it ought to have been rendered, *devotus ac dicatus cultui patris, devoted, &c.* 'Tis an expression like that inscription, which is commonly extant on the Base of Statues which they had dedicated to the Emperours, DEVOTUS NUMINI MAJESTATI. QUE EJUS. But, these words smell rank of Arianism. For whoever asserts, that God the Word is devoted to the worship of God the Father; doubtless that person speaks too meanly of The Word, and seems not only not to equal The Word to God the Father, but rather to make Him subject to the Father. Of the same stamp is that expression which Eusebius adds, that The Word makes supplication to the Father for the Salvation of all men. Which, if it be meant concerning God the Word, as He is the Word, can no wise be born with. But, if it be understood concerning Christ, that is, concerning the Word after He had assumed the humane Nature, it is most true. The same opinion is extant in his Second Book against Marcellus Chap. 7. where Eusebius says, that the Son doth worship, adore, and glorify God the Father. Farther, a little before, the reading in the Eusebian Manuscript is, *ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁμοῦς τιμωμένοι*. Valef.

\* ὅτι τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, but, possesses an equal share, &c. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote, *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, &c. But, holds the second place in His Father's Kingdom: which expression the publishers being not able to endure, they thought it was to be changed into *ὁμοῦς*, that to the Son might be made equal to the Father. But,

that Eusebius wrote as I have said, is apparent, first from the very Series of his Oration. For, at this place Eusebius distinguishes the Government and Regiment of the Universe, from the Kingdom of God the Father. And in the Government of the Universe, he does indeed say, that the Son holds the principal place: but, that he has the Second place in the Kingdom of His Father: *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*. You see, that *τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, that is, the Kingdom of the Universe, is opposed to the Kingdom of God the Father. To *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν* therefore, *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν* ought also to be opposed. Secondly, *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν* is not Greek. Lastly, Eusebius, in his Books of Demonstrat. Evang. does always term the Son, the Second Cause: And, in Book 5. Chap. 4. Demonstrat. Evang. he says *τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*. Valef.

AND That Only-begotten Word of God, CHAP. Reigns together with his Father, from II. ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But this Our Emperour, always dear to him, being supplied with some Imperial Emanations from above, and fortified with the Surname of a Divine appellation, governs upon earth during many and long periods of years. Farther, that Universal \* Preserver \* Or, Saviour.

and the whole world, and the Celestial Kingdom, fit for his Father. But this [Our Emperour,] who is his Friend, brings all those persons living upon Earth, that are the Subjects of his Empire, to the Only-begotten Word and Saviour, and makes them fit for his Kingdom. And, that Common Saviour of all, by an invisible and divine power, drives off at the greatest distance from his Fold (in the same manner that a good Shepherd does wild-beasts,) those Rebellious Powers, which flew up and down thorow this Air that is nearest the Earth, and \* brooded the Souls of Men. But this [Our \* Or, Stuck Emperour,] his friend, adorned from above upon the, by him, with Trophies erected against his Enemies; by the Law of War subdues the open Adversaries of Truth, and chastizes them. That person, existing † The Logos before the world † Or, The was framed, and the preserver of all things; Word. delivers rational and saving Seeds to his Companions, and renders them reasonable, and instructed in the knowledge of his Father's Kingdom. This [Our Emperour,] his Friend, as were some Interpreter to the Word of God, recalls all mankind to the knowledge of God: crying out in the hearing of all men, and with a loud voice promulging the Laws of a true Piety and Verity, to all persons living upon the Earth. That Universal Saviour opens the Celestial Gates of his Father's Kingdom, to those who remove from hence thither. This [Our Emperour,] following the Example of the Deity, after he hath cleansed his Empire on earth, from all the filth of impious Error, invites the \* Assemblies of Holy and Pious men, into the \* Or, Sacred Houses and † Basilicæ; making it his Quire. chiefest care, that the whole Navy, with the † Or, Command

\* ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. This place is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*. &c. continues to Reign together with His Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But, Our Emperour, dear to Him, &c. Valef.

\* Τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. 'Tis not clearly enough made out, what this Surname of a Divine appellation should be, wherewith Constantine was honoured and signalized. Does Eusebius mean the name of Victor, which was given to Constantine, as we have remark'd above? Or rather, the surname of Maximus, which is proper to God? The very Name Constantine may also be meant, the import whereof is, He that is. Now the Sacred Scriptures do inform us, that this is the proper Name of God. Lastly, we may here understand the surname of Christianus, Christian; an appellation which Constantine loved most entirely. Valef.

\* ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. I read with the Translatour, *ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, for His Kingdom. Valef.

\* ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. Or, Stuck Emperour,] his friend, adorned from above upon the, by him, with Trophies erected against his Enemies. &c.

mies; by the Law of War subdues the open Adversaries of Truth, and chastizes them. That person, existing † The Logos before the world † Or, The was framed, and the preserver of all things; Word. delivers rational and saving Seeds to his Companions, and renders them reasonable, and instructed in the knowledge of his Father's Kingdom. This [Our Emperour,] his Friend, as were some Interpreter to the Word of God, recalls all mankind to the knowledge of God: crying out in the hearing of all men, and with a loud voice promulging the Laws of a true Piety and Verity, to all persons living upon the Earth. That Universal Saviour opens the Celestial Gates of his Father's Kingdom, to those who remove from hence thither. This [Our Emperour,] following the Example of the Deity, after he hath cleansed his Empire on earth, from all the filth of impious Error, invites the \* Assemblies of Holy and Pious men, into the \* Or, Sacred Houses and † Basilicæ; making it his Quire. chiefest care, that the whole Navy, with the † Or, Command

\* Τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. In the Eusebian Copy, the word *ὁμοῦς* is wanting; which is the truer reading. Valef.

\* ὁμοῦς τὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. Or, Stuck Emperour,] his friend, adorned from above upon the, by him, with Trophies erected against his Enemies; by the Law of War subdues the open Adversaries of Truth, and chastizes them. That person, existing † The Logos before the world † Or, The was framed, and the preserver of all things; Word. delivers rational and saving Seeds to his Companions, and renders them reasonable, and instructed in the knowledge of his Father's Kingdom. This [Our Emperour,] his Friend, as were some Interpreter to the Word of God, recalls all mankind to the knowledge of God: crying out in the hearing of all men, and with a loud voice promulging the Laws of a true Piety and Verity, to all persons living upon the Earth. That Universal Saviour opens the Celestial Gates of his Father's Kingdom, to those who remove from hence thither. This [Our Emperour,] following the Example of the Deity, after he hath cleansed his Empire on earth, from all the filth of impious Error, invites the \* Assemblies of Holy and Pious men, into the \* Or, Sacred Houses and † Basilicæ; making it his Quire. chiefest care, that the whole Navy, with the † Or, Command



\* Or, Three  
periods of  
Decads.

† Or, *Imperial Houses.*

ἡ Ζηλῶν  
φιλαίνθηραι-  
πάν ἀνα-  
κείμεν Θ.

These words ought to be expung'd; which are not set in their due place here, but must be put in lower, in this

mannen ;  
ἀδελφεύ-  
σοις μὲν  
δόξασιν, τὰ  
τῆς εὐσε-  
βείας κρε-  
τύνων. λό-

ἔμπροσθεν πάντων. It must be made *before* πάντων ἀπάντων, or *first*. Valef.

\* See the  
Prologue to  
this Ora-  
tion, note  
(b.)  
† O,  
Large.

These words, as far as *σωρέμδου*, are wanting in the *Fuketian* Copy, and in the most ancient *Palatine* Copy, as the *Geneva*-men

For, <sup>b</sup> in the first Decennium of his Empire, he proclaimed his eldest Son, who bears the same name with his Father, a Partner of the Imperial \* Realm: after that, his second Son, who was the next to him in age, at his second Decade: and in like manner his third, at his third Decade, which we now celebrate. <sup>c</sup> And, whereas his fourth period [of ten years] is now current; in regard the spaces of times do more and more extend themselves, he encreases the Empire by a Copious † Collegueship of his Stock, <sup>a</sup> and by Creations of Cæsars; fulfilling the Oracles of <sup>e</sup> the Divine Prophets, which they long since proclaimed in this manner: And the Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom. Thus therefore, God Himself the Supream King confers upon the most Pious Emperour, \* an Increase both of years and Children, and renders his Government of the Nations upon Earth, fresh and flourishing, as if it had been but now begun.

c. Ἡδὴ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἀνακυκλωμένης περιόδου. The Emperor *Constantine* published his *Tricennalia* in the Consulate of *Constantinus* and *Abinus*, on the *eighth of the Calends of August*, which day began the *thirtieth* year of his Empire. From this day therefore, in the foresaid Persons Consulate, on the year of Christ 335, began the *fourth Decennalian* period of *Constantine's* Empire, according to the computation of *Eusebius*: whereas nevertheless, it ought rather to begin from the following year, namely, *his thirty first year*. But these things are not wont to be so exactly cast up, by Orators. *Valeſe*

<sup>a</sup> Περσικῶν Σέλαν. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis Σελαν ἀποκρινόμενον. And, a little after, ἔτιω δὴτε χεῖρων, &c. This place, which *Eusebius* cites out of the Divine Prophets, occurs in the *seventh Chapter of Daniel*. Valef.

*And*



\* That is, And \* he himself solemnizes this Festival [in honour] to Him; having made Him the Conqueror over all his Enemies and Adversaries; and exhibiting Him as the Pattern of true Piety, to all Persons upon the Earth. But our Emperour, like the Light of the Sun, illustrates Men, whose habitations are in places most remote from one another, with the glorious † Presence of His Cæsars, as 'twere by some Rays transmitted from himself to the greatest distance. And on Us who inhabit the East, He hath bestowed a † Shoot truly worthy of himself: another of his Sons [he hath assigned] to another portion of Men: and again, another [He has placed] elsewhere; like so many Lamps and Lights, which derive their Brightness from that Light diffused from Himself. Farther, having joined together for himself, the Four most valiant Cæsars, like so many young Horses, \* and fix'd them under one Set of Harness belonging to the † Imperial Chariot, and fitted them with the Reines of Divine Concord and Unity; He Himself sits above, like the Charioteer, and puts them on; and drives over the whole World, wherever the Sun makes his Visits; and is personally present in all places, and inspects all affairs. Lastly, being adorned with a representation of the Celestial Empire, having His eyes fix'd upon Heaven, He directs and manages the affairs of

† Τὸν ἐπιζῶν αὐτῷ καρπὸν, He means Constantius Caesar. For he had at first been sent by his Father, to Govern the Gallias. But afterwards he was removed into the East; as Julian informs us in his first Oration de Laudibus Constantii, and Libanius in his Basilic. Valef.

\* Or, To one Yoke of the Imperial Chariot; so Valef.

† The Translatour saw nothing here; he has rendred this place, thus, Porro imperii quadrifariam dispersi jugum, quasi quatuor equis, id est sibi, & tribus filiis Cæsaribus fortissimis imponens. But Eusebius does expressly name four Cæsars, whom he compareth to four Horses, who being coupled together in one Yoke, drew the Imperial Chariot; over which Constantine presided, as Charioteer. Now, the four Cæsars were, Constantinus Junior, Constantius, and Constans, Sons of the Emperor Constantine; and Dalmatius the Son of Dalmatius; concerning whom we have spoken above. Valef.

Mortals, in a conformity to that Original Draught; and is encouraged and strengthened by a resemblance of the Monarchy of God. For, this the [sole] King over all, hath bestowed on the Nature of Men only, † of all those Creatures

† Τὸν ἐν τῇ φύσιν, μόνον. This place tortured me a long while. But at length I have found out the most undoubted Emendation of it. I write therefore; ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει τὸν ἐν τῇ φύσιν μόνον, τῶν πάντων δεδωρηται βασιλεὺς. That is; For, this the [sole] King over all, &c. Eusebius repeats the same hereafter, in chap. 4. where he reckons up the Favours, which Mankind hath received from God the Word. Βασιλικὸν τε τὸ τὸ ζῶον ἀπειργάζετο, μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσιν βασιλευσιν ὁ βασιλευμενός, ὅτι εἰδέναι ἀναδεξας. But the Translator, instead of μόνον, seems at this place to have read ὅτι. For thus he renders it. Istam enim imperii formam Lex, quæ rex omnium est, humano generi tribuit. Valef.

† Νόνον. These words are spoken concerning the supream King and God; who really is the Law and Rule of Royal Power. The reading at this place might likewise be μόνον; that so the meaning may be this, that God only is possessor of the Royal Power, in regard he alone rules over all, and holds the Monarchy. Therefore, in the foregoing period, it must, I think, be written in this manner, μόνον μόνον τῶν πάντων δεδωρηται βασιλεὺς. Nor do I think, that Eusebius wrote otherwise. For the sentence is most plain and elegant, if we read thus. And this period will excellently well cohere with the foregoing one. Valef.

two, nor three, nor yet many. For, to assert a multitude of Gods, is plainly to affirm, that there is no God at all. One King:

and \* his Word and Imperial Law, One: which [Law] is not declared by words and syllables; nor is it written in Paper, or cut upon Pillars, that it should be consumed by length of time: but it is the living and self-subsisting

\* God the Word, who disposes and orders his Fathers Kingdom, to all those who are

under Him, and after Him. Him the Celestial Hosts do surround, and Myriads of Angels which are the Ministers of God; and innumerable Troops of the Milice plac'd above the World, and of invisible Spirits; who residing within the Inclosures of Heaven, use their utmost diligence about the Order and Administration of the whole World. Over all whom, the Royal † Logos is the Captain and Prince, as 'twere some Prefect of the supream Emperour. † Or, The Sacred Oracles of Divines term Him, The Master of the Milice, and The Great High-Priest, and The Prophet of the Father, and The Angel of the Great Council, and The Brightness of His Father's Light, and The Only-Begotten Son; and [give Him] innumerable other such Titles as these. Whom when the Father had Constituted The Living Word, and The Law, and The Wisdom, and The Complement of all Good; He made a Present

of † This Greatest Blessing, to all those who are Subject to His Empire. But, He pierces through all things, and goes every where, and in a plentiful manner displays His Father's Favours to all Persons; and has stretch'd forth the Resemblance of the Imperial Power, even as far as those rational Creatures which live on earth; having adorned the mind of Man, which is framed according to His Own Likeness, with Divine

\* Faculties. Hence 'tis, that in the mind of man there is a participation of the other Virtues Powers. also, derived from a Divine Emanation. For, He only is wise, who is also the Sole God: He only is essentially Good: He only is strong and powerful. And He is the Parent of Justice: the Father of Reason and Wisdom; the Fountain of Light and Life; the Dispenser of Truth and Vertue; and lastly, the Authour of Empire it self, and of all Dominion and Power.

† Μεγιστον ἀγαθον δῶκεν. The term ἀγαθον must be expunged, or else the word δῶκεν: for one of those words is superfluous. Yet I had rather blot out the latter. For so Eusebius expresses himself hereafter, in chap. 11. Valef.

BUT, Whence has Man the knowledge of these matters? Who hath declared these things in the hearing of Mortals? Whence has a Carnal tongue the Liberty, of uttering those matters, which are foreign both to flesh and body? Who ever saw the invisible King, and discovered these Excellences in Him? 'Tis true, the Elements, which are joined in an Affinity with Bodies, and the things made up of those Elements, are perceived by the \* senses of the Body. But, no Person hath boasted, that with the eyes of the Body He hath ever had a sight of that invisible Kingdom, by which all things are Governed: nor, has mortal Nature ever beheld the Beauty of Wisdom. Who hath seen the Face of Justice, with † eyes of flesh? Whence † Or, The was the Notion of Legal Government and Royal sense of Dominion flesh.

\* Ο τὸν λόγον, ὁ νόμος βασιλευσιν. In the Eusebian Copy, the Comma is wanting, excellently well. For the Son of God is the Word and Law of God the Father, as Eusebius says a little afterwards. Valef.

\* Θεὸς λόγος. Valefius renders it, Dei sermo, word of God.

† Or, The Word.

\* Or, Sense

\* Or, Sense

† Or, The



Dominion suggested to men? From whence could  
 Imperial Power [be known] to man; who is  
 made up of flesh and blood? Who hath declared  
 to those on earth, the invisible \* Form, which  
 can't be express'd by any figure; and the incor-  
 \* Or, Forms. poreal † Essence which wants all external Li-  
 † Or, Sub- neaments? Questionless, there was one Interpre-  
 stance. ter of these things, the Word of God who pier-  
 ceth thorow all things. Who is the Father and  
 Maker of that rational and intellectual substance  
 which appears to be in men: who being the Only  
 Person that is united to the Divinity of the Fa-  
 ther, watereth his own Sons with his Fathers  
 † Out- † Effluxes. Hence have all men, Greeks and  
 flowings. likewise Barbarians, those natural and self-learn't  
 † Καταλή- Reasonings: hence those Notions of Reason and  
 †eis, Com Wisdom: hence the Seeds of prudence and  
 prehensi- justice: hence the † Inventions of Arts: hence  
 ons. the knowledge of Vertue \* and  
 \* Σοφίας τε φίλον ὄνομα, καὶ  
 σμυνὸς φιλοσοφία παιδείας ἕως;  
 which words Valisius renders thus,  
 Et nomen Philosophia, & Vene-  
 randus amor Sapientiae, and the  
 name of Philosophy, and the Vene-  
 rable Love of Wisdom.

mind, and a Course of Life fitly answering the  
 divine Worship. Hence is man furnished with a  
 Royal Power, and with an invincible Empire  
 over all things that are in the Earth. But,  
 after The Logos, who is the Parent of Rational  
 Creatures, had imprest upon the mind of Man a  
 Character agreeable to the Image and like-  
 ness of God, and had made Man a Royal Crea-  
 ture; (having conferred this on him only, of  
 all those Creatures which are on Earth, namely  
 that he should have a knowledge, both of Go-  
 verning, and of being Governed; and also,

\* Περιμελεῖν τε καὶ μελε-  
 τᾶσαι. It must, I think, be  
 written περιμελεῖν. For so Eu-  
 sebius expresses himself in chap. 6.  
 where he speaks thus concerning  
 God the Word; κατεργάσθη  
 τοῖς ἡμετέροις διανοήσας εἶον δια-  
 θερμοθεσίᾳ, περιμελεῖν ἐν τῷ  
 ὅτι τὰ θεοῦμα τῆς ἑσθῆς τὸν ἰὺν αἰ-  
 ὶνα ζωῆς ἀποσπᾷ ἀνθρώποις συζυ-  
 γώμε. The sentence is in both  
 places the same. For, in the  
 one place he speaks concerning the  
 Celestial Kingdom; in the other,  
 concerning Life eternal: and  
 says, that some affairs, proofs,  
 and fore-exercises of each, are  
 granted to men in this life, by  
 the Divine Word. Wherefore  
 I doubt not but Eusebius wrote  
 in this manner, περιμελεῖν τε  
 καὶ μελετᾶσαι ἐνδεῶς τῆς, &c.  
 And thus the sense is most perspi-  
 cuous. But the word ἀναδείξας,  
 which went before, must be un-  
 derstood. A long while after I  
 had written this Note, having at  
 length procured the Fuketian Co-  
 py, I found my conjecture confir-  
 med by its authority, at least in  
 part. For in that Manuscript the  
 reading is, περιμελεῖν τε καὶ με-  
 λετᾶσαι, begin to meditate upon,  
 and to fore-learn; incomparably  
 well. Valef.

\* Τὰ δ' αὖτε γινώσκων. I had  
 rather write, τὰ τε αὖτε. Fur-  
 ther, this whole page of Eusebius's  
 is put together very unfitly, by  
 reason of the too great number  
 of Verbs, which occur in the Im-  
 perfect Tense. Whence 'tis, that  
 his Discourse becomes irksome and unpleasant. Valef.

that even from this Life  
 he should <sup>a</sup> begin to medi-  
 tate upon, and to fore-learn  
 that promised Hope of the  
 Celestial Kingdom; for the  
 sake of which Kingdom, He  
 Himself came, and, as a Fa-  
 ther of His children, disdained  
 not personally to enter into a  
 Converse with Mortals: )  
<sup>b</sup> He Himself, cultivating  
 His own Seeds, and renew-  
 ing His heavenly Supplies  
 and Favours, declared to  
 all men, that they should  
 partake of the Celestial  
 Kingdom. And he invi-  
 ted all persons, and exhor-  
 ted them, that they should  
 be ready for their journey  
 upwards, and should fur-  
 nish themselves with a Gar-  
 ment befitting their cal-  
 ling. And by an unspeak-  
 able power he filled the  
 whole world, which is en-  
 lightened by the Sun's Rayes,  
 with his Preaching; by a  
 likeness of the earthly King-  
 dom, expressing the Kingdom  
 of Heaven. To which he  
 incites and encourages the  
 whole Body of mankind to ha-  
 sten, having shewed all men this  
 Confidence and good Hope.

OF Which hope, Our Emperour most dear CHAP.  
 to God, is even in this life made a par- V.  
 taker; in regard he is adorned by God with  
 innate Vertues, and has received into his mind  
 the Celestial Effluxes derived from that Foun-  
 tain. For he is rational from that Universal  
 Reason: wise, from a communication of that Di-  
 vine Wisdom: good, from a participation of that  
 Goodness. And he is just, by being a partaker  
 of that Justice: and temperate, from that \* O-  
 riginal of Temperance; and strong, by having Pattern.  
 that Supream Strength im-  
 parted to him. <sup>a</sup> He there-  
 fore may most truly be stiled  
 Emperour, who hath fashioned  
 his mind with Royal Vertues,  
 to a likeness of the Celestial  
 Empire. But, that person  
 who is a stranger to these, and who has renounc'd  
 the King of this Universe; neither hath acknow-  
 ledged the Celestial Parent of Souls; nor cloathed  
 himself in a Garb befitting an Emperour; but  
 hath \* filled his mind with deformity and filthiness; \* Or, Hath  
 and instead of Imperial Clemency, hath gotten bound up  
 the Rage of a Savage Beast; instead of an in- his mind  
 genious disposition, the incurable poyson of im- in, &c.  
 probity; in place of Prudence, Folly; instead of † Or, The  
 Reason and Wisdom, † a want of Reason and most filthy  
 consideration, the foulest of all Vices: from lity.  
 which, as <sup>b</sup> from a bitter  
 Root, most pernicious Sprouts  
 do spring, namely, a sottish  
<sup>c</sup> and intemperate Life; A-  
 varice; Murders; Fightings  
 against God; Impieties: he  
 [I say] who is addicted to  
 all these Vices, though he  
 may seem sometime to Go-  
 vern by Tyrannick Violence,  
 yet cannot deservedly and in  
 reality be stiled an Empe-  
 rour. For, how should he  
 represent a likeness of the  
 Monarchical power [of Hea-  
 ven,] who bears a thousand  
 false and adulterate Resem-  
 blances of Dæmons, imprest  
 on his mind? How should he be a Prince and  
 Lord over all, who hath procured for himself so  
 infinite a number of Cruel and hard Masters?  
 A servant to filthy pleasure; a servant to an  
 excessive madness for women; a servant to money  
 gotten by injustice; a servant of anger and rage;  
 a servant of fear and dread; a servant of bloody  
 Dæmons; and [lastly] a slave to soul-de-  
 stroying Spirits. Therefore, (Truth it self fa-  
 vouring us with its assent and Testimony,) this  
 Emperour, dear to the supream God, is the sole  
 Person that can truly be stiled an Emperour:  
 who only is free; or rather, who really is Lord.  
 Who is above the desire of money, and superiour  
 to the Love of women: a Vanquisher of plea-  
 sures, even of them which Nature does allow  
 of. Who is not overcome by anger and rage,  
 but has those passions perfectly within his own  
 power. He is really Emperour, and bears a  
 Title <sup>a</sup> answerable to his practise: being <sup>c</sup> truly a <sup>b</sup> περιμε-  
 λεῖν. The two last words are wanting in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.  
<sup>c</sup> Νικητής ἐνίκων. He alludes to Constantine's pronomen [fore-  
 name.]. For Constantine had taken to himself the Pronomen of Victor;  
 as I have noted at The Books concerning Constantine's Life. Valef.

Victor;



Victor; for he has gotten the Victory over those Passions, which are wont to overpower and conquer the minds of men. Who is formed according to that Primitive \* Idea of the supreme Emperour; and in his mind, as in a glass, expresses those Rayes of Vertues darted from that Celestial Original. From which [Rayes] he is made temperate; Good; Just;

<sup>f</sup> 'Ο ὅς ἐστι μόνος φιλόσοφος. In the Eusebian Copy 'tis, ἀλλοθὺς ὅς ἐστι μόνος; which is truer. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Some body will make an enquiry here, why Eusebius should say, that only Constantine was clothed with the Imperial Purple. For, there were at that time four Cæsars, who wore the Purple. Indeed, Amm. Marcellinus informs us, that the Cæsars wore the purple, in his Sixteenth Book, where he tells, how Constantius declared Julian, Cæsar. But it may be answered, that Eusebius does not say absolutely, that only Constantine was clothed with the Purple; but, that he alone deservedly wore the Purple. Valef.

who night and day invokes the Heavenly Father; who in his Prayers \* implores his Assistance; who burns with a desire of the Celestial Kingdom. For, whereas he understands, † Or, that things present are in no wise † to be compared with God the supreme King, (in regard they are mortal and frail, and like a River, transient, and continually perishing;) therefore he desires the incorruptible and incorporeal Kingdom of God. That Kingdom he prays that he may obtain; by a sublimity of thought, raising his mind above the Arch of Heaven, and being inflamed with an inexpressible desire of those Lights which shine there. In comparison with which Lights, he accounts the most valuable things of this life present, to be in nothing different from darkness. For he sees, that the dominion over men (in regard 'tis nothing else but a small and short administration of a mortal and temporary Life;) is not much better than the authority and power of Goat-herds, Shepherds and Neat-herds: yea rather, that 'tis more

<sup>h</sup> Δυσκολότερον. I read δυσκολότερον θηριώδον, a morose sort of Cattel, which I wonder the Translatour saw not. For man is the morosest of all Creatures, and is governed with the greatest difficulty. Valef.

<sup>i</sup> Περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς πιδέσθω. I write πιδέσθω, as 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. The Translatour understood not this expression; which we may render into Latine, word for word, in this manner: molestie potius deputat quam voluptatis, he places them to the account of trouble, rather than of pleasure. Valef.

\* The Constancy of his Morals: so Valefius.

<sup>k</sup> Τὴν οὖν ἀσπίδα ἀσποροῦσαν the Guard of His Subjects. It must, I think, be written, ἀσποροῦσαν. For, at this place Eusebius means two sorts of Subjects; namely, those in Arms, and the Provincials. Whereof the latter pay money and tributes to the Emperour; which Eusebius and Themistius do term ἀσποροῦσαν, with a soft word covering the bitterest thing of all. But, the former received money, as their

Valiant; Pious; a Lover of God: and, which is peculiar to him only, this our Emperour is really a Philosopher. For he is one that truly knows himself; and is sensible, that the supplies of every thing which is good, are bestowed on him from without, or rather from Heaven. One who demonstrates the August Title of his Monarchical Power, by the Eximious Ornament of his Imperial Robe; and who is the sole person, that is deservedly clothed with the Imperial Purple, which becomes him. This is the Emperour,

troublesome, or a Sovereignty over a morose sort of Cattel. And, as to the Acclamations of The Many, and the Voices of Flutterers, he esteems them to be troublesome, rather than delightful; by reason of \* the solidity of his disposition, and the sincere discipline of his mind. Moreover, as often as he beholds the \* dutifulness of His Subjects, his innumerable Forces, and those vast multitudes, as well of Horse as Foot, that are at his Beck and Command; he is not in the least stricken with admiration, nor does he swell with pride at his authority and power over them: but, turning

his thoughts upon himself, he \* acknowledges, in himself also, the common nature of all men. He laughs at the Garment made of Cloth of Gold interwoven with a variety of flowers, at the Imperial Purple, and at the Diadem it self: when he beholds the multitude stricken with an admiration of these things, and, wholly like children, gazing on this glorious pomp, as on some Bug-bear. But he himself is not in any wise so disturbed as they are; but does cloath his mind with the knowledge of God, as with a Garment Embroidered with Temperance, Justice, Piety, and the other Vertues; which is a dress that does really and truly become an Emperour. Besides all this, as for riches which are with so much earnestness desired by men; I mean Gold, and Silver, and whatever sorts of Stones are had in admiration; he understands them to be really Stones wholly unprofitable, and useless matter. Such therefore as they are in their own nature, such and so highly does he esteem them; as things that are not in the least conducive in order to the diverting of ill, and calamities. For, of what prevalency are these things towards the removal of Diseases, or the avoiding of death? Nevertheless, although he knows these things accurately well, being instructed by the very use of them; yet he is in no wise disturbed in his mind, at the decent Garb of his Subjects; but laughs at those persons, who by reason of their folly and simplicity † admire these things. Farther, he abstains from surfeiting and drunkenness, and from exquisite dainties and delicate dishes; in regard they are the proper business of Gluttons: it being his Sentiment, that these things appertain to others, not to himself. For he is convinc'd, that such debauches are extremely hurtful, and do cloud and darken the intellectual faculty of the Soul. On account of all these reasons, the Emperour, instructed in the knowledge of Divine matters, and endued with a great mind, aspires after better things than those of this present life: calling upon the Celestial Father, and earnestly desiring His Kingdom; and performing all things with a singular piety; and \* Or, who

Or, Sees. <sup>l</sup> Εἰς αὐτοῦ. It must doubtless be written, εἰς αὐτόν, upon himself; which I admire the Translatour perceived not. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Οὐδαμῶς αὐτός. The words are misplac'd here, as it is plain to any one. I read therefore, εἰδαμῶς δ' αὐτός τὸ ὅμοιον πεπονθὼς, ἐμνήσθην τὰ δέκα, &c; But he himself, &c. In the Eusebian Copy, the reading is ill, δὲ ἐμνήσθην τὰ δέκα, by reason of His knowledge of God. Valef.

Nevertheless, although he knows these things accurately well, being instructed by the very use of them; yet he is in no wise disturbed in his mind, at the decent Garb of his Subjects; but laughs at those persons, who by reason of their folly and simplicity † admire these things. Farther, he abstains from surfeiting and drunkenness, and from exquisite dainties and delicate dishes; in regard they are the proper business of Gluttons: it being his Sentiment, that these things appertain to others, not to himself. For he is convinc'd, that such debauches are extremely hurtful, and do cloud and darken the intellectual faculty of the Soul. On account of all these reasons, the Emperour, instructed in the knowledge of Divine matters, and endued with a great mind, aspires after better things than those of this present life: calling upon the Celestial Father, and earnestly desiring His Kingdom; and performing all things with a singular piety; and \* Or, who

<sup>n</sup> Ἀπὸ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διατίθεται. 'Tis the same with what he has said above, εἰδαμῶς δ' αὐτός τὸ ὅμοιον πεπονθὼς. Further, this whole passage is thus to be distinguished and explained; ὅμως δ' ἐν καίρῳ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὁπισθεύων αὐτὸν τῇ χερί, πρὸς εὐπρεπίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπεθῆ λογισμὸν διατίθεται. That is, Nevertheless, although, &c. Which is the same as if he should say: he desires not the wealth or riches of His Subjects, nor does he envy them their comely garb and dress, as envious and covetous princes are wont to do. Such a one was Valentinianus the Elder, who hated all those that were rich and well-clothed, as Amm. Marcellinus relates. Constantine was not of that mind: for he both valued very little his own habit and dress; and also was not troubled, at his Subjects being gorgeously apparelled. I have therefore spent some words in explaining this passage; because it was both obscure, and also not understood by the Translatour. Valef.

are instructed by a good master. † Or, who

Moreover, God affording him, as an Earnest, some Pledges of a future Retribution, VI. confers on him a Tricennalian Crowns, platted <sup>o</sup> Τριχεννάλια στεφάνες. He alludes to the Golden Crowns, which the Provincials were wont to present the Roman Emperours with, not only at their entrance upon the Empire, but in their Quinquennalia also, and Decennalia. Valef.



and made up of prosperous and happy Circles of Years. And having now completed three Cycles of ten Years, he permits the whole Body of mankind to celebrate<sup>b</sup> publick, or rather universall Feasts.

\* Πανήγυρις δὲ μέλλων. Any one may see, that it should be written thus, πανήγυρις, μέλλων δὲ ποσειδῶντος ἐοικώς. For Eusebius says, that these Feasts of the Tricennalia were celebrated, not only by a numerous confluence of the People, but also by the common joy of the whole World. For some Feasts are publick, others private. Some are peculiar to Cities, others to a whole Province. Some are Feasts of the whole Roman World; as the Calends of January, the Birth day of the Emperors, their Quinquennalia, and the like. Indeed, in the Eusebian Copy I found it written as I had conjectured. Valef.

\* Or, Blessings.

\* Μέγας δὲ ἀνθρώπων. This place, in my judgment, is to be reformed thus: ὡς μὴ ἀπαρκεῖν τῆς ἐν δαξίᾳ ἀειδύας τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμεῖν, ἀντὶν δὲ ὅτι μὴ μισοῖν ἡμῶν, εἰς μακρόν ὡς ἀπείρου ἀιώνα; In so much that he is not satisfied, &c. The mistake arose from the Word ἡμεῖν, which the Transcribers changed into ῥῥῥῥ, by an easie mistake. But, if any one has a mind to retain ῥῥῥῥ, then it is to be written ὡς ἀπείρου ἀιώνα. Valef.

\* Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντὶ μακρόχρονον. Questionless it is to be written ὡς τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ μακρόχρονον ἐφίεσται; ἐξελύσσεται δὲ ἀπείρου. So the Translator read also, and so we have rendered it. Eusebius himself confirms this Emendation; for soon after this, he writes thus concerning the present time, ὡς δὲ γὰρ νῦν ἀντὶ μακρόχρονον, ὡς μακρόχρονον, &c. But [that part of it] termed it's time present, &c.

\* Μῦθος τὸ μέλλον. The Translator renders it, *medium futurum* Tempus aut prateritum; much less Time future, or Time past. Whence 'tis apparent, that he read μακρόχρονον τὸ μέλλον, excellently well. In the Eusebian Copy 'tis, μὴ πὺν τὸ μέλλον. Valef.

\* Ὁ δὲ παλαιός. I write, ὁ δὲ παλαιός, and have rendered it accordingly. For he speaks concerning the time past. A little after I read, ἐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ὅλας ὁπώρας, Nor is it at all possible, &c. Valef.

to be subjected to the thoughts and accounts of Men; but disdains to serve them. Nevertheless, it refuses not, to acknowledge<sup>b</sup> God its own

\* Τὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέα. In its Back, priding it self in all those<sup>b</sup> Gayeties, my judgment it hath received from Him. But God

should be, δὲν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέα; in which manner also the Translator read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Eusebius alludes to a passage of Saint Paul the Apostle, who calls God βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων, *King of Ages*. Valef.

\* Τὸς δὲ ἀντὶ μακρόχρονον. He means the days, months, and years; and the vicissitudes of seasons, &c. wherewith God hath adorned Ævum. Valef.

But, in the interim that Mortals rejoice on Earth, [crowned] with the Flowers of the knowledge of God, it would not be absurd to imagine, that even the Quires in Heaven, incited by the Laws of Nature, do rejoice likewise together with those that dwell on Earth. And [tis probable,] that even the Supreme King himself, like an indulgent Father, is affected with Gladness, whilst He beholds Good Sons paying a due worship to God: and, that for this reason chiefly, He does honour the Prince and Author of those<sup>a</sup> things, with many Circles of Years. In so much that, he is not satisfied with giving him thirty Years Reign;<sup>a</sup> but extends it to the longest time, and perpetuates it to an immense Ævum. Now, entire

\* Ævum neither grows old at any time, nor does it die: neither can the minds of mortals discern, either its Beginning or End. Nor does it suffer its own Center to be perceived,<sup>a</sup> nor that time which is termed its present, to be comprehended by<sup>†</sup> any

\* See note (k.) in this chapter.

† Or, Those that are desirous. Time future, or Time past. For, this Latter is not, in regard 'tis already gone. And the Time Future is not yet come; wherefore, it is not. But, [that part of it] termed its Time present, flyeth away whilst we think or speak, yea sooner. Nor is it at all possible, that it should be apprehended as Time present: for we must of necessity, either except things future, or contemplate things past.

For [The present] slips away, and flies as quick as Thought. Thus therefore entire Ævum suffers not it Self

to be subjected to the thoughts and accounts of

King and Lord; and it carries Him sitting on its Back, priding it self in all those<sup>b</sup> Gayeties, [which it hath received] from Him. But God

should be, δὲν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέα; in which manner also the Translator read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Eusebius alludes to a passage of Saint Paul the Apostle, who calls God βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων, *King of Ages*. Valef.

\* Τὸς δὲ ἀντὶ μακρόχρονον. He means the days, months, and years; and the vicissitudes of seasons, &c. wherewith God hath adorned Ævum. Valef.

sitting above, and driving it on, has not bound it fast with a Golden Chain, according to the fiction of the Poet; but, curbing and holding it in with the cords of an unspeakable Wisdom, as 'twere with some Reins; with all imaginable Harmony he has constituted in it, Months and Times, Seasons, and Years, and the interchangeable distances of Nights and Days; and has circumscribed it with various Limits and Measures. For, Ævum, of its own nature, is<sup>i</sup> direct or straight, and<sup>\*</sup> reaches to an immensity; and has taken the name of Ævum, <sup>k</sup> as 'twere ἀντὶ [that is, always existing;] and is it self like its own parts; or rather, being void both of parts and distance, doth increase, being prolonged into<sup>†</sup> rectitude only. But God hath divided it by middle || Segments, and, like a right line stretch'd into Longitude, hath severed it by points, and hath included in it a vast multitude.

which place he discourses at large concerning Ævum, according to the Opinion of the Platonists. See the same Author, in chap. 51. and 54. of his Platonick Institutions. But Eusebius does partly follow Plato's Opinion, and partly recedes from it. For, whereas he says, that Ævum does neither grow old, nor die; that 'tis uniform, and always like it self; that it wants parts, and distinction or difference; in that he agrees with Plato. But, when he affirms that it goes on and increases; when he makes past, present, and future time, to be Species, or Kinds of it; in this he disagrees, both from Plato, and from himself. For, what ever proceeds on and increases, must of necessity have parts. In Plato, Ævum is nothing else but Eternity. For Plato makes Ævum immovable; according to the likeness whereof, he affirms, that God created Time, which he gives this definition of, a moveable Image of an immoveable Ævum, proceeding on in number and order; as it occurs in his Timæus. Chalcidius, on Plato's Timæus, is right: temporis, says he, proprium progredi; ævæ propria mansio, &c. 'Tis the property of Time to go forward: continuance is the property of Ævum, and a perseverance in being always the same. Also, there are parts of time, namely days, nights, and years: Ævum has no parts. Likewise, the Species of Time are several, past, present, future: the substance of Ævum is uniform, in the sole and proper Present. But Eusebius took Ævum for Sævum, or rather, for the whole Mass and Collection of Times, at I may so say. For his words are, ὁ οὐρανὸς αἰών. 'Tis certain, in the Sacred Scriptures, αἰών and αἰῶνες are taken for time. For Time is taken two ways. The one is Particular, which is attributed to things single or particular. The other general, which is not more agreeable to this thing, than to that. And this the Ancients termed Ævum, as Censorinus informs us in his Book de Die Natali, chap. 16. Where he defines Ævum in this manner; tempus unum & maximum, &c. one and the greatest Time, immense, without beginning, without end, which always was in the same manner, and always will be; nor does it belong more to any one Man, than to another. Then he adds, that this Ævum is divided into three times, past, present, and future. In which he plainly agrees with our Eusebius. The same is likewise asserted by Marius Victorinus on Gregory's Books de Inventione Rhetoricæ. Chap. 75. But Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 35 and 42, takes Ævum for Eternity; where see what Pselus and Elias Gretenfis have noted. Valef.

And, whereas it was one, and exactly like an Unit; He hath bound it with a variety of numbers; and from its being without Form, hath made in it<sup>\*</sup> manifold and various Forms. Or, A For first of all, He framed in it matter void of manifold Form, as some substance fit to receive all Forms. variety of forms.

In the second Place, He created Quality in matter, by the power of the number Two; making that beautiful, which before was void of all comeliness. Afterwards, by [the help of] the number Three, he framed a

Body, <sup>i</sup> compounded of Matter and Form, consisting of three Dimensions, namely, Latitude; Longitude, and Profundity. Then, from the number Two doubled, he devised<sup>†</sup> the Quaternion of the Elements; Earth; Water; Air; Fire; which he produced as some four in

† Or, The Element; which are everlasting number,

<sup>i</sup> Εὐθύτης ἄν. I read εὐθύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ. <sup>\*</sup> Is extended, or prolonged. <sup>k</sup> Ὅμοιος ἀντὶ. Proclus (Book 4. on Plato's Timæus pag. 241.) produces the same Etymologie of αἰών; at

<sup>i</sup> Σύνθετον δὲ ὅλας ἐπέμ. It should, I think, be written, σύνθετον δὲ ὅλας ἐπέμ, ὡς ἐπὶ σῶμα. In the Eusebian Copy, the word ἐπέμ is wanting; excellently well. Valef.

† Or, The Element; which are everlasting number,



\*Xορηγῶν; everlasting Fountains, in order to the \* supply of this Universe. Farther, the number Four renders it, begets the number Ten. For, One; Two; Three; Four; make up the number Ten. The number Three † multiplied by the number Ten, bath ‖ produced the space of a Month. And a Month by twelve Circuits or Turns, finishes the Course of the Sun. Hence the Circles of Years, and the changes of Seasons, have delineated and express'd Ævum, which before was void both of Form and Shape, as 'twere in a variety of Paint [made up] of many Flowers; in order to the ease and

\*Or, Ride. delight of those, who therein \* run over the Course of Life. For, as those Persons (who in hope of winning Prizes, perform the Courses in a Race,) have the distances set out to them, by Stadia or determinate quantities of Ground: and as they who travel long Journeys, find the

† Limited, publick Road † beset as 'twere, with some Man- or circum- sions and Stages; least any Person, by having scribed. his Expectation drawn out to an immense length, should be quite tired, and abate of his Alacrity and vigour of Mind: after the very same man- ner also, God the Supream Emperor, having confined the whole Mass of Time within the Lines of Wisdom, leads and manages it; and like a

Chariotter, governs it variously, according as it seems good to Himself. The same Moderator of the Universe, having bedeck'd Ævum, which before was void of Figure, with beautiful Colours and fresh Flowers, has adorned the Day with Brightness and the Rays of the Sun: but, over the Night he bath spread a ‖ darker Colour, and has made the Lights of the Stars to glisten therein, like some Bits or Spangles of Gold. And having light up the bright Rays of the Day-Star, and the various Splendor of the Moon, and the most resplendent Companies of the Stars; he has Crowned the whole Heaven, is 'twere some large

\* Veil, or Embroidered \* Vesture, with the manifold Beauties of Colours. Also when he had extended the Air from a vast height to a great depth, and by its help had <sup>m</sup> cooled the length and

breadth of the whole World; he commanded it to be grac'd with all sorts of Birds; having opened this vast Sea as 'twere, wherein all those [Creatures] which pass throw the Air, as well the <sup>n</sup> invisible as visible, might swim. Lastly, having be read in poyz'd the Earth in the middle like the Center, he encompassed it with the Ocean, <sup>o</sup> priding it self in that its green-coloured Mantle. And after he had made This the Residence, Nurse, and Mother of all Creatures that are therein;

and by its help or power had cooled, &c. In which manner the Translator read, And so I found it written in the Fuk. Copy. Valef.

\* He seems to mean the Aerial Demons, concerning whom he hath spoken above, in the beginning of this Oration. Farther, we may understand here as well the Good Demons, as the bad. For the good Spirits also, whom we term Angels, pass thorow the Air; as 'twere soire Embassadors and Interpreters, carrying our desires to God, and bringing to us answers, and favours from God. Of which, even the ancient Philosophers were not ignorant. But, The Translator thought, that at this place Eusebius spake of Fishes. Concerning the Aerial Demons, St. Austin (Epist. 49.) speaks thus. *Quanto perniciosius est Sacrificare Dæmoniis, &c. How much more destructive is it to Sacrifice to Demons, that is, to an ill Spiritual Creature, which dwelling in this nearest and dark Heaven, as in its Aerial Prison, is predestinated to Eternal Punishment.*—Valef.

\* Κουανὸν χράματι καλλωπισθῆναι. I write καλλωπισθῆναι. He speaks elegantly, in saying that the Earth is clothed with the Ocean, as with a green Mantle. So David, Psalm 104. 6. *Thou coveredst it with the Deep as with a Garment: namely the Earth, as Theodoret explains it, and St. Jerom on Haggai Chap. 1.* Farther those words [οὐρανὸν δὲ τε πόλιν] ἐπ' αὐτῷ must be blotted out, as being superfluous, and wholly disagreeable to this place; wherefore we have omitted them in our Version. They are a piece of a Verse of Homer's out of his Second Iliad. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, οὐρανὸν δὲ τε πόλιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς ὁρίζουσι καὶ ὁ χράματι καλῶς ποιῆται. Valef.

and had moistened it partly with Showers, and partly with Waters issuing from Springs; He commanded it to flourish and grow green with all sorts of Plants and beautiful Flowers, in order to the delight and Pleasure of Humane Life. And having therein formed a most excellent and honourable Creature, dear to the Divinity it self, according to His own Image; namely \* Man, <sup>\* Or, Rational Man.</sup> endued with a mind and knowledge, and the Offspring of Reason and Wisdom; on him He conferred the Government and Empire over all the other Creatures, which creep upon the Earth and have their Sustenance from it. For, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, Man was the dearest to God; and like an Indulgent Father He permitted, that all sorts of irrational Creatures should pay their Service and Obedience to Him. [ 'Twas ] Man, for whose sake He made the Sea navigable, and Crowned the Earth with all manner of Plants. On him He bestowed knowing and intellecive Faculties and Powers, in order to his being rendred capable of all manner of Learning and Sciences. Into his Hands He bath delivered, as well those Creatures which swim in the Depths, as the Fowls which fly in the Air. To him He bath laid open the knowledge and contemplation of things Celestial; and bath discovered [to him] the Courses of the Sun, and changes of the Moon, and the Circuits of the Planets and fixed Stars. [ Lastly, ] 'twas Man alone, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, to whom He gave order, that he should acknowledge the Celestial Father, and with Hymns should laud and praise the Supream Emperor of intire Ævum. Besides all these things, that Great Framer of the World, bath begirt immutable Ævum with four changes of the Year; the Winter-season He has bounded with the Spring: <sup>a</sup> but the

Spring, which is the beginning of the Seasons of the Year He has weighed as 'twere in an equal Balance. Then, when He had Crowned Universal Ævum with the manifold Fruits of the Spring, <sup>a</sup> He delivered it to the parching heat of the Summer. After this, having allowed a cessation from Labour as 'twere, He bath refresh'd it with the interval of Autumn. Lastly, when he has wash'd \* it (being as 'twere some Royal Steed,) in the moist Falls of Winter Showers, and has rendred it Slick and Gay by the Waters which flow from † above, and has sufficiently fatned it with the continual waterings of the Rain; He again places it at the fore-gates of the Spring. When therefore the supream Emperor, had in this manner bound fast His own Ævum, within the Circle of the whole Year, by such Reins of Divine Wisdom as these; He delivered it to be managed by a <sup>r</sup> Greater Governour, namely, <sup>r</sup> He His own only-begotten Word; to whom, as being the common Preserver of all things, He has committed the Reins of this Universe. But He, <sup>er</sup> not Father Himself; but means Him to be greater than all others. And perhaps any body would guess, that Eusebius had written, <sup>er</sup> by a Left. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> "Εὰν δ' ἐπινοήσωμεν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆν. I had rather write, ἐκ δὲ, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν δέδωκεν. Something seems to be wanting here, which we may make up in this manner; *δέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ἀμῶντος δέδωκεν.* But, upon a more diligent enquiry into the thing, I am of opinion, that nothing is wanting here. I read therefore, *δέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν παρὰ δέδωκεν,* He delivered it, &c. understand *τὴν ἀῖωνα,* Ævum: nor did the Translator read otherwise. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, *δέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν δέδωκεν.* Valef.

\* That is, Ævum; as appears from the following period. † Or, Himself.

having



having received an Inheritance as 'twere, from a most excellent Father; and having bound together all things, which are contained as well in the inner, as more outward Compass of Heaven,

† Εὐθεία περαιν. In the Fuckerian Copy 'tis truer written, εὐθεία; and after the verb περαιν a middle distinction is placed. Valef.

earth. And having appointed a certain and fix'd space of living to Mortals, He has given all Men leave, that even in this Life they should be exercised in the \* preludes of a better and an eternal Life. For He hath taught, that after the Term of this present Age, there is a Divine and happy Life; treasur'd up and reserved for them, who in the hopes of Celestial Enjoyments, have undergone the Combat of this Life. And, that there shall be a Translation and Removal of those, who have spent their Lives soberly, modestly, and piously, from hence to a better Allotment: but, for them, who shall have been detected of Impieties in this Life, [He has given notice,] that there is an agreeable Place provided. After this, (as 'tis wont to be in the Distributions of Prizes and Rewards in the Games,) having with a loud voice pronounced various Crowns [to be due]

† ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἐτέροις. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἀρετῶν βεβηλοῖς σεραναῖς, He crownech different, &c. which writing the following words do manifestly confirm. In the Fuckerian Copy 'tis written, ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἐτέροις. Valef.

† Μονίῳ δὲ τετρασίων. The first word is wanting in the Fuckerian Copy; and the want of it is no fault, if I mistake not. But there is also another fault here. Wherefore this whole place is, in my opinion, thus to be corrected; εἰσεύδον ἡδὺ παννυχελίαν δίδωσιν ἐοικῆ τέλειον ὅς αἰθρῶν συζημεν. δεκάδων μὲν τετρασίων, τεκάδων δὲ δεκαπλάσιον. He permits to be celebrated, &c. Than which amendment there is nothing more certain. For the Festivity of the Tricennalia, concerning which Eusebius treats, consists of perfect numbers; to wit, Tens trebled, and Threes ten times repeated. Eusebius's following words, concerning The Denary, or Number Ten, do plainly confirm our Emendation. Valef.

from μόνιον, to stay or continue. For, whereas all Multitude is lessened and increased, according to the diminution or addition of Numbers; an Unite alone has stability and firmness, as its allotment; being separated from all Multitude, and from those Numbers produc'd from it self. And therefore it bears a lively Resemblance of that Indivisible † Essence; which is severed from all others; by the power and participation whereof, the nature of all things doth subsist. For, an Unite is the Framer of every Number; in as much as every Multitude does consist of a composition and addition of Unites. Nor is it possible, without an Unite, to have a conception in our thoughts of the substance of Numbers. But, an Unite, it self, subsists without a Multitude; being separated at the greatest distance from, and far better than all Numbers;

† Or, Substance.

ven, in one harmonious consent; † proceeds straight forward: and with all imaginable equity makes provision of those things that are of use to his rational Flocks on

to the Victors, He Crowneth

different Persons with the different rewards of their Vertues. But, for a Good Emperour adorned with Piety, he declares far greater and more valuable Rewards of his Conflicts to be provided. Some Beginnings whereof he permits to be celebrated even here, namely, a Festivity composed of perfect numbers; \* of Tens trebled, and of Threes ten times repeated. Whereof the first

\* Ternary, is the Off-spring of an Unite: an Unite is the Mother of Numbers, and does preside over all Months, Seasons, and Years; and also, over all Circles of Times. Moreover, it may deservedly be stiled the Beginning, the Foundation, and the Element of all Multitude; being termed μὲν, as

from μόνιον, to stay or continue. For, whereas all Multitude is lessened and increased, according to the diminution or addition of Numbers; an Unite alone has stability and firmness, as its allotment; being separated from all Multitude, and from those Numbers produc'd from it self. And therefore it bears a lively Resemblance of that Indivisible † Essence; which is severed from all others; by the power and participation whereof, the nature of all things doth subsist. For, an Unite is the Framer of every Number; in as much as every Multitude does consist of a composition and addition of Unites. Nor is it possible, without an Unite, to have a conception in our thoughts of the substance of Numbers. But, an Unite, it self, subsists without a Multitude; being separated at the greatest distance from, and far better than all Numbers;

making and constituting all things; but it self receiving an increase from none. Nearly related hereto is the Ternarie, which in like manner can neither be cut in sunder, nor divided; and is the first of Numbers that are made up of Even and Odd. For the even number Two, having an Unite added to it, hath produced the Ternarie, which is the first of odd Numbers. Moreover the Ternarie first shew'd [Men] Justice, by teaching them Equality? for it has a Beginning, Middle, and End, all Equal. And these things give a Representation of the Mystick, most Holy, and Royal Trinity: which though it consists in a nature that is void of Beginning and \* Generation, yet contains in it \* Of Self the Seeds, and Reasons, and Causes of the Birth: Substance of all things which have Generation. And the Power of the Ternarie may deservedly be thought the Beginning of all things. But the number Ten, which contains the End or Term of all numbers, Stops and Bounds all things [proceeding] as far as it self: and 'tis with good reason stiled full, and every way perfect: in regard it comprehends all the Species, and all the Measures, of all Numbers, † Ratio's, Concords, and Harmonies. 'Tis certain, Unites being by Composition increased, are terminated by the || Denarie: and having the Ten.

Decade, allotted to them, as their mother, \* and fix'd Boundary; as 'twere in the Cirque they run round this \* Meta. Then, having performed a second Circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, and so on as far as Ten; of ten Tens they make up the Hundredth Number. After this they return to the first † Carceres. From whence they begin again, and proceed on to Ten; and having run round the

Hundredth Number Ten times, going back again, they perform long Courses round the same Metæ; returning by a Circuit from themselves into themselves. For, of the number Ten, an Unite is the tenth part; and ten Unites make up one Denarie. But, a Denarie or Decade is the Limit, the \* Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundary of Unites: the Meta of the infinity of Numbers; but \* the End, that is, the perfection of Unites. Moreover, the Ternarie joined together with the Denarie, and having performed the third period of ten Circuits, produces that most natural Number, the Number Thirty. For, that which in Unites is the Ternarie, the same in Denaries is the Tricenarie or Thirtieth Number. And this is the firm and certain Limit of that great Luminary, which is the second from the Sun. For the Course of the Moon, from one conjunction with the Sun to the next, compleats the Circle of a Month: after which, She again receives a Beginning of Birth as 'twere, and does again begin new Light, and new Days: being grac'd with thirty Unites; honoured with three Decades; and beau-

ty. For, that which in Unites is the Ternarie, the same in Denaries is the Tricenarie or Thirtieth Number. And this is the firm and certain Limit of that great Luminary, which is the second from the Sun. For the Course of the Moon, from one conjunction with the Sun to the next, compleats the Circle of a Month: after which, She again receives a Beginning of Birth as 'twere, and does again begin new Light, and new Days: being grac'd with thirty Unites; honoured with three Decades; and beau-

† Πηχάδων ἀεισσηφόν. It must, I think, be written, πηχάδων, &c. and fix'd Boundary: So he calls the number Ten, because 'tis the Term and Meta of Numbers. But, by fetching an Elegant Metaphor from the Cirque, he says that Unites do run round the number Ten, as 'twere the Meta. Wherefore, εἰς τὸν δρόμον was to have been translated tanquam in Circo, as 'twere in the Cirque. Hence 'tis, that a little after this, he names the Carceres also, where his words are, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἀναγέρχων ἀφ' ἑσῆς, they return or run back to the first Carceres: Valef.

\* Καμνήν κατὰστατός. The words must, I think, be placed otherwise, and read thus, καμνήν, ὅς κατὰστατός, the Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundary. 'Tis the same with what he says hereafter, ὅς κατὰστατός, the firm and certain Limit. In the Fuckerian Copy the reading is, ὅς καμνήν. Valef.

\* Or, The Limit and the End of Unites.

† Τεκάδων τε μὲν καμνήν.



σα μινδς. rified with ten Ternaries. With the very same Doubtless [Graces] is the Empire of Our Victor Augustus, and Lord of the whole world, <sup>2</sup> adorned, by the Bestower of all things that are good; and enters upon a beginning of new blessings: having hitherto accomplished the Tricennalian Festivities only; but now from hence forward entering upon longer intervals of

<sup>2</sup> Ως τς πάντων ἀγαθῶν δοτῆς τετιμημένῳ. It must be made τετιμημένα, as may be plainly gathered from the following and preceding words. For it follows, Σοφισμένητα, ἐφαπτόμενα, and ποσειδάμενα. And the foregoing words are, τὰ τῆς κοσμοκρτοεὶκῆς ἀρχῆς. Which expression seems to me rough and unpleasant: and I should choose barely to say, ἡ κοσμοκρτοεὶκῆ ἀρχὴ τετιμημένη, &c. And this Emendation is likewise confirmed, by the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡλίῳ κρείττονα ἐπαυμένῳ. Perhaps it should be ἐπαυμένῳ. So indeed I found it written in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν ἀγαθῶν ἀκρίστοις καὶ ἀνεστόις, pure: perhaps Eusebius had written ἀνεστόις, invifible. Valef.

\* Or, Rays.

temperate and most Time; a long and endless Ævum, enlarged to Spaces bounded by no Term: not any more [distinguished] by the intervals of days and months; nor measured by the Circles of Years, and the periods of seasons and Times: but sufficient for one life continued to an immensity. Which is not enlighbined by the Sun, nor illustrated by the multitude of the Stars, or \* Splendour of the Moon: but has that Luminary it self, God the Word, the only-begotten Son of the Supream Emperour. On which account, the Divine Discourses of Mystick Theology, do declare Him to be that Sun of Righteousness, and a Light which far transcends all Lights. We do firmly believe, that the very same person does illustrate those most blessed Powers, with the Rays of Justice, and the beams of Wisdom: and, that He does take the Souls of men, adorned with true Piety, not into the Circumference of Heaven, but into His own Bosom: and, that He does really confirm and fulfil His own promises. But the eye of Mortals hath not seen, nor hath any ear heard; neither can a mind cloathed with flesh, be able to discern and look into those things, which are prepared for them who have been adorned with Piety: as likewise for You also, Most Religious Emperour! To whom alone, of all persons that ever were, God Himself the Supream Emperour of this Universe, has granted this, that You should cleanse and reform the Life of men. To whom also He hath shown His own Salutory Sign; by the power whereof having conquered Death, He <sup>c</sup> celebrated a Triumph over His Enemies. Which Trophy of Victory, and

<sup>c</sup> Ἡμεῖς δὲ λαμβάνον, raised a Triumph.

He had better have said, ἡμεῖς, Lead, or celebrated. For 'tis not said, ἐστειν δὲ λαμβάνον, but εἰσεν. Indeed, εἰσεν may properly be said concerning a Trophy. Valef.

gainst the Images of Error; You <sup>d</sup> gained the Victory over all impious Enemies and Barbarians, as also over the Dæmons themselves, who are another sort of Barbarians.

have read, ἡμεῖς νίκας and thought that these words were spoken concerning Christ. But, after I had look'd more narrowly into the thing, I perceived, that these words are spoken in the Second Person. For Eusebius speaks to the Emperour himself. 'Tis certain, those words καὶ πάντων ἀδελῶν πολεμίων τε καὶ σαρκῶν, over all impious Enemies and Barbarians, do evince that this is spoken concerning the Emperour. Valef.

**F**OR, Whereas there are in us two \* Sub-CHAP. stances conjoyned, namely, Soul and Body; VII. whereof the Latter is exposed to view, but the \* Or, other remains invisible: against both these, Nature, two sorts of Enemies and Barbarians, the one covertly, the other openly, have set themselves in array. And, the one of them opposes Bodies against Bodies: but the other assaults Man's naked Soul it self, with all sorts of incorporeal Engines. Farther, those visible Barbarians, like some salvage <sup>a</sup> Nomades, in nothing different from Wild-beasts, make an attack upon the meek and gentle Flocks of Men; ruin and depopulate Countries; enslave Cities; [rush] out of the Desert, like fierce and furious Wolves, and fall upon the Inhabitants of Cities; after which they destroy as many as they can. But the invisible Enemies, I mean the Soul-destroying Dæmons, who are far more fierce and cruel than all Barbarians; flie about the Regions of this Air, and by the Engines of mischievous Polytheism, had reduced all mankind under their Power: in so much that, the true God was not by them any longer look'd upon as God; but they wandred up and down in manifold error, without any worship of the Deity. For, having procured for themselves Gods from I know not whence, who have not any Being or Existence in any place whatever; they wholly neglected and undervalued Him who is the only, and the true God, as if He were not. Hence it was, that the Generation of Bodies was by them reputed and worship'd as a God; as also, a contrary Deity hereto, to wit, the Destruction and Dissolution of Bodies. And the former of these Gods in regard He was the Author of Generation, was honoured with the Rites of Venus. But the Latter, because He abounded with Riches, and in Strength excelled Mankind, was named Pluto and \* Orcus. \* Or, For, whereas the Men of that Age, acknow-Death- ledged no other Life, save that which takes its beginning from Generation; therefore they asserted the Cause and Origin of that Life to be a God. And, whereas they believed Men not to exist any more after Death; they declared Death to be the Vanquisher of all, and a Great God. Then, concluding, that on account of that dissolution by Death, they were in no wise Accountable hereafter for what was performed here; they resolved upon living such a Life, as in effect was no Life; perpetrating such Facts, as deserved to be punished with ten Thousand Deaths. For, they had not their Minds taken up, with the thoughts of God; they expected not

<sup>a</sup> Νομάδες ννῆς. The Translator has done ill in rendering it, Pastores, Shepherds. I would rather retain the Greek word, or else render it Vagos, Wanderers. For so the Latines termed those Barbarians, who sitting on their Horses, or in Waggon, were carried this way and that way, without any House or settled habitation. Such persons as these, because, in order to their getting food, they would range about to find places abounding with pasture; were termed νομάδες. A little after, in the Fukeian Copy the reading is, λυμνῶντες ὅσους αὐτὸν δύναται, destroying as many as they can. Valef.



\* Or, Sub- not the Tribunals; of the Divine judgment; nor call'd to remembrance the \* Nature of their own Souls: but acknowledging a subjection to one Cruel Patron, Death; and fully

καὶ τὸ ἐν τούτοις ὅτι ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς θανάτου. At my peril write ἐν τούτοις, by it; understand death. And so the reading is in the Eusebian Copy. A little before, the Geneva-men had left out a word; which, from the Eusebian Copy, I have supplied in this manner, ἀξία δὲ τῆς θανάτου. Valef.

ly persuading themselves, that the destruction of bodies effected by it, was the dissolution [and annihilation] of the whole man; they declared Death to be a great and a rich God; and for that reason gave him the name of Pluto or Dis.

Death therefore was to them a God; and not he alone; but whatever else they accounted valuable in comparison of Death; namely those things which were conducive, in order to the rendering their Lives pleasant and delicate. For, the pleasure of the Body was by them accounted a God; nourishment was a God; the growth of those things [that produce nutriment,] a God; the fruit of Trees, a God; Drunkenness and Luxury, a God; the desire of things, Carnal, a God; the Pleasure of those things, a God. Hence [came] the Mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina; hence the Ravishment of the Virgin [Proserpina] by Pluto, and Her, Restoration again. Hence Bacchus's Initiations and Ceremonies; and Hercules vanquished by drunkenness, as by a more powerful God. Hence the adulterous Rites of Cupid and Venus. Hence Jupiter himself enraged with a Lust after women, and in Love with Ganymede: hence the fictions of Lascivious Fables, concerning Gods addicted to pleasure, Wantonness, and Luxury. With such

† Or, Flesh.

|| Or, Bodies.

\* Or, God- opposing Error.

οἱ γὰρ τότε κατεῖν νομίζοντο. By these words Eusebius either means the Emperours themselves, who had persecuted the Christian Religion; or else all the Heathens. For these prevail'd at that time, before the Christian Religion had obtained throughout the whole world. As therefore the Christian Religion was afterwards termed ἡ κατὰ θεὸν δόξα, and the Christians οἱ κατὰ θεὸν (as I have noted at the Books of Eusebius's Eccles. Histor.) so the Gentiles, as long as their superstition flourish'd, are rightly termed οἱ κατὰ θεὸν. Yet below, at the beginning of the ninth Chapter, he has used τοὺς τότε κατεῖν to signify the Emperours. Valef.

to pay a worship and observance to the Deity. After this manner, these men, seized with a distraction of mind, sacrificed persons consecrated to the supream King, to their own Dæmons. But They, in regard they were courageous Witnesses of true Piety, and had been accustomed to prefer a glorious death in defence of truth, before life it self, did not in the least value so severe a Tyranny: but rather, as it became

the Souldiers of God, being fortified with the Arms of Patience, they despised and laugh'd at every sort of Death; namely Fire, Sword, and the piercings of Nails; the wild Beasts; the depths of the Sea; the cutting off, and afterwards searing of Limbs; digging out of Eyes; mutilations of the whole Body; and lastly, Famine, the Mines, and Bonds. All which, by reason of that Love and ardency of Affection they bore to their own King, they accounted sweeter than all the Pleasures and Enjoyments [of this Life.] The Minds likewise of the tenderer Sex were Valiant and Stout, endued with a Courage nothing inferiour to that of Men; some of whom underwent the very same Combats with Men, and obtained equal rewards of Valour. Others, when drag'd away to be ravish'd, sooner resign'd their Lives to Death, than their Bodies to Ravishment. And vast other numbers of them, not enduring so much as to bear the Menaces of Ravishment, wherewith they were threatened by the Presidents of Provinces, with a valiant Mind endured all sorts of Tortures, and [the Execution of] every Capital Sentence. In this manner the Vauntguard of the supream Emperour, with an undaunted Courage of Mind maintained the Fight, against their Army who paid a worship to many Gods. But the [Dæmons,] who are the adversaries of God, and Enemies to the Salvation of Men; demonstrating more of Cruelty than any the most Savage Barbarian, rejoiced in such Libations of humane Blood. And their Assistants and Ministers, quaff'd to them such Cups as these, filled with Blood unjustly shed; providing for them this direful and impious Banquet, to the ruin and destruction of humane kind. Affairs being in this posture; what ought to have been done by God, the King of those that were oppress'd? Ought He to be careless of the safety of his dearest [Dependents,] and to neglect his own Servants, when in this bloody manner assaulted? Doubtless, He can never be termed a prudent Pilot, who shall suffer his Vessel, together with the Men on Board, to be sunk, without contributing any thing of his own Assistance, in order to the Preservation of the Ships-company. Nor, can that person be stiled a wary and provident General, who shall render up his Allies to the Enemy, unreveng'd and undefended. Neither will a good Shepherd be unconcerned for, and careless of a Sheep straying from the rest of his Flock: but will rather leave all the other, which are safe and in good condition; and will most readily suffer any thing whatever, on account of preserving that Sheep which has strayed; being ready, should there be a necessity, to encounter even with fierce and ra-

read ἀσεβῆ, impious, with the Translator; in the Eusebian Copy, 'tis written, ἀσεβῆ. Valef. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσεβῆς ὅτι ποτ' ἀν' ἀρχαίαν. I should choose to write, ὅτι ἀσεβῆς ποτ' ἀν', &c; Doubtless, He can never, &c; So in the following period, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ποτ' ἀν' ἀρχαίαν ἀρετῆς, &c; nor can that person, &c; where ὅτι is put for ἐνείη. Valef.

ἡ Γένεσις ἀρετῆς. I know indeed, that a Commander who spares not his own Life, may be termed ἀρετῆς. But, in regard this is a commendation befitting a Soldier, rather than a Commander; and because the term ἀρετῆς is wont to be most commonly taken in an ill sense; therefore, at this place I would more willingly read εὐπειδῆς, that is, a wary and provident General. So Amm. Marcellinus, speaking concerning Corbulo the most fam'd Commander of the Romans, gives him this Elogy, Provinciarum fidus defensor & cautus, a faithful and wary Defender of the Provinces. Nevertheless, if any one had rather retain the common reading, I will not gain-say it. Valef.

ἡ Πλατεία ἀνδρείου. The amendment of this place was obvious: For who sees not that it should be, πλεῖστον ἀνδρείου in which manner I found it written in the Eusebian Copy, and have rendred it accordingly. Valef.



ging Beasts. But, the supream Moderator's care was not employ'd about a Sheep that wants reason; but He was highly concern'd for his whole Army; for the sake of those, who on his account were assaulted. Of whose Combats, and conflicts in defence of Piety, when he had approved; and had honoured them, who were now removed to him,

i. Παρ' αὐτοῦ. I read παρ' αὐτοῦ, *with himself*; in which manner Eusebius is wont to express himself. A little after, the reading should be ἐξῆσαν ἄλλοι, *might also become Relaters*: the *Fuketian Copy* confirms both these Emendations. *Valeſe.*

with the rewards of Victory,  
i with himself; he enrolled  
them amongst the Angelick  
Quires in Heaven. But,  
others of them he continued  
still upon earth, as Seeds  
that might restore and give  
new life to Piety, for the  
good of posterity; that they

should both be Spectatours of his vengeance upon the impious, and might also become Relaters of those things which they had beheld with their own eyes. After this, when he had stretch'd forth his right hand, in order to his being avenged of his Adversaries; by his very Nod, on a sudden he destroyed them; having first punished them with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven; and compell'd them, even against their wills, with their own lips to recant their own horrid wickednesses. But these, who were mean and contemned, and by almost all persons look'd upon as forsaken and hopeless, he has raised from the ground, and highly exalted. And this, the supream Emperour [God,] effected from Heaven; when he had presented to us his own Servant, as some invincible Warriour. (For our Emperour, by reason of his transcendency of Piety, rejoices in his being stiled The Servant of God.) Whom God has made Conquerour over all sorts of Enemies whatever, having raised up him alone, against many. For they were numerous; and almost infinite, as <sup>k</sup> being the friends of many Dæmons. <sup>l</sup> Yea

κ' ἄτε  
καὶ δαίμό-  
νων. This

place is  
corrupted;  
in my

judgment,  
it must be  
restored

thus ; or  
 မည်သို့ရှိစေ  
 မည်သို့ရှိစေ

πολλοί τε  
 πολλῶν ἄτε  
 δαμνόντων

τὸ αὐτὸ  
φίλοι.  
That is

For they  
friends of  
y<sup>e</sup> because

innumeral  
stancine ;  
minus .

ded. But, he means a

ours, mo  
 272 28 8 a  
 1890

descended  
sense seem  
εξ ἑνὸς εἰ  
f

seems all  
devil, For  
runs thus

Which re-  
1 Ms. A.

hav<sup>e</sup> imit  
cerning t  
ner, ó  $\mu'$

which pa  
chap. 23

rather, they were nothing: whence it is, that at present they are nothing. But this One Emperour, [\* is] of One, [and bears] the Image of That One Supreme Emperour. They, [induced thereto] by an impious mind, destroyed pious men by bloody Murthers. But he, imitating his own Saviour's example, and being only skilled in this, the preservation namely of men; has sav'd alive even the impious themselves, teaching them true Piety and Religion. Then, in regard he is really Victor, he hath vanquished that twofold sort of Barbarians: civilizing the fierce and untractable Tribes of men, by prudent and ra-

were almost innumerable and many in regard they were the  
 many Demons and of themselves. I have expunged the word  
 it had crept in hither, from the upper line And by those  
 ble men, against whom God raised one single person, Con-  
 Eusebius means Maxentius, Maximianus Herculeus, Maxi-  
 and Licinius; to whom Dioclesian and Galerius may be ad-  
 by those many friends, both of the Demons, and of themselves,  
 the Presidents and Governours of Provinces, and the Comman-  
 e Milice; who, that they might curry favour with the Empe-  
 oledst the Christians in all places. It may also be written,  
 ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν φίλοι, in another sense; that is, many as being  
 of many Demons, and the friends of those Demons. Which  
 is truer. For, it answers to these words which follow, ὁ ὁ  
 ὁ, &c; But, this One Emperour [is] of One. For Eu-  
 ades to that passage in the Gospel; Ye are of your father the  
 b. 8. 44. In the Fukeitan Copy, the reading of this place  
 ; οἱ δὲ καὶ ἵνα μύριοι. πολλοί τε πολλῶν ἄτε φίλοι δαμνίων;  
 over infinite, and many as being the friends of many Demons  
 reading is purer and truer. Valef.

λαον ᾧ ἐδὲν ἦν. ὁδὲν ἐδὲν εἶν. *Eusebius* here seems to  
 ated *Dionysius Alexandrinus*; who in his *Paschal Letter* con-  
 the Tyranny of *Marcianus*, expresses himself in this man-  
 ἐκ ἐστὶν ἐπεὶ μὴ ᾧ ἦν, &c. *Now is not, for he never was*:  
 village occurs in the seventh Book of his *Ecclesiastical Histor.*  
 . Valef.

tional Embassies; compelling them to own, and  
 \* submit themselves to their Betters; and from \* Or, Not  
 a Lawless and brutish life, reducing them to to be igno.  
 Civility and Humanity. But, as for that cruel rant of  
 and enraged Sort of invisible Dæmons, he does their, &c.  
 really and manifestly m prove, that they were long m<sup>d</sup> Apollis.  
 since vanquished by God. For the Common Sa- χαρ, and  
 viour of the Universe, had by an invisible το κρείτε-  
 Power routed those invisible Spirits. But this ρον παλαι-  
 Our Prince, the Supream Emperour's Lieutenant- νεκρον.  
 General as 'twere, n has pursued the vanqui- rov. The  
 shed; spoyling † those who were long since dead Transla-  
 and consumed; and plentifully distributing the tour hath  
 Booty amongst the Souldiers of [God] placed a  
 Victor. distinction after the  
 term.

and renders the passage thus; *Reipsa coarguit repressitque; utpote quod jam olim fuisset ab ipso Deo superatum, he really confuted and repress'd it; in regard it had been long before vanquish'd by God Himself.* But I have taken away the distinction, and rendred it thus; *rebus ipsis convincens, jam pridem à Deo fuisse superatum, He does really, &c.* The Reader may make choice of which rendition he pleases. For there is but little difference. How *Constantine* actually demonstrated, that the *Demons* were vanquish'd; *Eusebius* does presently declare; when he says, that their *Temples* were rish'd by *Constantine*, and bestowed on the *Christians*. Vale.

† Namely, the *Demons*; whose Temples *Constantine* destroyed, and melted down their Images.

**F**OR, Whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those Bug-bears of Errour, made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment, that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones, cast before

the feet of those who walk in the dark; <sup>2</sup> and because a smooth and plain passage thorow the Kings-high-way was in future to be open to all men. Having therefore diligently weighed these matters with himself, he was of

opinion, that he stood not in need either of Military Forces or a numerous Army, in order to his giving Check to those things; but, that one, or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business: whom by one only Nod he dispatch'd away into every Province. They, confiding in [the Emperour's] Piety, [and in their own Religiousness towards God,] made their way thorow the thickest crowds, and thorow infinite multitudes of

people, and <sup>b</sup> fully discovered that ancient Errour [of Idolatry,] in all Cities, and throughout every Country. And in the first place, they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring

forth their Gods, out of certain dark recesses. Then they divested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap'd off that matter which seemed to be useful, and \* cast it into the fire, and melted it down; \* so much

as by them was thought  
to be of use and necessa-  
ry, they reserved, and put  
it up safe. But, what-  
ever was superfluous and wholly useless, that they  
left with the superstitious, for a lasting monu-  
ment.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ ὁμαλὴν πῶς πάλιν. It must be made πῶς πᾶσιν, to all men; from the *Fuketian* Copy, and from *his Third Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, Chap. 54 where this passage occurs word for word. *Vale!*

<sup>b</sup> Πλάνης ἐποῖεντο φῶραι.  
Doubtless it is to be written  
ἐποῖεντο φωγῶν, *fully discovered*  
and thus it is to be mended in  
the *Third Book of his Life of Con-*  
*stantine, Chap. 54*; where the  
reading is ἐποῖεντο φθογῶν, *totally*  
*destroyed*. In the *Euketian Copy*  
'tis φῶραι. *Valeſe.*

<sup>c</sup> Τὸ μὲν γὰρ λυσισαέες. The word γὰρ must be expunged; the *Fukesian Copy* acknowledges not that word. *Valeſ.*



ment of disgrace. Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto. For, at the same time that those Idols of the Dead, made of pretious matter, were spoiled in that manner we have declared; he \* ordered the rest of the Images, consisting of Brasse, to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, [celebrated] in the doting Fables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound. After these things, this great Emperour, having as 'twere light up a most bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial Eye, if peradventure he could any where find, any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And, as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised herself to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth that are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he, whilst he † was resident in the Imperial Palace of his own most beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower, a certain pernicious snare of Souls, lying concealed in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which sort many are visible in Cities, most gloriously built for ornaments sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy Dæmon [termed] Venus, in part of the Top of [Mount] Libanus. This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all incontinent persons, and such as with all manner of dissoluteness, had debauch'd their own Bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the venerableness of their own Sex, appeased the Dæmon by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawful || Coitions with women, and Adulteries, and other beastly and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, as in a place that was lawless, and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But, the impieties committed there, could not lie concealed from this Great Emperour also. But, when he himself had look'd into them with the eye of an Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of being [enlightned with the Rays] of the Sun it self, Wherefore he orders it to be totally demolished, together with [its Statues and] Consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the Engines of this impudent and Libidinous Errour, were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a Company of Souldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, [being scar'd] by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned modesty. When therefore the Emperour had in this manner a pull'd off those Vizards of abominable wickedness, which were visible in the Temple of that Dæmon the seducer of the people; and had exposed them to the view of all persons; he Preached his own Saviour in the presence of all.

\* Or, Set upon the other Images, made of Brasse.

† Walk'd up and down in, or, was conversant in.

|| Or, Copulations of women.

¶ Or, I can't approve of the Translatour's Version, who has rendred this place thus; Ad hunc modum igitur Imperator, cum spectra illa improbitatis & nequitie qua hominum animi occæcati fuerant, palam sub omnium oculis subiecit, &c; In this manner therefore the Emperour, both exposed to publick view those Spectres of improbity and wickedness, wherewith the minds of men had been blinded, &c. But I had rather render it thus; Cum flagitiorum larvæ, quæ in Daemonis illius populorum seductoris tempore visebantur, detraxisset, &c; When therefore the Emperour

had in this manner pull'd off, &c. ὁδοματὰ καὶ ὧν (for so the Accentuation is to be restored,) are the integumenta vitiorum, the masks of vices, wherewith the Heathens covered their own uncleanness. So above, Eusebius speaking of the Images of the Dæmons, says, καὶ περὶ ἀπογυμνῶν τὰ φάσματ' &c; Then they divested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Farther, this place is thus to be mended from the Eusebian Copy, ὧδε καὶ τὰ τῆς λαοπλάνης φάσματ' ἀκατίας. Valef.

Nor was there any one who could defend or assist the persons detected: no Dæmon; no God; no Utterer of Oracles; no Diviner. Nor were the minds of men any longer wrap'd up in thick and profound darkness: but being illustrated by the Rays of unerring Piety, they condemn'd the ignorance of their Ancestours; and pityed their Blindness; and pronounc'd themselves happy, in regard they were free'd from the cruel slavery of Errour. Thus therefore in a moment, by the Will of the Great God, and the Emperour's Assistance and Ministry, all the kinds of Enemies and Adversaries, as well the visible as invisible, were totally destroyed: and in future, Peace, the best Educatrix of Youth, encompassed the habitation of all men. Nor were there any more Wars, because The Gods were not. Neither did their happen any Fights, either in the Countries or Cities, as there had been before, when the worship of Dæmons flourish'd: nor were there any more effusions of blood amongst men, such as had usually happened, whilst the fury of Polytheism was prevalent.

οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἐν βεβαίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλτοῦ ἔργῳ. Questionless it must be, τὸ δὴ τὰ ἐν βεβαίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλτοῦ ἔργῳ. Thus there fore in a moment. I read ἀσφαλτοῦ, the best Educatrix [or Breeder] of Youth; without the particle καὶ. For Eusebius alludes to that Verse of Hesiod, in his Opera,

Εἰρήνην τ' ἀσφαλτὴν κατεβόρετο.

Valef.

NOW therefore 'tis seasonable, to oppose the new CHAP. Face of affairs to the old, and inspect the IX.

Change of matters made for the better, by comparing the worse with them; and to discern and perceive clearly, in what manner heretofore, Porches and Consecrated Plots of Ground; Groves and Temples, were a most elaborately founded and prepared for them; and how the Temples were \* beautified \* Or, with vast numbers of Consecrated Gifts. As for the Tyrants and those in whose hands the supreme power then was, they had an high veneration for the Gods. The Nations also and people, in the fields and in all places, yea in their very Private dwellings, in their Store Houses namely and Bed-chambers, honoured them with Statues, according to the Rites of their own Country. But, the fruit of their devotion, was not that mutual Peace, which we now behold with our eyes, but all things directly contrary hereto; to wit Wars, Fights, and Seditions; wherewith they were † sorely disquieted during the whole † Worn out. Course of their Lives, and filled their own Countries with blood and intestine slaughters. Moreover, the Gods worship'd by them, with much flattery aid indeed promise the then Emperours; Prophecies and Oracles, and predictions of things future.

a Ἀυτοῖς φιλοπόνως ἐξεκρίτο. You must understand τοῖς δαίμοσι, for the Dæmons; or ἐλλήσι, by the Heathens; for both may be meant: write also ἐξοικεῖτο, were elaborately founded, or, exquisitely prepared. In the Eusebian Copy, the beginning of this chapter, and the close of the foregoing one, is omitted, by the carelessness of the Transcriber. Valef.

b Καὶ ἀγαλλομασιν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει. This expression seems to me uncouth. For it can't well be said, πᾶσι τὰ πάτρια: nor can the term ἀγαλλομασιν be

well joined with ἀγαλλομασιν. Wherefore, I would more willingly read this whole place, in this manner, ἔδυν τε καὶ δῆμοι κατ' ἀσφες καὶ πάντα τὸ πᾶν, ἥδη τε κατ' οἴκους ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν ταμεῖοις, καὶ ἀγαλλομασιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ πάτρια. The Nations also and people, &c. Valef.



<sup>c</sup> Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. I read, ἔκ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, could not foresee, or, foreknow. Valef.

\* Foreknow.

† Νέος τις by the Coming of a Certain † New Person into the world; and, that the knowledge and worship of the supream Mediator of all things, should be diffused amongst all men? Who hath foreseen this Holy and Religious Principality, and this Our Victor, and the Trophies which he has in all places of the earth erected against

\* Τῶν δὲ Δαίμονων, and the Dæmons, and the <sup>†</sup> Τῶν δὲ Δαίμονων. Tis a term which occurs in sacred Scripture; see 1 Kings, chap. 12, and 13. The Images of Dæmons were so termed, because they were commonly worshiped in high places. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Εἰς λεπίδων τε καὶ παρθενῶν. Doubtless, the reading must be καὶ παρθενῶν, cut; which Christopherson perceived not. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Οἷς τὴν μὲν πλάττω. As far as this place, there was a Chasme in the Fuketian Copy; which Manuscript gives us this reading of this place; οἷς δὲ τὴν μὲν πλάττω. I am of opinion, that the first word is to be blotted out. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Νεκρῶν εἰδωλὰ καὶ μόνων. Write νεκρῶν, as the reading is in his Life of Constantine, Book 2. Chap. 16; where this passage occurs. A little after, write, καὶ εἰδωλὰ καὶ μόνων, as 'tis in his Life of Constantine, and in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

But those very Gods could not \* foresee their own Ruine, and were altogether unable to foretel it to their own selves. Which is a most convincing Argument, in order to the manifestation of their cheat and imposture.

'Tis certain, none of those, heretofore admired for their Oracles, ever foretold the Glorious Coming of the Common Saviour amongst men, or the new Preaching of that divine knowledge, which was first delivered by him. Neither Pythius himself, nor any other of the Great Dæmons, was ever apprehensive of their own desolation: nor did he presage or prophesie, who should vanquish and destroy them. What Divine or Soothsayer hath foretold, that the worship of the Gods should be extinguished

by the Coming of a Certain † New Person into the world; and, that the knowledge and worship of the supream Mediator of all things, should be diffused amongst all men? Who hath foreseen this Holy and Religious Principality, and this Our Victor, and the Trophies which he has in all places of the earth erected against

Ruine of the \* High places? Which of the Hero's hath ever declared in express words, that the lifeless Statues should be melted, and from an useless Form be changed into necessary uses? Which of the Gods hath ever made any mention, concerning their own Statues which are melted down, and with disgrace and laughter

cut into thin plates? Where [I beseech you] were the Defenders of those [Gods,] that could not give assistance to the

Monuments consecrated to them, which were ruined by Men? What is become of them, who heretofore raised Wars, and who now behold their own vanquishers living in a most calm and secure Peace? Where are those who put their trust in them, as in Gods, and elevated their own minds by a vain and fruitless confidence;

who, when they had raised the Errour [of their own superstition] to the highest pitch, and had commenc'd an implacable War against the Defenders of Truth; Wretches as they were, perished in a most miserable

manner? Where are those Troops of Gyants, fighting against God Himself? And the hissings of Dragons; Who have whet their Tongues, and have uttered impious Expressions against the supream King? Those persons, profest Enemies to the supream Emperour, confiding in a multitude of Gods, fell on with vast numbers of men in Arms; carrying before them as their

defence, Resemblances of dead persons, in Statues void of life. But Our Emperour, cloathed with the Coat of Mail of Piety, having opposed against the multitude of his Enemies, the salutary and vivifick Standard, as

some affrightning spectacle, and potent Preserva

tive against mischiefs; obtained the Victory, both over his Enemies, and over the Dæmons. After which, with a grateful mind, he rendred a Thanksgiving-prayer to [God] the Author of his Victory; and with a loud voice, and by the Monuments of Statues raised, he made known to all men the Triumphant Standard; erecting this Great Trophy against all his Enemies, in the midst of the Imperial City; and issuing out an Express Command to all men, that they should acknowledge this salutary Standard (which no Age can deface,) as the Preservative of the Roman Government, that is the Empire of the whole world. And here-with he acquainted all persons, but more especially the Milice. To whom [he gave this in charge,] that they ought not to \* place \* Or, Hang their hopes in their Spears and Armour, nor in their hopes the strength of their Bodies; but should acknowledge God to be the Giver of all Good, and particularly of Victory it self. Thus the Emperour himself (strange and almost incredible!) was his own Armie's Instructor in their devotions; and delivered to them pious † prayers, which were agreeable to the Divine Laws and Institutions; that they should lift up their hands on high, towards Heaven; but should fix the eyes of their minds on the true, highest object, namely on the Celestial King; and in their prayers should invoke him, as The Giver of Victory, The Saviour, The Preserver, and The Assistant. Moreover, that they should esteem of a day, as convenient and fit for prayers; to wit, that day, which really is the Chief and \* First of

He terms the Lord's day, the first; not only because 'tis the first day of the week; but also, in regard it was the first day of the world. Whence it may deservedly be termed the Birth-day of the world. Farther, the Lord's Day is not only termed the first day, but the eighth also. St. Austin's words (Book 1. Concerning the Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Chap. 11,) are these: *Hæc octava Sententia quæ ad Caput redit, &c: This eighth Sentence which returns to the Head, and declares the perfect man, is perhaps signified by Circumcision also on the eighth day in the Old Testament; and by the Resurrection of the Lord after the Sabbath, which as 'tis the eighth, so 'tis also the first day.* Before St. Austin, Hilarius had said the same, in his Prologue to his Comments on the Psalms; where discoursing concerning the seventh Number, his words are these: *Quem tamen octoas, quia dies eadem prima quæ octava, &c: which nevertheless, the number eight (because the first day is the same with the eighth,) being added in the last Sabbath according to the Evangelick fulness, doth compleat.* See also his following words in that Prologue. Moreover, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, in his discourse when the day of the Theophania had fallen on a Sunday, speaks concerning the Lord's day in this manner: *ὡς τὸ ἔθνος ὡς τὸ πᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαυτῆ πᾶν κυριακὴν πᾶν, &c: Both Custom, and also duty doth require us, to honour every Sunday, and to observe that day as a Festival; in regard thereon our Lord Jesus Christ procured for us a Resurrection from the dead. Wherefore, in the sacred Scriptures, this day is both termed The first, as being the beginning of life to us; and also The eighth, in regard it surpasses the Sabbath of the Jews.* These words of Theophilus are cited in the Typicon of St. Saba, and by Balsamon in his Collection of Canons. To whom add Isidorus, and Beda in the Book de Divinis Officiis, where they treat concerning Sunday. Stephanus Gerbarus writes the same, in his 29th Chapter. To this custom it is perhaps to be referred, that the Greeks most commonly reckon the days of the week, not to the Sunday which precedes, but to that which follows. For, after the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, which is the ninth Sunday before Easter, those days which follow immediately, namely the second, third, and fourth Feria, and so on, were by the Greeks termed, ἡ δ' Ἀρτέα τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ἡ τρίτη, &c; untill the following Sunday, which was termed Dominica τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, and this week was called ἡ ἑβδομάς τῆς ἀποκρίσεως. [See Meursius's Glossary, in the word ἀποκρίσεως.] But after the Dominica τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, the second Feria which followed next, was termed τῆς πενθῆς or πενθῆς, and so the other days of that whole week, unto the following Sunday, which was called by the same name, ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς πενθῆς. The same may be observed in the other Sundays, untill Easter-day. For after the Dominica τῆς πενθῆς, the second Feria was termed the second Feria of the Holy Fasts; and the whole week was called so, untill the following Sunday, which had the same name. Lastly, the ἡ ἑβδομάς μεγάλη [the Great week, or, Passion-week] which we call the Holy Week, is reckoned to the following Sunday, namely Easter-day, as it appears



appears from the *Typicon of Saint Saba*, Chap. 31. *Cyrillus* also, in his *Paschal Sermons*, always begins the Week of Easter, which we now term *The Holy Week*, from the *second Feria*; and closes it with the following Sunday, namely *Easter-Day*. Nor does *Theophilus* do otherwise in his *Paschal Epistles*. Valef.

other days, and which is truly the <sup>h</sup> Lord's, and the Salutory Day: and which has its <sup>i</sup> name from Light, Life, Immortality, and from every thing that is good. Moreover, He <sup>k</sup> himself, becoming his own Teacher of such good things, pays an adoration to his Saviour in the most private Apartments of his Imperial Palace; and sometimes by praying fulfils the Divine Laws; at others, by hearing the sacred Scriptures read, he cultivates and instructs his own mind. Farther, Persons consecrated to God, and who are adorned with holiness of Life and the other virtues, are his Servants and Ministers; and them he has appointed to be the \* Controllers of his whole House. Lastly, his Protectors and trusty Guards, armed with the weapons of good affection, do acknowledge the Emperor as their Instructor in a pious Life. <sup>verse 10.</sup>

But, what *Eusebius* says here, and in the *Life of Constantine*; namely, that Sunday was consecrated and set apart for Prayers and Ecclesiastick assemblies; this in my judgment, was instituted something later. For the first Christians, who had embraced the faith immediately after our Lord's Ascent, met every day, always applying themselves to Prayers, and all manner of Offices of Piety; as *St Luke* writes in the *Acts of the Apostles*. But afterwards, when the Heathens betook themselves in great numbers to the faith of Christ, and the Faithful could not meet every day; it was appointed by the Apostles and their Successors, that at least on the Lord's Day, the Faithful should meet together in the Church. Concerning which there is an eminent passage, in *Justin the Martyr's Second Apology*, about the close of it. τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρᾳ, &c. On the day termed Sunday, all Persons, as well those who dwell in the Country, as them in the City, meet together, &c. He has termed it Sunday, not the Lord's Day, because he spoke to the Roman Emperours, who were well acquainted with Sunday, but knew not the Lord's Day, which was an appellation proper to Christians. *Justin* repeats the same thing a little after, in the same *Apology*. Hereto likewise *Pliny* agrees in his *Epistle to Trajan*. Affirmabant, says he, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, &c. They affirmed, that this was the Total, either of their fault, or error, that on a stated day they were wont to meet together before it was light, and sing an Hymn to Christ, as to God. Where, by a stated day he means The Lord's Day. Therefore, from this place of *Pliny* it may be gathered, that the Christians who then lived in *Bithynia*, met together on the Lord's Day only. Otherwise, *Pliny*, would have said, that they were wont to meet on stated days, not on a stated day. Although this is not so much the Testimony of *Pliny* himself, as the Christians own, who confess that before *Pliny*, as he himself attests. Besides the Lord's Day, *Epiphanius* (in the *Epilogue to his Books against Heresies*), affirms that an Assembly on the fourth and sixth *Feria*; and *Clemens* (in his *Constitutions*) says, that a meeting together on the Sabbath Day, was instituted by the Apostles. But, as to what belongs to the Stations of the fourth and sixth *Feria*, we are informed from *Tertullian* in his *Book de Jejuniis*, that they were merely arbitrary and at will not determined by any positive Law or Command. And although it was the Eastern usage to meet together on the Sabbath, yet 'tis manifest from *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, and others, that in most Churches, Assemblies were not then held. There is an eminent passage of *St. Jerom's*, on the *Epist. to the Galatians*, Chap. 4. Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, &c. And lest a disorder'd Congregation of the People might lessen the faith in Christ, therefore some days are appointed, that we might all come together. Not that that day whereon we meet, is more solemn; but, that on whatever day there is an assembly, a greater joy may arise from the sight of one another. Valef.

ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον. He says, that the Lord's Day has its name from light, not because it was by the Heathens termed the day of the Sun, but because 'tis the day of the Lord, that namely whereon the Lord rose, and conferred on us Life and Light: and because on that day we received the Holy Spirit, the Enlightner of our minds. See *Clement's Alexandrinus's Strom.* Book 6. where speaking concerning the Sabbath, there occurs a most elegant passage, which for brevities sake I here omit. The Lord's Day therefore is the day of Light, both because on that day the Light was first created, and also in regard we on that day received the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Spirit, who fell upon the Faithful under the form of fire, and without division was divided, as *Clemens* words it in the forementioned place. Valef.

ἡ αὐτὴ τὴν ἐκείνου διδασκαλίαν. That is, not satisfied in his instructing others, he himself practises those things which he teacheth, according to the command of the Gospel. Valef.

But the Emperour himself pays an honour to this Victorious Banner, having experimentally found a Divine Efficacy inherent in it. For, by this [Standard] vast multitudes of the adverse Army have been put to flight; by it the Forces of invisible Demons have been subdued. By it, their insolence, who opposed God himself, was repress'd: by it, the tongues of slanderers and impious Persons were silenced. By it the Barbarous Nations were vanquished. By it the frauds and mockery of Superstitious Error were exposed and detected. Lastly, to it (which is the sum and perfection of all Goods,) the Emperour paying a due debt as 'twere, has erected Triumphal Arches in all places of the Earth. And with a bountiful and Royal hand [hath founded] Temples and Churches, in honour of it: and has issued forth an Order to all Persons, that sacred Oratories should be built. In the very midst <sup>1</sup> therefore of the Provinces and Cities, eximious Monuments of his Imperial magnificence were forthwith raised; and in a short time they shined gloriously in every Country, and manifestly confuted and exposed the impiety of Tyrannick Government. For those [Tyrants] having by a madness of mind been a little before hurried on to wage a War against God; like mad dogs, vented their rage against the lifeless Structures, in regard they were unable to effect any thing against God Himself: and when they had thrown down the Oratories from their vast height to the very ground, and had dug up their very Foundations; they made them look like a City taken by the Enemy. Such was the Tragedy of wickednesses acted by them: wherein they attempted, as 'twere to assault the Deity itself; but were soon made sensible of their own madness. For a short space of time had scarce intervened, when a Storm poured on them from Heaven, swept them away and in one moment rendred them invisible: in so much that, neither kindred, nor issue, nor any the least relique of their memory, was left remaining amongst Men; but, though they were numerous, yet in a minute, having first had stripes inflicted on them from Heaven, they all perished utterly, and became extinct. Such was the conclusion of these Mens outrageous Fury, whereby they had made an Insurrection against God. But this [Our Emperour,] who, armed with the Salutory Trophy, had alone fall'n upon the Enemies; (or rather, was not alone; for he who is the sole Emperour, was present with, and assisted him;) hath built new Oratories far better than those which a little before had been demolish'd; and hath made the latter much more magnificent, than the former were: one while adorning the City which bears his own name, with various Churches of God; at another time, honouring the chief [City] of Bithynia, with <sup>m</sup> a most stately and most beautiful [Church.] He hath likewise grac'd the chiefest [Cities] of the other Provinces, with Ornaments of this nature. Moreover, when he had made choice of two eminent places in the East; the one in the Province of Palestine, because the vivifick Stream [of saving faith] has from thence, as from a Spring, diffused it self and over-

<sup>1</sup> τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς. The reading must be τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς; and we have rendred it accordingly. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, τὰς πόλεις. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Μεγίστην πύλιν καὶ περικλυτήν. It must be, μεγίστην πύλιν καὶ περικλυτήν. For ἐκκλησία, Church, is understood; as 'tis apparent from His third *Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, Chap. 50. From whence it must be also here corrected; νεκροῦς, as the chiefest [Cities]; as the reading likewise is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valef.

flowed



flowed all Nations; the other in the Metropolis of the whole East; which graces the name of Antiochus: in this latter, as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Tract, he hath consecrated [to God] a \* most glorious and matchless Structure, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he hath encompassed the whole Temple, with a large circuit on the out side: but within, he hath raised the Basilica itself to an immense height, and has built it in an Eight-square Figure, and has variously adorned it; and having surrounded it on all sides with many lodging Rooms and Exhedræ, has crowned it with a variety of Ornaments. In this manner were these [Edifices] compleated. But in the Province of the Palestinians, in that City heretofore the Royal Seat of the Hebrews, in the middle of the City, at the very Martyrium of Our Saviour, [he has erected] a † Basilica of a vast bigness, and an Holy House in Honour of the Salutory Cross, and has beautified it richly, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supream Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory,) and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified each of them with magnificent Structures: to \* that Cave wherein [Our Saviour] first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a besitting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd || the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperour has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Salutory Sign [of the Cross.] Which [Sign] gives the Emperour the reward of his piety, increases his whole Family and the time [of his Reign,] and confirms the

acquiring the Fruits and Rewards of Vertue, for his most excellent Children, and for his own Kindred, and for their Descendants. And this is a most convincing argument of the power of that God, whom the Emperour does worship; that he hath poiz'd the Scale of Justice with equal weights on both sides, and has assigned to each Party a fit and proportionate Reward. For the punishment due to impiety, immediately seized those who had assaulted and demolish'd the sacred Houses; and they were forthwith swept away, without any Stock or Kindred, without any House or Family. But this [Our Emperour,] who by Acts of Piety of all sorts, pays an Honour to his Lord; and who one while erects Churches to him; at another time, manifests and makes him known to his Subjects, by those Sacred Gifts which he hath dedicated to him in all parts of the World: is most certainly known to have him, and that most deservedly, the Pre-server and Keeper of his Family, Empire, and Race. In this manner have God's performances been made known, by the Divine power and Vertue of the Salutory Sign.

Concerning which [Sign] the Discourse might be large, wherewith they are well acquainted, who have been initiated in those Mysteries delivered to them by divine Persons. For, this \* is that truly saving [Sign:] a thing wonderful indeed to be related; but, far more admirable to be conceived: in what manner, as soon as it appeared on earth, That alone hath obscured all those Fables, many ages since invented concerning the Gods; and hath delivered up Error, to darkness and oblivion; but hath discovered to all Persons that Intellectual Light (which had illustrated the minds of Men,) the One namely, and the true God. Therefore, all People, now changed to a better and more enlightened Condition, spit on the faces of their dead Idols; trample under foot the impious Rites of Dæmons, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them from their Ancestours. And on the other side, Men have every where founded Schools of sacred Literature, and are all trained up as 'twere in the Precepts of the saving Discipline: to the intent that, they may no longer dread \* things Created, which are visible to the eyes of flesh; nor lift up their eyes to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and stop in an admiration of those Bodies: but may confess him, who transcends all these, him who can't be perceived by sight, or any sense; to be the Creator of all things; and may learn to worship him alone. All which singular and extraordinary Blessings and Favours. [conferred] on Men, had their rise from this Great and admirable Sign. By the power and vertue whereof, all those Ills which were before, now are not: and those [Goods] which before were not, are † every where resplendent, [deriving their Lustre] from the Rays of Piety. Also, Discourses, Precepts, and Exhortations to a sober and Pious Life, are Preach'd in the hearing of all Nations; yea, even the Emperour himself Preaches. And this is the greatest wonder, that so mighty an Emperour, does with so loud a Voice call out to the whole World, like some Interpreter

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Throne of his Empire by \* many periods of years; reserving the Fruits and Rewards of Vertue, for his most excellent Children, and for his own Kindred, and for their Descendants. And this is a most convincing argument of the power of that God, whom the Emperour does worship; that he hath poiz'd the Scale of Justice with equal weights on both sides, and has assigned to each Party a fit and proportionate Reward. For the punishment due to impiety, immediately seized those who had assaulted and demolish'd the sacred Houses; and they were forthwith swept away, without any Stock or Kindred, without any House or Family. But this [Our Emperour,] who by Acts of Piety of all sorts, pays an Honour to his Lord; and who one while erects Churches to him; at another time, manifests and makes him known to his Subjects, by those Sacred Gifts which he hath dedicated to him in all parts of the World: is most certainly known to have him, and that most deservedly, the Pre-server and Keeper of his Family, Empire, and Race. In this manner have God's performances been made known, by the Divine power and Vertue of the Salutory Sign.

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to God the supream King; and does invite all those Governed by Him, to the Knowledge of the true God. And that, in the midst of the Imperial Palace, the trifling and ridiculous Compositions of impious Men [are not recited,] as the usage was heretofore; but the Priests and Ministers of God, persons conspicuous for their Piety, with \* Royal Hymns and Praises do celebrate the Festival. That, the sole God, He who is the Emperor of the Universe, is declared and set forth to all; and that the Evangelick Word [who promisseth us all things which are good,] does unite Mankind to

\* See Chap. 11. note (a.)

\* See Chap. 11. note (a.)

val. That, the sole God, He who is the Emperor of the Universe, is declared and set forth to all; and that the Evangelick Word [who promisseth us all things which are good,] does unite Mankind to

[God] the supream King; shewing the glad tidings of His Celestial Father's being rendred propitious and benign to His Sons on Earth. That, Quires do Laud Him with all manner of triumphant Songs; and that the whole Body of Mankind doth join in The Chorus together with the Angelick Companies in Heaven: and, that rational Souls, using those Bodies wherewith they are cloathed as some Musical Instruments, [do Laud] Him with befitting Hymns, and shout forth Praises that are grateful to him. That they who are Inhabitants of the East, together with those who dwell in the West, are instructed in His Precepts, at one and the same moment of time: and, that those who have received the Southern and Northern Parts of the World as their Allotment, do sing † to the same melodious Tune: studiously following a pious Course of Life, by the very same Methods and Precepts: conspiring in the praises of one God, who is supream: admitting of one Saviour, His only-begotten Son the Author of all Blessings: and [Lastly,] acknowledging one Moderator and Emperor on Earth, and His Sons belov'd by God. Which Emper-

† Or, Concordant Songs.

c 'Ῥητορικὴ δὴ ἀνεχόμεθα. This is a most corrupt place, which nevertheless, I have, as I think, with ease amended. I write therefore, ὁ δ' εἰς πρὸς κορυφῆς ὑψίστου ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἐξέχεται, &c. that is, Sublimis supra gubernaculum Sedens, Sits on high above the Rudder. But the Translator dreamt I know not what concerning Avum. Presently, write εὐδία τε πρῶτον, from the Fekelian Copy: for Eusebius expresses himself hereafter. Valef.

ror, like some skilful Pilot, sits on high above the Rudder, and holding the Helm in his Hand, Steers the Vessel in a straight Course; and by a prosperous gale of Wind, brings all those under his command, into a safe and calm Port. But God Himself, the supream Emperor, stretches forth his right Hand to Him from above, and hitherto constitutes Him the Conqueror of all his Enemies and Opposers;

encreasing the Strength of His Empire by long periods of Years. But will hereafter make Him a Partaker of far more excellent Blessings, and will really fulfill his own Promises made to Him. Of which Promises the time present permits not a Rehearsal; but a departure out of this Life is to be expected: in as much as, 'tis not possible for things divine to be distinctly perceived and fully apprehended, by mortal Eyes and corporeal Ears,

deliver to You \* Secret and Myste-  
rious Matters: not that we may teach You, who have been instructed by God: nor that we may disclose Secrets to You, to Whom God Himself, long before these our discourses, (not from Men, neither by any Man, but by the Common Saviour Himself, and by the Presence and Appearance of His own Divinity, which hath often shined upon You,) hath opened and revealed things Secret that were hidden: but, that we may bring untaught Men to the Light; and may suggest to the Ignorant, the Reasons and Causes of Your Pious and Religious Works and Deeds. Indeed, those great Actions daily performed by Your Vertue, thoroughout the whole habitable World, in order to the promoting the Worship and Honour of God the supream King; are celebrated in the mouths of all Mortals. But, the Monuments of Gratitude, which You have consecrated to Your Preserver and Saviour, in Our Country, (I mean in the Province of Palestine, and in that City, whence, as from a Fountain-head, the Salutory Word hath powred forth its refreshing Streams upon all Men;) and the Trophies of that Victory gained over Death, which You have erected in the Edifices of Oratories, and in the Dedications of Sacred Houses: [I say,] those Lofty and most beautiful Works of an Imperial Magnificence, Structures truly Imperial, erected about the Salutory [Martyrium, a Monument that deserves] an Immortal Memory; contain a Reason [for their having been built,] which is a not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons.

\* Or, The Mysteries of Secret Discourses.

To the Greek Rhetoricians term Orations concerning the praises of Emperors, βασιλικὰς λόγους; which the Latines are wont to call Panegyricas, Panegyrics. The method of these Oration is delivered by Alexander Rhetor, in his Book περὶ δεικνύον, Chap. 1. the Title of which Chapter ought to be περὶ βασιλικῆς λόγου. This Book is extant among the Greek Rhetoricians pub-

lished by Aldus, pag 613. but, which is ill done, 'tis confounded with Menander Rhetor's Book, which treats concerning the same Subject. Farther, in the forefard Chapter of Alexander, there is cited an Oration of the most fam'd Sophist Callinicus, with this Title, μέγας βασιλικός, written, if I mistake not, in praise of the Emperour Philip. Which I guess at from hence, because Philip was an Arabian as well as Callinicus, and was of mean birth: which are the Qualifications of that Emperour, to whom Callinicus spoke this Oration, as Alexander attests. The time suits very well also; For Callinicus lived in the Reign of Gallienus, as Suidas does witness. There is also extant a βασιλικός of Libanius's, written by him in honour of Constantinus and Constans, when he was at Nicomedia. Eusebius therefore alludes to these Oration, and terms this Oration βασιλικὸν σύγγραμμα. So in the foregoing Chapter, he has made use of this expression, βασιλικοῖς ὕμνοις πνευματώσας, in allusion to the same thing; which the Translator understood not. Moreover, this is to be remark'd, namely that this Oration is by Eusebius termed βασιλικὸν σύγγραμμα, that is, an Imperial Book. For 'tis indeed liker a Book, than an Oration; because by its too great length it exceeds the measure of an Oration. Wherefore I can't persuade my self, that it was recited by Eusebius. Valef.

b Πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν. It must be, περὶ τῆς οὐκ ἀρετῆς, by your Vertue; and so the Translator read. Valef.

c Ἀρμὶ τὸ σωτήριον τῆς ἀθανάτου μνήμης. It ought, I think, to be written, ἀρμὶ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, about the Salutory Martyrium, as Eusebius has express'd himself in the ninth Chapter: where see what we have observed, at note (o.) It might also be, ἀρμὶ τὸ σωτήριον μνημα, about the Salutory Monument. For so it will be an elegant allusion, μνημα τῆς ἀθανάτου μνήμης, a Monument of an immortal Memory. And so Eusebius words it in the forefard Chapter, μνημα τε μνήμης ἀθανάτου γέμον, and the Monument—which deserves an eternal Memory. Nevertheless I have observed, that τὸ σωτήριον is by Eusebius simply and absolutely taken to signify the Salutory Sign of the Cross: δι' ἐκείνου ἀρετῆς τὸ σωτήριον, by the Divine Vertue of the Salutory Sign, as it occurs in the very close of the ninth Chapter: where nevertheless, the Fekelian Copy words it in this manner, σωτήριον σημεῖον. Valef.

d Ὁ τοῖς πᾶσι. I don't doubt but it should be written, ὁ τοῖς πᾶσι κοινὸς ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, contain a reason—which is not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons. Which Emendation is confirmed by the words of Eusebius that follow presently. All Persons, says he, are not acquainted with the reasons of those Works, which You have with great magnificence built near the Sepulchre of Our Lord. For, the Christians do indeed know them, and on that account do greatly admire You. But the Heathens deride such works as those. The reading therefore in the Fekelian Copy is ill; thus, ὁ τοῖς πᾶσι, &c. Valef.

CHAP. XI. BUT, Come on Victor Maximus Constantinus! in this Imperial Book [written] concerning the Supream Emperor, let us now

Tis



'Tis certain, they who have been enlightened by the Celestial Power and Influence of the Divine Spirit, do know and understand [the true Cause of Your raising those Structures,] and on account thereof do deservedly admire You, and do stile that Your purpose of Mind, a blessed resolution, as proceeding from no other than a divine impulse. But, those who are unskilled in matters divine, in a most immoderate manner deride, and scoff at that work, by reason of their blindness of Mind: supposing it to be a mighty indecency, and a thing unbecoming [the Majesty of so] great an Emperor, to employ His care about the Monuments and Sepulchres of Dead Bodies. For, would it not have been better (may some one of these persons say,) to observe and keep Our Ancestors Rites; and to appease the Hero's and Gods worship'd in each Province; and not to detest and abhor them on account of such Calamities as these? For, either they must

\* Or, Desired. be \* affected with Divine Honours, in the same

<sup>c</sup> Ομοίως τῷ δε. He means Christ, as the Translator has well noted at the margin. These words are spoken by Eusebius, with an intent to personate the Heathens, who (when the Christians objected to them, the Adulteries, Quarrels, Slaughters, Death, and also Sepulchres of their Gods and Hero's) answered in this manner. If our Gods are to be rejected and despised on account of such humane Calamities as these, Your God is in like manner to be rejected also; whom you confess to have been condemned, to have been dead, and buried. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα. I should choose to write. ἢ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα πεπληνημένον, &c. For this seems to me more elegant. But the ordinary reading has the same sense; but 'tis not so expressive, nor so elegant. Nevertheless, he expresses himself so hereafter in this chapter. A little after I read διδασκαλίας καὶ διδασκαλίας, Schools and places of Instruction; not διδασκαλίας, Doctrines. Valef.

the Divine Precepts: and like a most indulgent Saviour and Physician of Souls, persuades both Greeks and Barbarians; Wise and Simple; Poor and Rich; Servants and Masters; Governours and the Governed; the Impious; the Unjust; the Unlearned; the Unclean; the Blasphemous; to come, yea to hasten to a Divine Cure. With a loud Voice therefore proclaiming to all Persons Oblivion of their former Wickedness, thus He beretofore cryed out, saying; \* Come unto Me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. And again. I † am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to repentance. And He adds the reason, saying: [|| For] they that be whole, need not a Physician, but they that are sick. And [in another place,] I desire not the death of a Sinner [so earnestly, as I desire] his Repentance. Hence it is, that only that Person who has been instructed in the knowledge of things Divine, (as soon as he shall have been acquainted with the reasons of that care and diligence employed about the fore-

mentioned Works,) must of necessity acknowledge a far more excellent instinct than that which is merely humane, to have been in our Emperor, and must admire His Pious Disposition towards the worship of God; and must believe, that this Care and Sollicitude in reference to \* the Monument of the Salutory Resurrection, was not merely exerted without Divine Appointment; but was really the product of the Inspiration of that God, whose faithful Servant and Minister of good things, [the Emperor] boasts Himself to be. Being fully perswaded, Greatest Emperor! that these things are truly grateful and acceptable to You, I have taken a resolution, in this present Discourse to set forth to all Persons, the Causes and \* Reasons of Your Pious

Fabricks: glorying in this, that I am as 'twere the Interpreter of Your Intention, and the Relator of Your Pious Mind: and that I teach all those things, which 'tis fit and agreeable every Person should be instructed in, whose desire it is to understand the Reasons of the Power of God, and of Our Saviour: on account of which [Reasons] He who existed long before, and had the sole Care and Management of the Universe, at length came down from Heaven to us: for which [reasons] he <sup>h</sup> clothed Himself with the humane Nature: for which [Reasons Last-ly,] He gave access even to Death: moreover, [that I declare] the reasons of that immortal Life which followed hereupon, and of the Resurrection from the dead; and not the reasons only, but the most evident and rational Demonstrations also, and the most indubitable Proofs, necessary to those who as yet stand in need of these things. But, now it is time, that we should here begin this our design'd discourse. They who have \* ascribed the worship of God the Framers of the World or transferred the supream Governor over all things, to those things created by Him; and have honoured the Sun and Moon, and the other parts of the World, and the first Elements [of all things,] Earth; Water; Air; Fire; with an appellation equal to their Maker and Framers: and have termed those things, Gods, which neither ever were, nor had subsisted, nor had had any name unless they had been present with the Word of God who made the World: such Persons, in my judgment, seem to differ very little from those, who † passing by the Architect of excruciating Works in Imperial Palaces, greatly admire the Roofs and Walls, and

<sup>e</sup> Ἐργον τοῖς λόγοις. Without doubt it must be τὰ λόγια; and a little after (as the words are plac'd in the Greek,) εἰς πόλιν ἐκδοῦναι βέλτεται: and so the Translator seems to have read who renders it thus: Remun per E religiose abs te gestarum rationes Causasque hoc presenti sermone explicare constitui. But he has rendered the word ἔργον ill, which does here signifie Fabricks or Edifices, which by the Latines are termed Opera, Works. For here Eusebius does manifestly treat concerning that Church, which Constantine had built at Jerusalem, in a most magnificent and admirable manner. Further, this passage does plainly confirm Our Emendation at note (d.) in this chapter, πῶς πᾶσι προσέδωκεν ἔχει τὸν ἀνθρώπον. In the Fukezan Copy, the reading is, ἔργον τὰς λόγους καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπων πᾶσι μοι λόγους τοῖς πᾶσι ἐκδοῦναι βέλτεται. Valef.

<sup>h</sup> Ἀνδραπέδαν ὑπεδέξατο. You must add the word φύσιν, He clothed Himself with the humane Nature; which word is ill placed in the foregoing line. This Emendation is confirmed by the Fukezan Copy. Valef.

\* Changed. sent, unless they had been brought to light by the Word of God. But this rendition is not expressive enough of the propriety of the Greek Term. Wherefore, I would rather render it, Nisi verbo Dei adlitterent, unless they had stood by the Word of God. For 'tis a Metaphor, taken from Servants, who, when their Lord calls, are at hand presently. Therefore this verb παρίσταναι is a fit word to be used concerning the Creation of the World. For the Lord said, Let there be made, and they were made. Farther, I have mended this place from the Fukezan Copy. For whereas the reading before was, καὶ ἐδάμνην ἐδάμνην ἦν, I have corrected it, καὶ ἐδάμνην ἐδάμνην ἦν. Valef.

\* Matth. 11. 28.

† Matth. 9. 13.

|| Matth. 9. 12.

† Or, Con-temning, or, neglecting. Translator renders it, Nisi verbo Dei adlitterent in Lucem editefuf-



\* Arch'd-  
Roofs.

† Places  
for Exer-  
cise, or,  
Schools.

|| A long  
Garment  
worn by  
Philoso-  
phers.

\* Οἱ ἱερεῖς  
οὐ λόγον. So were produced out of nothing, and are vastly di-  
also 'tis in  
the Eukerian Copy; instead of ἱερεῖς. Valef.

the Paintings thereon which consist of a variety of Flowers and Colours, and the Golden Lacunaria, and the curious Workmanship thereon, and the Carv'd-works of Stones; and to those very things, attribute the praise and name of the skill of the Artist: whereas, the Cause of the admiration ought not to be ascribed to those things visible to the eye, but only to the Architect of those [curious pieces of work:] and in as much as 'tis to be acknowledged, that there are many works of great Art and Skill; but, that he only is wise and skilful, who is the Author of the Being of such Works as these, and of their being beheld by many. Nor, would they seem in any thing to differ from very young Children, who should admire the Musical Instrument of the Harp it self, which consists of seven Strings; and not the Inventour Himself, and the Person skilled in its Harmony, on account of this his knowledge: or they, who neglecting him that had performed a brave piece of service in the Wars, should adorn the Spear or the Shield, with Triumphant Crowns: or [Lastly] they, who should honour the Forums, the Streets, the Edifices, the lifeless Temples, and the † Gymnasia; in the same degree with the Mighty Emperour, the Author and Founder of the Great and Royal City: whereas 'tis not meet to admire the [Columns or] Stones, but rather the wise Builder himself of this great Work, and him by whose Laws and Sanctions it is Governed. In the very same manner also, they, who with the eyes of the Body behold this Universe, ought not to ascribe its Cause, either to the Sun, or Moon, or to any other of the Celestial Bodies: but must acknowledge all these to be the Works of Wisdom; being in the interim mindful of the Maker and Framers of them, and preferring his Honour and Worship before all other things whatever. But, from a view of these very [Works,] with an entire affection of mind they must reverence and adore him, namely the Word of God, the supream Emperour [of this Universe,] who is not now to be perceived by the eyes of the body, but only by a pure and uncorrupt mind. For, in the Body of a Man, no one hath ever termed the eyes, or head, or hands, or feet, or the rest of the members of a wise and knowing Person, Wisdom; much less has any one termed the || Pallium within which such a Person is wrapt, wise; or his house-hold-stuff, wise; or the Vessels necessary for a Philosopher's use, wise: but every prudent Person admires the invisible and disappearing mind that is in Man. In the same manner also, rather than [we should wonder at] the visible Works of this whole World, which are corporeal, and framed of one and the same matter; we ought to admire that undiscerned and invisible Word, the Framers and Beautifier of this Universe; Who is the only-begotten [Son] of God: Whom the Maker of all things Himself, a Being that far transcends every substance, hath begotten of Himself; and hath constituted Him the Ruler and Governour of this Universe. For, whereas it was impossible, that the transient and frail substance of Bodies, and the Nature of rational Creatures which had been newly made, should approach God the Supream Restour, because of that infinity of distance whereby He excels them: (For He is unbegotten, plac'd above and beyond all things; inexplicable; incomprehensible; inaccessible; inhabiting Light that is not to be approach'd, as the † sacred Oracles tell us: but they

stant, and a long way separated from that unbegotten Nature:) with good reason therefore, the All-Good and Supream God, interposed as 'twere the Middle, Divine, and Omnipotent Power of His own only-begotten Word. Which [Power] is most intimately and most nearly conversant with the Father, and abides within Him, and enjoys His Secrets: nevertheless, it does most graciously condescend and let down it self, and in a manner adapts and fits it self to those, who are power be-far distant from the supream Height. For otherwise, it would be a thing neither pure nor holy, that He who is plac'd above and beyond all things, should be joyned with corruptible matter and Body. not that the Vertue and power of the Son is different from the Vertue and power of the Father. For Eusebius does plainly call it here, the Divine power of the Son. But he gives it the name of Middle, because the Father does nothing by himself, but all things by the Son. Therefore ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to the Father; but the Administration or ἀνομήν to the Son; as Tertullian informs us in his Book against Praxeas. See the Twelfth Chapter; where he does again term the Son, the Middle, and a certain Bond as 'twere, whereby things Created are coupled with the unbegotten Father. And least any one should think, that Eusebius deserves to be reproved here; Alexander Bishop of Alexandria (in his Epistle to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople,) expresses himself in the very same manner; οἱ ἀνδοκίμοι, ὡς μακρόν ἐν εἰν μετὰ πατρὸς ἀφύπνι, καὶ ὅτι ἀποδέντων ὡς αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅτων, λογιστὴν τε καὶ ἀλόγων, ὧν μεσότησα φύσις μονοθεῖας, &c. Eusebius (Book 1. against Sabellius) declares the same thing at large. Non quia non sufficiebat Pater, ideo genuit Filium: &c. Not because the Father was not sufficient, therefore he begat the Son: but because those things which were made were not sufficient to bear the power of him unborn. Therefore he speaks by a Mediatour. Why? Because we could not approach him unborn. Nevertheless, Athanasius refutes these assertions incomparably well, in his third Oration against the Arians, pag. 397. Valef.  
m Περὶ τῆς γ. Doubtless it must be, περὶ τῆς γ. οὐ σαφαι-  
σαν, καὶ ἀμωσύνης; we have rendred it accordingly. Valef.

Therefore, the divine Word \* came down and put \* Or, de- himself into this Universe; and having taken the scended Reins of the whole World into his Hands, Governs and mixt it by an incorporeal and divine power; and, like himself a most wise Charioteer, manages it according as with this, it seems good to Himself. Now, the demonstra- &c. tion of this Discourse is clear and perspicuous. For, if those parts of the World do subsist of themselves, which we have usually termed the first Elements, namely, Earth; Water; Air; and Fire; which consist of a nature void of reason, as we see with our own eyes: [or n,] if there be one matter [or, substance] common to them all, which those Persons skilled in such things as these, are wont to term the Receptacle, Mother and Nurse of all: and if that be without Form and Figure, wholly void of Life and Reason: whence [hath it happened,] (will any one affirm,) that there is in it Beauty and Ornature? Whence [proceeded] the distinction of the Elements? Whence † the concord and a- † Or, The greement of things contrary? Who hath commanded the heavy Element of Earth to be carried on together the moist substance [of Water?] Who hath of, &c. turned back the nature of Waters, which tends downward, and hath carried it about on high, in the clouds? Who hath bound the force of Fire, and [hath commanded it] to lie hid in wood, and to mix with things contrary to its nature? Who hath mingled the cold air with the hot nature of Fire, and ° by putting an end to the mutual fight between them, hath reduced them to con- δ Τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μάχης. I write, τῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μάχης ἀντὶ διαλύσεως, &c. or at least, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μάχης, &c. which latter reading we have fol- lowed. Valef.



6 The Ancients distinguished the *Æther*, from *the heaven*; and by that name of *Æther*, meant *the Element of Fire*. So *Anaxagoras*, as *Aristotle* tells us in *his third Book de Cælo*: whom almost all Persons did afterwards follow, except *the Peripateticks*. For the *Peripateticks* termed the substance of *Heaven, Æther*; (See *Aristotle de Mundo*;) and affirmed that was a fifth Element. The same is asserted by *Heraclides*, in *Allegoriis Homeris*. *Peripatetici*, says he, *aiunt naturam Cœlestium corporum aliam esse ab igne, &c.* The *Peripateticks* do say, that the Nature of the Celestial Bodies is different from fire, and do term it *κυκλοφορητικὴν* (a nature that moves circularly,) and say that it is a fifth Element. For fire, which in Greek is *αἶϛ*, does naturally move upwards: but the Sun and Moon do not. But the *Stoicks* also themselves called the Element of fire, *Æther*; and thought that it was the principal part, (or the *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*,) of the whole World. *Censorinus* (or whoever else is the Authour,) speaks to this effect, in *Chap. 1. de Naturali Institutione. Mundis Principale*

x Τὶ μὲν δῆ. I think it must  
be, τί ὃ μοι. That is, But,  
why do I presume, &c. which  
manner of Expression is very em-  
phatical; when the Oratour does  
as 'twere stop and chide Himself.  
In the *Fuketian* Copy 'tis τί μὲν  
δῆ. Vale.

† Or,  
*Roll'd up.*

CHAP. XII.  
a' Ἀνώτερον αὐτὸ  
δὴ. The words seem to be misplaced, and are to be restored in this manner, αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον, *That, that, the same*; and by αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος, *the same person*, as all Persons are *conspecific* (the same *Mundo*;) cited by He- *braei naturam* *do say*, *the same*, and *do*, and *say* αὐτὸς, *does*. But the *Escher*; and *ὁ ἴδιος*, *of* *Author*, *the* *Mundi* *Principals*



Principale Solum quidam putant; ut Cleanthes, &c. Some think the Sun to be the Principal of the World, as Cleanthes: and Chrysippus, the Æther, by whose perpetual motion the things under it are held and administered. And the Æther it self suffers nothing. So also Eusebius uses it below in this chapter; and St. Austin in his 147th Sermon de Tempore. Valef.

or in any other part of the Universe: but, that 'tis wholly without all things, and hid within some secret Recess of the understanding. The sacred Oracles do teach, that he is to be acknowledged the Only True God; he who is separated from all Corporeal Substance and a foreign to all Ministerial Oeconomie. Wherefore all things, are said to have existed from Him, but not by Him.

Not that the Son is not the true God; but because the Name of God doth properly belong to the Father; in regard he is the Fountain and Author of the Deity. But, whereas Our Eusebius (in his Epistle to Euphratton) hath said, that the Son is not the true God, (as Athanasius and the Fathers of the seventh Synod do object against him;) that is in no wise to be born with. For, although the Father be properly termed God; so that, whenever God is simply and absolutely spoken, we presently understand the Father: nevertheless, the Son is no less truly God, than the Father; in regard the Divinity of the Father and of the Son, is one and the Same. 'Tis certain, Eusebius (in his first Book against Marcellus, de Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 10.) has expressly affirmed that the Son is the true God. Although in the following Chapter, he does a little diminish from what he had said above. The words of Christ in St. John's Gospel (Chap. 17. v. 3.) are these. This is Life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Valef. 'Tis the Learned Petavius's opinion, that the word [Only] in that Text of St. John, does in no wise exclude the Son. For (as he notes from St. Basil, Epist. 141. p. 927.) the words εἷς and μόνος are made use of in scripture, only to distinguish and separate the false Gods; that they may be removed, who are not true Gods, and therefore are not Gods. See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. Tom. 2. De Trini. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. Sect. 14.

Τῆς μοναρχίας ἀλλοτερον. We have shown above, that ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to God the Father; but to the Son, the διοικισμὸν or disposition. Indeed, 'tis the Father's property to reign: but the Son's property, who is the Wisdom of the Father, is to dispose or set in order all things. Wherefore they affirmed, that Rest and Beatitude was the Father's property: but Operation, the Son's. Not that the Father Himself does not work; but because the Father works things unknown and secret; but the Son, things more manifest to us; as Marius Victorinus makes it out, in his first book against the Arians. And the Ancient Divines, before the Nicene Council, termed the Son ὑποστάσις and ὑπερβολή: but afterwards they avoided these Names, as 'tis apparent from St. Chrysostome in his Sermon de Sigillis. Valef.

But he himself, as The Emperour, within in secret and inaccessible apartments, inhabits Light that is always unapproachable, and by the sole power of his own Will does [every where] Determine and Command. For, from his being willing, proceeds the Existence of every thing that is; and he not being willing, it is not. Now, he wills all things that are good, because by his own Es-

Καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν. 'Tis plain that it should be αὐτὸν αὐτὸν. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν, in one word. Valef.

Ἄνεκτον λόγον ἀρρητόν. Doubtless it must be λόγος ἀρρητός, or λόγος ἀρρητός, in a manner inexpressible, as Eusebius says a little lower. Valef.

\* Or, Wholly overflowing, in order, &c.

I may make use of an instance taken from our selves,) as the invisible and undiscovered Mind in us, (which, what, and of what sort it is as to its Essence, no mortal ever yet knew;) residing like some Emperour within the private Apartments of his own Palace, does alone will, and conclude upon those things that are to be done: but Discourse, as 'twere the only-begotten Son, begotten by the mind in a manner that is inexplicable, and by a power not to be expressed, proceeds out of its Bosom; as from its Parent; and

is the first Messenger and Interpreter of its Parent's thoughts to all Persons; and makes a public declaration of those things which its Parent has concluded on in secret; and actually performs its Parents Resolves, conveying it self to the Ears of all Men. Whence 'tis, that Men receive benefit from Discourse: but no Person has ever beheld with his eyes, the latent and invisible mind it self, which is the Parent of Discourse. In the very same manner, or rather in a manner far beyond all comparison and resemblance, the most Perfect Word of the Supreme God, in regard he is the Only begotten Son of the Father, not consisting of a power of pronunciation, nor as to his nature made up of syllables, names, and words; nor expressed by a voice which strikes through the air: but existing the Living and Operating Word of the Supreme God, and subsisting personally, as being the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God; proceeds from his Father's Divinity, and [comes forth] out of his Kingdom. And, in as much as He is the Good Off-spring of the Good Father, and the Common Saviour of all things, he passes thorow, and derives a moisture upon all [living Creatures:] and by Reason of his own fullness of Reason, Wisdom, Light, and of all Goods, he diffuses himself over

all things, not only those that are at hand and near, but them also that are at the remotest distance, whether on the Earth or in the Sea, or where ever else; if besides these there be in nature any other Seat or Habitation allotted to things. To all which, with the greatest equity and justice he appoints Limits, and \* Regions, and Laws, and stated Inheritances; and by his Royal power bestows upon, and supplies each of them with those things that are fit and agreeable. And to some of them he assigns [for their place of Residence,] those

Arches that are above the World; again, to others [He appoints] The Heaven for their Habitation; to others, Ætherial Mansions; to others, the Air; to others, the Earth. And afterwards, he does again remove them

from hence to other places; and makes an exact enquiry into the lives of every one of them, and rewards their Morals, Behaviour, and Conversation. He likewise provides food and nourishment, not only for Creatures endued with reason, but for those that are irrational also, which are of use to Men: and to these Latter, he affords the enjoyment of a mortal and temporary Life; but to the Former, a participation of [a Life] immortal. In fine, he himself, as being the Word of God, effects all things, is every where present, and by his rational power does penetrate

and pass thorow all things. And looking up to his own Father, agreeably to his will and appointment, he governs and manages all inferior things, and which are consequent to him, in regard he is the Common Saviour of all: existing in a manner The Middle [between both,] and joining that Substance which has an Original, with

Ἐποχέουσι τὰ σύμπαντα ζῶν. The last word must be expunged; unless you would rather write ζῶν, living Creatures. For at this place he speaks chiefly concerning living Creatures. Valef.

Τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν οἰκεῖν. Write it in words disjoined, thus, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν οἰκεῖν, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν διατετακται, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν: again, to others [He appoints,] &c. Valef.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν συνήθως. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote, καὶ τῶν μὲν συνήθως καὶ παροικίᾳ ζωῆς ἀπλάουν, τοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μέσσω παρέχων; in which manner the Translator seems to have read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

Τὰ καὶ τῶν καὶ μέντων ἀκατάστατα. At this place the words seem to be transposed with



fed; which with the unbegotten [Father.] For the Word I thus set of God is a most firm middle Bond, which does in order; bind together things distant one from another, and suffers them not to depart far asunder. He is that Providence which Governs the Universe: He it is, who takes care of, Composes, and Corrects all things. He is the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. Lastly, He is the \* Only begotten Word, God begotten of God. For, † In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made: as the sacred expressions of Divine Men do inform us. He is the Common Planter of all things, by whose assistance the substance of all things does sprout and flourish; being continually watered by showers from him, and always [enlivened] with new Vigour, and every day endued with Comeliness and Beauty. He holds the Reins [of the Universe in his hand,] and directs all things in a straight Course, and by the arbitrement of his Father, manages the Helm of that vast Ship of the whole World. Such an incomparable Artist as this, the Only-Begotten Son namely, when he

\* Or, Only Begotten God, the Word begotten of God.

† John 1. 1, 3.

the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made: as the sacred expressions of Divine Men do inform us. He is the Common Planter of all things, by whose assistance the substance of all things does sprout and flourish; being continually watered by showers from him, and always [enlivened] with new Vigour, and every day endued with Comeliness and Beauty. He holds the Reins [of the Universe in his hand,] and directs all things in a straight Course, and by the arbitrement of his Father, manages the Helm of that vast Ship of the whole World. Such an incomparable Artist as this, the Only-Begotten Son namely, when he

<sup>1</sup> Οἷα περὶ ἀγαθόν. It will be far more elegant, if you add a word, in this manner, οἷα περὶ ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθόν, &c. as being the most excellent, &c. I don't doubt but Eusebius wrote thus: for he has often expressed himself so above. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄτε ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀψύχον. Here also the particle is misplaced. Write therefore, ἄτε ψυχὴν σῶμα ἀψύχον, καὶ τῇ ᾧ σωματικῶν, and having infused him as the soul and life, &c. Unless you had rather wholly expunge that particle. 'Tis indeed wanting in the Fekettian Copy. Valef.

life, and figure. Whom we ought to acknowledge and contemplate, as continually and in all places present in Matter, and in the Elements of Bodies; and as the Begetter of all Creatures endued with Life: and [must own] him to be The Light; and the Intellectual Product of inexplicable Light. Who, as to Essence, is One; because begotten of One Father: but contains in himself many powers and faculties. For, because there be many parts of the World, <sup>a</sup> we must not

<sup>a</sup> Ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἵκετο.

The Translator has done ill in rendering it Facultates, Faculties. For, those which Eusebius does here term δυνάμεις, in the following member of the period he calls Gods. It ought therefore to have been rendered Potestates. For so the Latines do term Demons, whom the Greeks are wont to stile δυνάμεις. Servius in B. 3. *Æneid*. Nam potestates, says he, aliæ Cælestes sunt, &c. For some powers are Celestial, others Terrene, others mixt. And in B. 4. Nam potestates aut terrena sunt, &c. For the powers are either Terrene, or Aerial, or Æthereal. Chalcidius on Plato's *Timæus*, p. 97. Quæ potestates, says he, Ætheriæ, ærætiq̃ sunt Dæmones, &c. Which powers are Æthereal and Aerial Demons, removed from our sight, and our other senses. St. Austin uses the same term, in his tenth Book de *Civitate Dei*, Chap. 26: and in his Epistle to Volusianus. Apuleius in his *Apology*. Longinæus in his Epistle to Augustinus. And Amm. Marcellinus, Book 21. Amongst the Greeks, nothing occurs more frequently. St. Jerom on the 2d Chapter of *Joel*: A dexters, says he, & à sinistris virtutes & fortitudines Dei legimus; quas Græci δυνάμεις vocant, &c. Valef.

nor, because many things have been made, is it therefore fit we should determine, that there be many Gods also. ° Indeed,

those Sons of Persons that were worshippers of many Gods, in regard as to their minds they were childish and simple, have err'd miserably; whilst they Deified the Parts of the Universe, and divided the World, which in it self was one, into many. 'Tis the same, as if any Person

should take the eyes of one entire Man, by themselves, and should say that they were one Man; and again, the ears, another Man; and in like manner, the head, [another:] as also the neck, and the breast, and the shoulders, and the feet, and the hands; and having thus divided the rest of the members into pieces; and Lastly, by a mental abstraction, severed the Faculties of the Senses; should affirm him, who is really but one, to be a great many Men. [He that should proceed thus,] would do nothing more than expose his own madness to be laught at by Men of sense. Exactly such a one is he, who forms to himself an infinite number of Gods, out of the parts of one World; or who supposes, that the World it self, which has both a Beginning, and also consists of many parts, is a God; and who does not understand, that 'tis no way possible, that the Divine Nature should consist of parts. For, should it be compounded, it would want some other thing, which might

compound it: <sup>p</sup> nor again, could that in any wise be divine, which should consist of many parts. For, how [should it be divine,] when as it would consist of [things] unlike and different, and of worse and better? But, [the Nature of God] is simple, indivisible, and uncompounded; and is far beyond all this visible constitution of the World. Wherefore, <sup>q</sup> that Preacher of Truth, has cried out with a loud voice, plainly expressing himself in this manner. 'Tis certain, the Word of God, who [existed] before all things, is the only

Saviour of all rational Creatures. <sup>r</sup> But God <sup>Θεός</sup> δὲ who is above all, the Author of the Generation <sup>ἐπέκρινεν</sup> of the Word; in regard he alone is the Cause of <sup>ἀρχὴν</sup> all things, is properly stiled the Father of his own <sup>πατέρα</sup> Word, as of his Only-Begotten: but he himself acknowledges no superiour Cause. Therefore, construed he himself is the Only God: but the Only-Begotten proceeds from him; he is the Saviour of all, the One Word of God, who [pierces] <sup>πείνει</sup> thorow all things. <sup>1</sup> Indeed, this sensible World (as 'twere some many-string'd Harp, made up of it, <sup>quid</sup> dislike chords, whereof some are sharp, others flat <sup>primi</sup> quit, who can't be express'd in words. Which rendition don't please me. I should therefore choose to construe the words another way, so as that it may be said, <sup>ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος</sup> that is, the Origine and Author of the Word. 'Tis certain, Eusebius is wont to term God the Father, <sup>τὸν ἐπέκρινεν πάντων</sup> Him who is above all. Indeed, at this place he compares The Word to The Father. And he says, that The Word is <sup>πρὶν πάντα</sup> before all things: but the Father, He says, is <sup>ἐπέκρινεν πάντα</sup> beyond, or superiour to all things: every where attributing more to the Father. Valef.

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς μὲν ἐν ὁ αὐτὸς τὸς κόσμῳ, &c. Doubtless it must be, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτὸς τὸς κόσμῳ; Indeed, this sensible world. Which is made apparent from the following words. Valef.

<sup>o</sup> Δεῖ μὲν οἷα νῦν. At my peril write, οἷα μὲν νῦν, οἷα νῦν. πολυθεῶν ἀνδρῶν περὶ. &c. Which is the same as if he should have said, οἷα μὲν νῦν πολυθεῶν. Indeed, those Superstitious Worshippers of many Gods. In the Fekettian Copy, the reading is, δεινὴν οἷα, &c. πλάττειν ἐπὶ λαλῶν. Excellently well. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Οὐδ' ἂν πολυμερὲς ἦεν. It must be ἂν εἰς πολυμερὲς, &c. nor again, could, &c. Presently, 'after those words περὶ δὲ, must be set a point of Interrogation; which the Translator perceived not. Valef.

<sup>q</sup> He means St. John the Evangelist, whose words he had cited a little before, In the beginning was the Word, &c. Which word Eusebius does now expound by way of paraphrase. Valef.



some slack, others strain'd, and othersome betwixt both; but all well fitted and proportion'd, according to the Rules of the Art of Musick: in the same manner this world) consisting of many parts, and compounded in a various manner; of Cold namely and its contrary Heat; and again, of a moist substance, and dry the contrary thereto; and of all these making up one Harmony, may fitly be styled the Great Musical Instrument and Composure of the Great God. But the Divine Word, who neither consists of parts, nor is made up of Contraries, but is indivisible and uncompounded, with great art and skill does play upon [this musical Instrument] the Universe; and makes such a melody

\* Or. Due. Ὁς ὅς ἐνὶ σώματι. There is a particle wanting here; which I put in thus; ὅς μὴ ἐν ὅς ἐνὶ σώματι, for, as in one body. It may also be, ὅς ὅς ἐνὶ, But, as in one, &c. Valef.

and set together; but one invisible soul is diffused through all its parts; and one mind, which is indivisible and incorporeal: so also in this Universe, the World it self, consisting of many parts, is made up into one; but the Word of God, whose power is manifold and Omnipotent, is in like manner One; and passes through all things, and is without wandering diffused and spread over all things, and is the cause of all things that are made in them. Do you not with your eyes see this whole world? How one Heaven contains

\* Ἀπλῶς. Perhaps it should be ἀπλῶς, indivisibly. For, The Word of God in an invisible manner is diffused through all things. But the common reading is not rashly to be rejected. For Eusebius means, that the Word of God is infused into all things, not as a spirit, which in a wandering motion passes thorow all things, and is carried sometimes this way, another while that way; but as a Soul, which is spread into all the members at once, and wanders not from these, to those. The Translatour renders ἀπλῶς, reverā, really. Valef.

\* Or. Ἀμφοτέρωθεν. Any one may perceive, that the words are misplaced here also. Write therefore, ἁπλοῦς ὅς ἐν ὅς ἐνὶ σώματι, and we have rendred it accordingly. A little after, I read, ἡλίου ὅς, ἀλλ' ὅς πλείους, ὅς ὅς, &c. Again, One Sun, but not more; so that even by the transcendency—He obscures—&c. Valef.

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besides; whilst like a mad man, he attempts to subvert and discompose those things, which are right and well-constituted by Nature. For, as in things visible, One Sun does enlighten this whole Sensible World: so in things intelligible, One Almighty Word of God illuminates all things, in a manner to us unknown and invisible. For, even in Man himself, one Soul and one Faculty of reasoning, is the Framers of many things all under one: for, one and the same mind, having been instructed in the knowledge of many matters, attempts both to till the Ground, and to build a Ship, and to steer it, and to set up an House. Also, one mind and reason in man, is capable of numerous Sciences. For, one and the same mind is skill'd in Geometry, and in Astronomy; and delivers the rules of Grammar, and Rhetorick, and Physick: nor is [the mind] Mistress of these Liberal Sciences only, but of Arts Manual also. And yet no man was ever hitherto of Opinion, that there are many [Rational] souls in one body: nor hath any one admired or had a suspicion of many substances in the same man, because he is ca-

able of being skill'd in many Sciences. Let us suppose any one to have found an unform'd Lump of clay; and, (after he has softened it with his hands) to have fashioned it into the shape of a living Creature; the head in one figure: the hands and feet in another; and again the eyes in another, as also the cheeks in another; and likewise by the Art of a Potter to have formed the Ears, Mouth, Nose, Breast, and Shoulders. Although there are many Figures, Parts and Members formed in this one Body; yet it must not therefore be thought, that there were as many Framers of this Work: but we must acknowledge the Artist of the whole work to be but one; and must necessarily commend that single person, who by the help of one Reason and one Faculty, has framed the whole Work. The same is to be thought concerning this whole World; which although it be one, yet consists of many parts. Nor must we therefore suppose many framing Powers; or name many Gods: but must attribute the appellation of Divinity to the true God's One power and wisdom, which is compleatly furnished with all manner of sagacity, and with the perfection of Harmony: which by One and that a singular power and virtue, passes thorow all things; and goes through the whole World; and constitutes and enlivens all things; and lastly

\* Or. Stars which go their Rounds about it. Again, how One Sun [leads up] the many other [Daunces of the Stars,] and by the transcendency of His own Light, obscures the splendour of all the rest. In the same manner, the Father being One, his Word must be One also, as being the excellent [Off-spring] of the excellent Father. But, should any person complain, because there are not more; such a One has as good reason to find fault, because there are not more Suns, more Moons, more Worlds, and a thousand things

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\* from it self gives a various supply to all and singular Bodies and Elements. So also, one and the same impression of the Solar Light, at one and the same instant illustrates the air; enlightens the eyes; heats the [sense of] touching; Fattens the Earth, and gives increase to plants: besides, it constitutes Time; rules and leads the Stars; goes round Heaven; beautifies the world; and renders the power of God, manifest and apparent to every one: and all these things it performs, by one and the same force of its own Nature. In like manner, the Nature of Fire, refines gold, melts lead; dissolves wax; dries clay; and burns wood: so many, and such great things it performs by one power and faculty, that namely of burning. In the very same manner, the Word of God, the Supreme Moderator of all things, who passes through all things, exists in all things, and || overspreads all things, as || well Celestial as Terrestrial; visible and visible, and by

unspeakable powers rules the Sun Himself, Heaven, and the whole world; is present with all things by his active power, and goes thorow all things. And on the Sun Himself, and on the Moon, and the Stars, He sheds forth a perpetual light out of His own Fountain of light. The Heaven, which He hath made as the most fit resemblance of His own Greatness; He does for ever govern. But the Powers which are beyond Heaven and the world it self, namely the Angels and Spirits, and the intelligent and rational substances; are by Him filled and enrich'd, with life and light, and wisdom, and all manner of Virtue, and Beauty, and Goodness, out of his own Treasures. Lastly, by one and the same framing Faculty, He never ceases from furnishing the Elements with substance, and Bodies with mixtures and Temperaments, and moreover, with Forms, and Figures, and innumerable Qualities;

\* Ἀρρητον δυνάμεων. It must I think, be, ἀρρητων λόγων δυνάμεων ἡνιοχέι; or else, as 'tis in the Euk. Copy, ἀρρητοις δυνάμεων, by inexpressible or unspeakable powers. A little after, where the reading is, ὅς ἐν ὅς ἐνὶ σώματι; the Translatour seems to have read, ὅς ἐν ὅς ἐνὶ σώματι, &c. and on the Sun Himself, &c. Valef.

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<sup>2</sup> \*Εν τῇ ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις. In the Fuk. Copy, these words are wanting; they consist of seven Cords, but this one all Har- monious Universe, is the work of The One World-creating Word.

fary. Valef.

CHAP. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Δέξω μὲν τὸν ἰσχυρὸν λόγον. It must be writ- ten in conjoined words, thus λέ- γωμεν δὴ τὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, as 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. Valef.

Divinity, [the stream] as 'twere from that su- pream Fountain it self, and is always present and conversant with this world; and that he exhi- bits most apparent and manifest Indications of his own Providence and Care in reference to men: have given the adorable name [of God] to the Sun and Moon, and to the Heaven it self and the Stars. Nor have they stop'd here: but have likewise deified a terrene Nature, and the Fruits produc'd from the Earth, and all manner of nourishment of Bodies: framing for themselves Images of Ceres, of Proserpina and Bacchus, and of infinite other such like [Dei- ties.] Neither has it sufficed them to proceed thus far: but they have not been afraid of de- claring the thoughts of their own minds, and Speech it self the Interpreter of those thoughts, to be Gods: terming the mind, Minerva; and Speech Mercurius: they have likewise named those faculties of the mind, whereby Arts and Sciences are acquired, \* Moneta and The Muses. Nor have they stop'd here: but making every day new accessions to their absurdities, by reason of their transcendent impiety, they have deified their own Commotions and perturbations of mind, which they ought to have had an aversion for, and to have cur'd by the Prescripts of Temperance. And even to their very Lust it self, and to the Mischievous and unruly disease of their Souls, and to those parts of the Body that are the Incentives to obscenity;

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδονῇ ἀκροατέα. It is to be made, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδονῇ ἀκροατέα, &c. and moreover, &c.; for 'tis referred to the word ἀκροατέα. Eusebius says, that unchast passions were con-secrated by men. For they called their Lust by the name of Cupid; and the members wherewith acts of obscenity were performed, Priapus; and that intemperance which spreads it self into filthy pleasures, they termed Venus. This is the meaning of this place, which the Translatour perceived not. Valef.

\* Roll, or, the immortal and divine Nature, does \* wander about Tombes and Sepulchres. Nor has this put a stop to their madness: but they have honoured all sorts of irrational Creatures, and the most noxious kinds of Creeping things, with the ve- nerable Title [of Divinity.] Neither were they satisfied herewith: but they have cut down Trees, and ben'd out Stones, and have dug forth the Minerals of the Earth, Brass, Iron, and other mat-

ter; whereof they have form'd Resemblances of Women and shapes of men, and figures of wild Beasts and creeping things: and afterwards paid them a divine worship and Honour. Nor have they put an end to their madness here: but have given the Name of Gods to those malignant Dæ- mons, which had hold in Images, and lay lur- king within obscure and dark Recesses, and who with greediness gap'd after and swallowed Li- bations, and the stinking savours of sacrifices. Nor did they stop here: but by certain Liga- tures of forbidden Crafts, and by wicked and compulsory enchanting Verses and charms, they allured and enticed those Dæmons and invi- sible powers which fly about the Air, to be their Assistants and Familiars. Moreover, some mortal men were deified by one sort of people; Magick others, by another. For the Greeks honoured Art. Ar- Bacchus, and Hercules, and Æsculapius, and Apollo, and some other men, with the name of Hero's and Gods. But the Egyptians esteemed Horus, and Isis, and Osiris, and other such like men as these, to be Gods. And these persons, who on account of their transcendent sagacity, boasted of the Invention of Geometry, Astrono- my, and Arithmetick; understood not, nor were so well skilled, (though in their own judg- ments they look'd upon themselves to be such wise and knowing men;) as to weigh and con- sider, the measures of the power of God, and [to examine] how great a difference there is between His, and a mortal and brutish Nature.

verb κατὰ δὲ τὸν. The Latines call them Ligaturas, Ligatures. St. Austin's words, in his seventh Tractate on St. John, are these. U- que adeo, fratres mei, &c. In so much, my Brethren, that those very persons, who seduce by Ligatures, by charms, by the deceits and engines of the Enemy, mix the name of Christ with their own Charms. Orosius (B. 4. C. 13.) calls it obligamentum magicum, a Magick Bond or Tye. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁδῶν. It must be made εὐδαιμονίας, compulsory; from the Fuk. Copy. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Παρόδους. Tertullian in his Book De Anima, has termed them in Latine Paredros Spiritus, which he joyns with the Catabolick and Pythonick Spirits, who were put into men by Magicians. Now, they were called Paredri Demones, who afflicted men, and kept off diseases and unhappy accidents from them. This we are told by Tertullian (in his Apolog. Chap. 23) in these words. Si & somnia immittunt, habentes simul invitatorum angelorum & Demonum adstantem sibi po- testatem. For Magicians had Demons that afflicted and obeyed them, who were their Paredri, Familiars; by whose help they performed many miracles. Besides, they put such Spirits into others, that they might either infuse dreams into them, or be always present with them in order to their defence. The former sort of Spirits they termed ὀνειροποιεῖς, senders or causers of Dreams: the Latter they call'd παρόδους, Assistants or Familiars. Sometimes also, by Ma- gick charms they threw boys against the ground, who being afterwards raised, as 'twere from a Fit of the falling-sickness, foretold things fu- ture to those that consulted them. Which thing they performed by Catabolick Spirits, as Heraldus has rightly remark'd at Tertullian's Apology. From hence Salmasius's mistake is made apparent, who (in his notes on Spartianus, pag. 40.) affirms, that those were termed Paredri, who from being men were reckoned amongst the Gods, and were made Assessors to the Gods. Which opinion of Salmasius's, Gothofred has embraced in his notes on Tertullian's second Book ad Na- tiones. Turnebus (B. 26. Adversar.) is much righter; save that he renders it malos genios, evil Geni: whereas notwithstanding, the Good Geni, and ἀετὶμοὶ were so termed, as Lucian writes con- cerning Hephaestion. Lastly, they usually termed the Infernal Gods, not the Celestial, Paredri; which being not observed by Salmasius, was the occasion of his mistake. See Demosthenes in Orat. Funebr. about the close: and Diodorus Siculus, B. 1. pag. 45. and lastly Ru- finus's Eccles. History B. 2. Chap. 3. From which Authors 'tis plain, that the Infernal Gods were termed Paredri. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀνδρεία; Moreover, &c. Which though a small fault, yet ought not to have been omitted. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἐκ ἑγνώσαν. Here the words seem to be misplac'd. I read therefore, ἐκ ἑγνώσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἀνδρεία; &c. Which way of writing this place, we have followed in our Version. In the Fuk. Copy, this passage is written thus, κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς καὶ ἀετὶμοῦ ἀνδρείας, παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἐκ ἑγνώσαν, &c. Which reading I don't approve of. Valef.

Hence



Hence it was, that they were not ashamed of deifying every sort of filthy and ill-favoured Beasts, and all manner of living Creatures, and venomous Serpents, and savage Beasts. Also, the Phœnicians gave the Title of Gods to Melcartus and Uforus, and to some other obscure persons, who had heretofore been men. And so did the Arabians, to one Dufares and Obodas; and the Getæ, to Zamolxis; and the Cilicians, to Mopsus; and the Thebæans, to Amphiaraus: and again some [made Gods] of these others of those; persons in nothing different from a mortal nature; but such as in reality were meer men. All the Egyptians by a general consent, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and in short the whole Body of mankind which the Rays of the Sun do enlighten, [have attributed divine honours] to the parts of the world, and to the Elements, and to the fruits which spring out of the Earth. And which is yet more strange, although they acknowledge their adulteries, their Sodornies, and their Ravishments of Women; nevertheless they have filled all Cities and Towns and Countries, with their Temples and Statues and Shrines; and in a conformity to the Morals of their Gods, they have totally ruined their own Souls. Indeed, in words and expressions you might frequently hear Gods named amongst them, and Sons of Gods, also Heroes, and Good Genii: But the thing it self was quite different and contrary. For they grac'd contrary things with contrary names: in the same manner as if a man desirous to shew another the Sun and the Luminaries in the Heaven, should not lift up His eyes thither; but should cast his hands downwards towards the earth, and throwing them on the ground, grope for the Celestial Powers in the dirt and mire. Thus mankind, [induced thereto] by a stupidity of mind, and the fraud of mischievous Dæmons, was fully persuaded, that the intelligible Nature of God, which does far transcend Heaven and the world it self, resided be-

low in the Generation of Bodies; in the Affections of mortals, and in death. Further, men were arrived at such an height of madness, that they sacrificed their dearest Pledges to them; nor would they spare even Nature it self; but, out of fury and a distraction of mind, murdered their only-begotten, and the dearest of their children. For, what can be supposed a madder action than this, to sacrifice men; and to pollute all Cities, and their own Houses with intestine murders? Doe not the Greeks themselves give testimony to these matters? Is not every History fill'd with the rehearful of these things? The Phœnicians did every year sacrifice their most beloved, and only begotten children, to Saturn.

To the very same [God,] in [the Island] Rhodes, on the sixth day of the month Metageitnion, they offered men in sacrifice. Also at Salamis, in a Temple of Minerva Agraulis and Diomedes, 'twas the custom, that a man, pursu'd by others should run round about the Altar thrice; after which the Priest stab'd him into the stomach with a Lance; and thus he laid him on a pile of wood set on fire, and wholly consumed him. In Egypt likewise, innumerable slaughters of men were committed. For at Heliopolis, three men were every day sacrificed to Juno: the barbarousness of which thing, King Amoses having look'd into and rightly considered, ordered the like number of men made up of wax, to be substituted in their room. Also in [the Island] Chius they sacrificed a man to Bacchus Omadius; and they did the like in Tenedos. In Lacedæmon they performed a sacrifice to Mars by [offering] men: and they did the very same in Creet, where they sacrificed a man to Saturn. At Laodicea in Syria, a Virgin was every year sacrificed to Minerva; in place of whom a Hart is now offered. Moreover, the Libyans and Carthaginians appeased their own Gods with humane sacrifices. Also, the Dumateni of Arabia offered a Boy in sacrifice yearly, whom they were wont to bury under the Altar. History does inform us, that all the Greeks in general, before they march'd out to war, usually sacrificed a man: and the Thracians and Scythæ are recorded to have done the like. The Athenians mention the Virgin-

From Porphyrius it must be made τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τέτρω, to the very same; understand νεβῶν, Saturnus Valef.

Ἐν Ἀρ. ὁ δὲ ἀμώσιος. Doubtless it must be made ἀνδ' ὅν, from Porphyrius's Second Book de Abstemietate; whom our Eusebius has transcrib'd here, almost word for word. And so the reading is in the Fukeian Copy; agreeably whereto we have rendred it Valef.

Δεσπερίν πνα ὁ ὁδόν. The reading must be ὁ ὁδόν, and Obodas. For the Arabians worshipped Obodas and Dufares, as Tertullian tells us, Book 2. ad Nationes, Chap. 8. Concerning Obodas see Uranius in his fourth Book of Arabick Antiquities. Obodas was a most ancient King of the Arabians who was buried amongst the Nabathæi, and had divine honours paid him by them, as Stephanus relates in the word ὁδόν. From him many Kings of Arabia were afterwards called by the name of Obodas; two of whom Josephus mentions; the one in the times of Alexander King of the Jews; the other, in the Reign of Herod. Strabo also makes mention of the latter. Further, as far as may be conjectured from Histories, the Arethæ and Obodæ Reigned by turns amongst the Arabians: so that, after an Arethæ, succeeded an Obodas; and after an Obodas, an Arethæ. And this seems to have continued a long while. The Nabathæi worshipped Dufares also, by which name they meant Bacchus, as Isidorus in Hesychius informs us. Stephanus in the word δασαίοι, speaks concerning this God also. In the Fukeian Copy, the reading here is, δεσπερίν πνα ὁ ὁδόν. Valef.

Καὶ ἐμπεριον. It must be written, ὁ οἱ γεῶν; understand πᾶσις; and we have rendred it accordingly. Zamolxis is a known God of the Getæ. Presently, the reading must be, ὁ τὸν μόρον κίλκισ, ὁ ἡ ἀμωιδεῶν διδασίαι. ὁ πάλιν ἐπερὶ ἀλλας, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἐπερὶ, &c; and the Cilicians, to Mopsus, In the Fukeian Copy the reading is, ὁ πρὸ ἐπερὶ, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἐπερὶ. Valef.

Βλαστῆντις κατὰς λέπιδ. The last word was added by the Transcriber of this Book, to the intent he might thereby shew, that there is an imperfection here. Indeed, at this place some words seem to be wanting. Unless you have a mind to understand these words in common, δεῖς ἀνθρώπων gave the Title of Gods, which are made use of a little before. In the Fukeian Copy, that word λέπιδ occurs not; but after the word κατὰς a point is set. Valef.

Καὶ δὲ πάλιν πᾶσις. I think it should be, ὁ δὲ πᾶσις, and the sons of Gods. In the Fukeian Copy 'tis πᾶσις. Valef.

Τὰς λεωκόρας. These words are wanting in Porphyrius, which our Eusebius has added of his own. Indeed Porphyrius, in regard he treated concerning humane Victims, and spake of the Athenians, ought not to have omitted this instance. There was heretofore one Leus amongst the Athenians, the son of Orpheus, as Suidas says; who (when Athens was afflicted with famine, and an answer had been given by Apollo Delphicus, that the City should no otherwise be preserved, unless some one of the Citizens would offer their daughters in sacrifice to the Gods;) delivered up his three daughters, Phasitheæ, Theopæ, and Eubule, to be sacrificed for the safety of the City. Alianus Book 12. Variæ Historiæ, Chap. 28. indeed of Phasitheæ, names her Praxitheæ. Nothing occurs more frequently amongst the Greek Orators, than the mention of these three daughters of Leus; as in Aristides's Panathenæicus, in Libanius's thirteenth Declamation. Demosthenes or whoever else is the Author, in the Oration entitl'd ἐπὶ τῷ φιλοκρίῳ, reckons this Leus amongst the ἐπὶνύμιοι, or Founders of the Tribes;



Tribes; from whom the Tribe of Leon took its name. For these are his words: ἡμετέραν οἱ λεοντίδαι μυθολογούμενας τὰς λέων κώας, αἱ δὲ αὐτὰς ἔδωκαν σφάραν τοῖς πολιταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Clemens Alexandrinus does likewise mention him, in his *Protrepticon*; and Gregory Nazianzene in his *Poem De Virtute*; and amongst modern writers, Leopardus in his nineteenth Book, in the last chapter save one. Valef.

Erechtheus the son of Pandion, had six daughters; Procreia, Procris, Crensa, Oribia, and Chthonia. The two eldest of these, Procreia namely and Pandora, when an army of the Enemy had made an irruption out of Boeotia into Attica, voluntarily offer'd themselves to be sacrificed for the safety of their Country. On whom the Athenians conferred great honours after their deaths, and gave them the name of *Virgines Hyacinthidae*, because they had been sacrificed in Hyacinthus a Village of Attica, near the Village of the Sphendalenses. Thus Phanodemus writes in the fifth Book of his *Res Atticae*, as Suidas attests in the word *πρεδέρων*. Whence a passage of Cicero's is clear'd, in His *Oration pro Sextio*, where his words are these. *Mortem quam etiam Virgines Athens, regis Opior Erechthei filiae pro patria contempsisse dicuntur, Ego vir consularis, &c.* See Diodorus Siculus, Book 17. and Demosthenes (or whoever else is the Author,) in the forementioned *Oration* entitled *ἐπιτάφιος*. Others say, that Erechtheus had but four daughters, who bound one another in mutual oaths, that if one of them should die, the rest should kill themselves. Afterwards, when Eumolpus assisting the Eleusinii, had made an irruption into Attica with great forces of the Thracians; an answer was given to Erechtheus consulting the Oracle, that the Victory should fall to the Athenians, if Erechtheus would sacrifice one of his daughters. Erechtheus therefore offered his youngest daughter Chthonia in sacrifice: which done, the other three daughters, according as they had obliged themselves by oath, killed themselves. Thus Apollodorus in his *Bibliotheca*, and Hyginus in his 46th and 238th Fable: in whom the name of Chthonia is corrupted. These three daughters of Erechtheus, Sisters to Chthonia, Euripides (in his *Erechtheus*) had termed *ῥεπιδέρων*, as Hesychius attests; and had feigned, that after their death, they were turn'd into the Hyades. Theon's words on Aratus's *Phaenomena*, are these: *ἐνερπιδας γὰρ ἐν ἐρεχθίδας τὰς ἐρεχθίδας θυγατέρας, ὡς αὖτε φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος ὅτις ἔπας.* Farther, as to the *Virgines Hyacinthidae*, some have affirmed, that they were not the daughters of Erechtheus, but of one Hyacinthus. So Harpocration, in the word *ὑακινθίδες*; and Hyginus in his forementioned 238th Fable. Valef.

Katὰ τὴν μέγαν πόλιν, in the great City. The Translatours have done ill in rendring it *Megalopolis*. For Porphyrius, whose words Eusebius makes use of here, gave Rome that name, according to the usage of his own age; as it has been long since remark'd by Joseph Scaliger in his *Animadversions* on Eusebius, pag. 53. 'Tis certain, Libanius in his *Oration* entitled *βουλικὸς*, does so term the City Rome. Farther, what Porphyrius says, (namely, that at Rome, on the Festival of Jupiter Latiaris, still in his age a man was sacrificed;) is confirmed by Lactantius, Book 1. chap. 21. *Siquidem, says he, Latiaris Jupiter & nunc sanguine colitur humano; for Jupiter Latiaris is even at this present worshipt with humane blood.* Prudentius's words in his first Book against Symmachus, are these:

*Funditur humanus Latiari in munere sanguis.*

Dion Cassius speaks concerning this Feast, in his fourth third Book, pag. 351. Now, the *Latiaria* were celebrated in December, as I think. For in that month the *Gladiators Show* was exhibited, as we are informed from Heruvartius's *Calendarium*. In the *Latiare Sacrum* the usage was, that the blood of that Gladiator who had been killed in the encounter, should whilst it was warm, be offered to Jupiter, and as it were flung in his face; as Cyprian relates in his Book *De Sp. Elaculis*, and Tertullian in his *Apologetic*, Chap. 9. There is an eminent passage in Justin the Martyr's *Apology* to the Senate, where he speaks concerning this solemnity. His words are these. — τὰ ἴσα τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν προσηνέει εἰδὼς, ὅτι μόνον ἀλλόγων ζώων αἷματι σφραγίζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τὸ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ἐπισημαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἀνδρῶν τὸ σφραγίσθαι τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν. — Doing the same things that are done by you to an Idol you worship. On which is sprinkled not only the blood of irrational Creatures, but humane Blood also, by the eminentest and most noble personage amongst you, who makes this Libation of the Blood of those slain. From which place we gather, that the Prætor of the City performed this sacrifice: and that a man was not sacrificed to Jupiter, as Porphyrius says; but only, that the blood of a Gladiator killed in the Theater, was offered to Jupiter. Valef.

blest Boy's to Saturn; and that three hundred other persons voluntarily presented their own sons, not fewer in number, to be sacrificed. But Dionysius, the Writer of the Roman History, does relate, that Jupiter himself in his own name, and Apollo, required Humane sacrifices in Italy, from those termed The Aborigines: and says farther, that those persons from whom these sacrifices had been required, offered a portion of all manner of Fruits to the Gods: but, because they did not sacrifice men also, [he adds] that they fell into all sorts of Calamities; and, that they could not procure a relaxation from these mischiefs, till such time as they had \* Decimated themselves. And that, being in this manner compelled to take off every tenth man by offering him in sacrifice, they became the Occasioners of the depopulation of their own Country. With so many and such great Calamities was the whole Body of mankind heretofore afflicted. Nor yet was this the only unhappiness wherewith men were attended: but they were slaves to infinite other, and those deplorable and incurable mischiefs. For all the Nations disperst thorowout the whole world, both Greeks and Barbarians, stirred up as 'twere and provok'd by a devilish impulse, were seized with the horrid and most sore disease of Sedition; in so much that, the Sons of Men were unsociable, and irreconcilable one to another; the great Body of Common Nature was torn piece-meal [and its members scatter'd] here and there; and in every corner of the Earth men were dis-united, and strove with one another on account of their different Laws and Forms of Government. And not only this; but being enraged by frequent commotions and insurrections, they made attacks upon one another: so that, they spent their whole lives in continued fights and intestine wars; nor durst any one, unless arm'd at all points like a warrior, stir abroad and travel whither he had a mind to go. Moreover, throughout all Countries and in the Villages, the Boors wore swords; and possess themselves of provisions of Arms, rather than of Tools and furniture to till the ground: and to pillage and make slaves of such of the neighbourhood as they had taken Prisoners, was by them placed to the account of valour. Nor were they satisfied only with this; but taking an occasion of leading unclean and wicked lives, from those Fables which they themselves had coyn'd concerning their own Gods; they ruined their own souls as well as bodies, by all the ways and methods of intemperance. Nor

The Translatour has not hit the meaning of this place; he renders it thus: *Et nihilominus trecentos alios sacrificio addidisse, and nevertheless added three hundred more to the sacrifice.* But *ἐνδεδόξαι* is a proper term used concerning those Fathers, who deliver up their children to be sacrificed to the Gods, as we have seen above concerning Leusthe Athenian. When therefore the Nobles in Africa had presented three hundred other Boy's to be sacrificed to the Gods, Diodorus says, that three hundred other Boy's were in like manner presented by other persons; that they might shew their piety towards the Gods, no less evidently than the former had done. But I had rather read *δικοσίους* two hundred instead of *τριακοσίους* three hundred. Questionless, it must either be *δικοσίους* two hundred, here; or else above, instead of *δικοσίους* two hundred, it must be made *τριακοσίους* three hundred. Valef.

\* *Ἀντὶ δὲ θύουσιν.* I think it must be *ἀντὶ θύουσιν αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ*; which reading I have followed in my rendition. But our Eusebius is mistaken. For Dionysius Halicarnassensis (pag. 16.) relates, that the Gods required that of the Pelasgi, not of the Aborigines; and that the men were not slain by them, but banish'd out of their Country. In the Fugorian Copy the word *ἀντὶ* is wanting. Valef.

\* That is, Offered every tenth man of themselves in sacrifice.

Or, Tillers of the Ground. Indeed, about the beginning of Dioclesian's Reign, the Boors in Gallia, having entred into a Combination amongst themselves, took up arms, and infested the High-ways, giving themselves the name of *Bacaudæ*; as we are told by Orosius Futropius, and Mamertinus in Maximianus's *Panegyric*. Farther, from this passage of Eusebius we are informed, that that sort of Robbery was practised almost throughout the whole Roman world. Valef.

did



† Or, Ir-  
rational  
and for-  
tuitous  
Nature.

\* Τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς λογικῆς ἀρχῆς.  
The Translator seems to have read τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις λογικῆς ἀρχῆς *his rational Flock amongst Men*. But I had rather read, τῆς ἡωτῆς λογικῆς ἀρχῆς, *his own rational Flock*. For so Eusebius is wont to call God the Word, namely the Pastour of His rational Flock. Nevertheless in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, written in a contracted manner. *Vale!*

γ 'Ὡς ἂν ἔκεί' ἀνδραγάτας. It must be ὡς δὲ ἔκεί' ἀνδραγάτας, &c. But when, &c. or else, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, ὡς ἔν, when therefore, &c. *Vale!*

tioned above. <sup>2</sup> On account therefore of all which,   
 ἐπεὶ πάλιν when He was come to the converse of Mortals,   
 πάλιν. I had He performed not that which had been usual and   
 long since customary to Him; for He was incorporeal, and   
 guests'd, and that the

But He \* made use of a new and unusual man-<sup>\* Or,</sup>  
ner of acting. For, having assumed a mortal<sup>Chang'd</sup>  
Body, He vouchsafed to discourse and converse<sup>His usual</sup>  
with Men; with this Design, that He might save<sup>manner, for</sup>  
Mankind by its like. a newer.

a and who any other way were unable, or at least unwilling, to inspect the Parent and Maker of all things; unless He had exposed Himself to view under an humane Form and Shape? Hence it was, that by the most agreeable assistance of a mortal Body, He descended to a Converse with Men, because such a Body was familiar and acceptable to them. For, as the common proverb assures us, Like loves its Like. <sup>b</sup> In the same manner therefore, the Word of God shewed Himself to those, who \* were lead by a sense of things Visible, and who sought Gods in

Statues and Sculptures of lifeless Images, and  
sanctified that the Deity dwelt in matter and in a  
Body; and lastly, who termed mortal Men, Gods.  
On this account He procured Himself † the In- † Or, A  
strument of a Body, as some most holy Temple; Bodily In-  
the sensible habitation of a rational Faculty; † strument.  
a venerable and most sacred Statue, of far greater  
worth and value than every inanimate Image.  
For an Image consisting of lifeless Matter, which  
has been form'd into an humane Shape by the  
hands of sordid and mean Mechanicks, the Sub-  
stance whereof is either Brass or Iron, Gold or  
Ivory, Stones or Wood; is a most fit and com-  
modious Mansion for Dæmons. But that Divine  
Statue, fram'd and polish'd by the || Omnipotent in- || Or,  
dustry of Divine Wisdom, was a partaker of Power of  
Life and an intellectual Substance. A Statue &c.  
that was filled with all manner of Vertue: a Statue  
that was the Residence of God the Word, and a  
Holy Temple of the most Holy God. The Inha-  
bitant whereof [God] The Word, was conver-  
sant amongst, and became acquainted with mor-  
tals, by means of an Instrument that was familiar  
and of kin to them: nevertheless, He submitted  
not himself to the like passions with Men; neither,  
as an humane Mind is, was He bound \* by the \* Or, To  
Bonds of the Body; nor, being made worse than the Body.  
Himself, did He change His own Divinity.  
For;

<sup>a</sup> Ἄλλως δὲ δύναμεις. This whole place is thus to be mended; ἄλλως τε ἔ. δυνάμεναις ἢ μὴ βυλομέναις, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων γρησισερὸν τε καὶ πιπιτῶ ἑαυτοῦ. εἰ μὴ δὲ ἀνθρωπείν γήματος τε καὶ εἶδους, ἑαυτὸν ἔφηνεν, and *who any*, &c. In the *Fuk.* Copy the reading is ἄλλως πῶς ἔ. δυνάμεναις. *Valeſi.*

9 Kai taŭtā m. Without  
doubt it must be x<sup>91</sup> taŭtā m.  
In the same manner; so the  
reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*.  
Valef.

\* Or, *Rejoyce in a sense, &c.*

self † the In-† Or, A  
holy Temple ; Rodily In-  
† Instrument.

|| Or,  
f Power of  
&c.



\* Or,  
When It  
incorpore-  
ally touches  
a Body.

*Eusebius* terms the Humane Nature which Christ assumed, τὸ ἄνθρωπον; in the same manner that the *Latine Fathers* are wont to speak concerning Christ that He assumed *Humanity, Man*. So *Eusebius* uses it a little above, where His Words are, δι' οὗτου καὶ περιέβλητο ἀνθρώπου, by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed. It occurs hereafter also.

\* Or, *Help.*

\* Or. Such <sup>f</sup>ible of \* His Divinity. And these things He  
a Divin- performed in obedience to His Father's Counsels,  
ty. Himself continuing the same that He was before

yet I can't omit that reading which I Found in the *Fuketian Copy*, *μυλων αυτος παλιν αυλα* Θ, σι Θ, &c. which reading I think to be truer. A little after, where the reading is *ἐνθα ἦν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σκεῦ* Θ, I have added a word from the *Fuk. Copy*; where 'tis thus worded, *ἐνθα ἦν ὡπλὸ τὸ*, &c. *where his humane Vessel was.* Valef.

g<sup>o</sup>ard He is impassible, suffer any thing in reference to his Essence. For neither, if an Harp should by accident be broken, or the Chords thereof necessary that He Himself should who plays upon the Harp. If any wise Man happen to be slain, or crucified, or burnt, for any reason we should affirm, that any wise Man, or the Soul in it, is mangled or burnt. In the very same manner, and on a far better account, 'tis agreeable to reason we should assert, that the Power of the Divine Word received no damage, from the \* sufferings of the Body: in as

and the intellectual Light it  
self; whatsoever thing He  
shall have touch'd by his di-  
vine and incorporeal Virgine,  
that thing must afterwards of  
necessity live, and be conver-  
sant in rational Light. <sup>k</sup> In  
like manner also, whatever  
Body He shall have touch'd,  
that Body is forthwith sancti-  
fied and illuminated: and im-  
mediately every disease, sick-  
ness, and Trouble departs  
from it. And those things  
which before were empty, re-  
ceive some portion from his  
Fulness. Wherefore, He spent  
almost the whole Course of  
His Life in such a manner,  
that He might sometimes shew

burst; is it \* ne- \* Or,  
d suffer any thing, Likely.  
Nor if the Body of  
nished, is there any  
the Wisdom in that  
at Body, is either

<sup>h</sup> Ταύτη τε πολὺ πλέον. I write  
ταύτη γὰρ καὶ πολὺ πλέον; and  
have rendered it accordingly. In  
the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is  
ταύτη πλουτλέον. In this man-  
ner *Eusebius* has exprest Himself  
a little above. *Valeſe.*

\* Or, Affections.

i 'Αὐτὸ ζῶν, *πυξέραν*. The word αὐτὸ ζῶν, and that which follows αὐτὸ φῶς, must in writing be joyned together, as one word, that is, as *Græcians* term it, ὅν' ἐν. Further, in the *Geneva-Edition*, this place was confus'd by the Printers fault; which we have restored thus, πάντες ἡ ἀν ἐπα-  
λαστο, *whatsoever thing He shall have touch'd*. And to the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valef.

<sup>k</sup> ταύτη τὸ καὶ ἐσώματι. Without doubt it must be worded thus, ταύτη τὸ καὶ σώματι, ἢ ἐν ἐσώματι, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. Nothing is more certain than this Emendation. For the following words do plainly shew, that Eusebius speaks thus concerning a Body. And therefore I found it written in the Fugate Copy. Valtf.

his own Body to be lyable to the same Passions  
that we are; but at others, that he might de-  
clare



clare Himself to be God the Word: whilst He performed Great and Wonderful Works, as God, and foretold things future long before they hapned; and demonstrated the word of God, (who was not seen by many,) by the things themselves; namely, by prodigious Works, Miracles, Signs, and

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μὴν Stupendious Powers; <sup>1</sup> and moreover, by Divine Doctrines, whereby He incited the Minds of Men, that they should prepare their Souls for [the Blessedness] of that supernal Habitation which is beyond Heaven.

us, &c. and moreover, &c. For so Gracians are wont to express themselves. And thus 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

CHAP. XV. **W**HAT remains now, but that we give an account of the cause and reason of that thing, which is the chief and principal of all: I mean the much-talk'd-of End of His Life, and the manner of his Passion; and the grand Miracle of his <sup>a</sup> Resurrection after Death. After an explication of which [particulars] we will confirm the demonstrations of them all, by most manifest Testimonies. [The Divine Word] therefore, having, on account of those reasons mentioned by us, <sup>b</sup> made use of a mortal instrument, as of a \* Statue most becoming the Majesty of God; and, in regard He is the Great Emperour, having by its Ministry, as 'twere by that of an Interpreter, † been conversant amongst Men; He performed all things in such a manner as became the Divine Power. Now, if, after that Life spent amongst Men, He had by some other means

<sup>a</sup> Ἀναμνήσεως, remembrance. It must be made ἀναμνήσεως, resurrection, as the Translator seems to have read. Presently, the reading must be καὶ τὸν τέτον δαείων, after an explication, or consideration of which [particulars;] as 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> καὶ ἐκχρησάμενος, τε, ἔτετο αὐτό. The words are misplac'd here, a thing which has frequently hapned in these Books, as I have already told you. I write therefore, καὶ ἐκχρησάμενος, αὐτὸν τε τέτον δα μέγας βασιλῆς, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. In Fuket's Copy, 'tis καὶ ἐκχρησάμενος, τέτον αὐτόν, &c. Valef.

\* Or, Image.  
† Or, Lived an humane Life.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀρνήσις ἐν γὰρ αὐτοῖς. One of the two last words must be expunged. Valef.

a flight had endeavoured to rescue His own Statue from the danger of Death; and if afterwards, of Himself He had adjudg'd that very mortal Body to Death and Corruption: doubtless, all Men would have believed Him to have been a meer

<sup>d</sup> καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ. Questionless it must be written thus, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ πρὸς πάντας διεπέμπετο. Nor would He Himself, &c. the necessity of which emendation is plainly confirmed by the following words. Valef.

Apparition or Ghost. <sup>d</sup> Nor would He Himself have performed those things which became Himself; in regard (although He was The Life, and The Word of God, and The Power of God; yet) He would have delivered up

His own Interpreter to Death and Corruption. Nor would those things which He had performed against the \* Devil, have been terminated by an illustrious conflict and Combat with Death. Nor could it have been accurately known, whither He had withdrawn Himself: nor would He have been believed by those, who had not seen Him with their Eyes: nor could it have been made apparent, that He has a nature superior to Death: nor could He have freed Mortal Nature from [the infirmity of] its own Condition: nor would He have been † fam'd thoroughout the whole habitable World: nor could He have prevailed upon His own Disciples to condemn Death: nor would He have procured for those who are followers of His Doctrine, the Hope of a Life with God after Death: nor

\* Or, Devils.

† Or, Heard of.

would He have fulfilled the Promises of His own Discourses: nor would He have exhibited agreeable Events to the Prophetick Predictions concerning Himself: nor [in fine,] would He have undergone the last Combat of all; which was against Death it self. On account therefore of all these particulars, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Mortal Instrument, after that sufficient Service which it had performed to the Divine Word, should have an end besitting God allotted to it; therefore [I say] His Death is in this manner dispens'd and ordered. <sup>e</sup> For, there remaining two things [to be done by Him] at the end of His Life; either that He should surrender up His whole Body to Corruption and Ruine, and so close His whole Life; <sup>f</sup> like a Play as 'twere, with a most disgraceful Catastrophe; or else, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death, and by the Assistance of Divine Power should render His mortal Body, immortal: the first of these two was repugnant to His own Promise. (For, 'tis not the property of Fire, to cool; nor of Light, to darken. So, neither is it the [Property] of Life, to die; nor, of the Divine Reason, to act contrary to reason.) For, how is it agreeable to reason, that He who had promised Life to others, should be so negligent, as to suffer His own Instrument to be corrupted, and should surrender up His own Image to Destruction; and, that he who promised immortality to all that address themselves to Him, should by Death ruin the Interpreter of His own Divinity?

As if in the Greek the reading were, τὸν τελοῦν. Eusebius's meaning therefore is this; whereas the one of two things was of necessity to be done by Christ in the close of His Life, namely, that He should either yield up His Body to be wholly consumed by death, or else should declare Himself to be superior to death, &c. You see how different this meaning is, from that of the Translator. For Christ had not a twofold reason for departing out of this Life, but one only; namely, Death. For, as the Poet says, Omnes una manet mors, one Death awaits all Persons. But in death, one of these two things remained to be performed by Christ, that he should either wholly submit to Death, and deliver up His Body to it as some rich Spoyle, or else should shew Himself to be above Death, and should rescue His Body, as a prey, out of the jaws of Death. Besides, Eusebius has shewn a little before, that death was necessarily to have been undergone by Christ. For, had he been minded to withdraw His Body privately, and as 'twere by stealth, out of this Life; without doubt all Persons would have believed Him to have been a Ghost or Apparition, not a true and real Man. He produces other reasons also, whereby He may confirm this. Which when He had set forth, at length He concludes in this Manner. On account of all these reasons, says He, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Body should have an end besitting God allotted to it, Christ thus dispens'd His own death. The one of these two things was to be done by Him in the end of this His Life, &c. as I have said already. And these words hang together excellently well. But the Translator's Exposition differs widely from Eusebius's meaning, in regard Eusebius would demonstrate, that a single, not a double reason for departing out of this life was left remaining to Christ. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> καὶ τὸ πάντως δεξιῶς. I should chuse to write, καὶ ὡς πρὸς δεξιῶς ἐκείνου ποιῶντος τὸν τὸ πᾶν βίη κατὰ κράτος, and as of a Play, make a most reproachful Catastrophe [or calamitous conclusion] of His whole Life. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Οὐδὲ φάνησι τὸ κἄτις, It must be τὸ σκοτίζεν, to darken; as 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. Valef.

The second thing therefore was necessary; I mean, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death. In what manner then was that to have been done? Covertly and by stealth, or \* openly and in the view of all? But so glorious an Achievement, had it been performed by Him in the dark and in secret, and had it been unknown to any one, would have been advantageous to no body. But when divulged and † fam'd amongst all persons, it would redound to the benefit and advantage of all, by reason of the miracle of the thing. Whereas then it was necessary, that his Instrument should be manifested to be above Death, and

whereas

\* Or, With Heard.



whereas this was not to have been performed in secret, but in the view of Men; on account hereof it was, that He avoided not Death. For, had He done that, He would have been look'd upon as a Coward, and inferior to Death. But by His conflict with Death as with an Adversary, He rendered that Body which was mortal, immortal; after He had undergone that Combat for the Life, Immortality and Salvation of all Persons. And as

<sup>h</sup> Εἰ πὶ ἀκαυσόν. Something must of necessity be added, thus ἀκαυσόν π σκεῦος, some Vessel that can't be burnt. 'Tis certain, in the Eusebian Copy the reading is, εἰ τις ἀκαυσὸν ἡμῶν καὶ πνεύς κρείττον σκεῦός τι; in which manner Christopherson read. A little after, in the Eusebian Manuscript 'tis thus worded, σκεῦός καὶ ἀκαύσθην ἐξελὼν τὸ πνεύς, pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd; not as the reading is in the Geneva-Edition, ἀκαύσθην τὸ πνεύς. Valef.

\* Or, Gain a belief of the Miracle; so Valsius.

<sup>i</sup> Εὐ μέλας προσώπου ὕπαι τῷ δικονομίαν. At this place δικονομία seems to be taken by Eusebius, for the death or passion of Christ. So he has said above in this chapter concerning Christ, τῷ τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ δόξα δικονομίαν, therefore [I say] His death is in this manner dispens'd and ordered. See what I have noted at the First Book of his Eccles. Histor. Chap. 1. Note (b.) 'Tis certain Epiphanius calls the Sacrament of the Eucharist δικονομίαν τῆς δικονομίας, that is, the worship of the Lord's Passion. Valef.

<sup>k</sup> These words must be helpt by a favourable interpretation. For Christ left not His own Body during the least moment of time. In regard, as 'tis wont commonly to be said, that which he had once assumed, he never parted with. But he suffered His own Body to be for some time destitute of the Company of His Soul. Presently in the Eusebian Copy the reading is, καὶ τῷ θνήσκῃ σώματι ὡσαύτως. But I would rather write, καὶ τὸ θνήσκον τῷ σώματι ὡσαύτως, and surrendering up to death that which was mortal. Valef.

<sup>l</sup> For Christ rising from the dead, plainly declared that eternal Life, which He had preach'd to all Men, to be superior to every death. And this the Translator understood not; who, though his Version be otherwise elegant enough, yet frequently wanders from the true sense: in so much that in this particular, the Version of this Panegyrick may seem far meaner than the Translation of the Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Χρηὶ γὰρ τοῦ μέλλοντος. I had rather write χρῆν, that is, it behooved. Which reading the Translator seems to have followed. Valef.

<sup>n</sup> ὅτι ἀν- Foundation of which Knowledge had before been

should any one have a mind to shew us a <sup>h</sup> Vessel that can't be burnt, and which is above the power of Fire, He could by no other means \* make out the strangeness of the thing, than by taking the Vessel into His Hands, by casting it into the Fire, and afterwards by pulling it out of the Flames entire and unconsum'd: in the very same manner, the Word of God who confers Life on all, desirous to demonstrate that mortal Instrument, which He had made use of in order to the Salvation of Men, to be superior to Death; and to render it a partaker of His own Life and Immortality;

<sup>i</sup> underwent a most useful and advantageous Dispensation: <sup>k</sup> forsaking His Body during a very short time, and surrendering up to Death that which was mortal, that its own nature might hereby be proved: then soon after rescuing it from Death again, in order to the manifestation of His Divine Power; by which [power] He made it <sup>l</sup> apparent, that that Eternal Life which He had promised, was superior to all [the force of] Death. Now, the reason of this thing is evident and perspicuous. For, whereas it was altogether necessary for His Disciples, that with their own Eyes they should see a manifest and undoubted Reparation of Life after death; in which [Life] He had taught them to place their Hopes; in regard His Design was to render them Contemners and Vanquishers of Death: not without reason it was, that He would have them behold this with their own Eyes. <sup>m</sup> For it behoved such Persons, who were about entering upon a pious Course of Life, by the clearest view to behold and imbibe this first and most necessary Lesson of all: and much more those, who were forthwith to Preach Him throughout the whole World, and to declare to all Men the <sup>n</sup> knowledge of God, the

laid by Him amongst all Nations. Which persons ought to rely and ground upon the <sup>o</sup> firmest and most undoubted persuasion of a Life after Death; to the end that without any fear or dread of Death, they might with alacrity undertake the Combat, <sup>p</sup> against the error of the Nations who worship many Gods. For, unless they had learnt to despise Death, they would never have been provided against those Perils [they were to undergo.] Wherefore, when, as 'twas requisite, He would arm them against the Power of Death, He did not deliver them a Precept in naked Words and bare Expressions, nor, as the usage of Men is, did He compose an Oration concerning the immortality of the Soul, made up of Persuatives and Probabilities: but really and actually shewed them the Trophies erected against Death. This then was the first and most Cogent reason, of Our Saviour's engagement with Death. For He shewed his Disciples, that Death, which is formidable to all, was nothing; and by a clear view rendered them Eye-witnesses of <sup>q</sup> that Life promised by Him: which very [Life] He made the First-Fruits of our common hope, and of a future Life and Immortality with God. A second reason of His Resurrection was, the demonstration of that Divine Power which had dwelt in His Body. For, in regard Men had heretofore deified mortal Persons who had been vanquished by Death, and had usually termed them Heroes and Gods, whom Death had subdued; on this very account the most Compassionate Word of God, did even here manifest <sup>\*</sup> who He was: shewing Men, [that His own] nature was above Death. And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but proposed that Trophy of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third Reason of Our Lord's Death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of Mankind, to God the Supreme King of the Universe. A Victim sacrificed <sup>†</sup> instead of the Flock of Men: a Victim which routed and destroyed the Error of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that one Victim an eximious Sacrifice, namely the most Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for Mankind,

What Eusebius says, namely that Christ before He dyed had sprinkled some seeds of the Knowledge of God amongst the Nations, may be understood two ways. For either He means the seeds which were by nature put into Mens Minds; whereby they are instructed in the knowledge of God; or else He means the preaching of Christ, who when conversant on Earth, had declared the worship of the true God, not only to the Jews, but to the Gentiles also. Valef.

<sup>o</sup> Πείσμα μέγιστον. Here Eusebius has made use of πείσμα, instead of πείσις, or persuasion; whereas nevertheless, πείσμα is wont to be more frequently used to signify the greater Cable of a Ship. In the same sense with that here, he has made use of this word in his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Chap. 13. οὐρές τε πείσμα καὶ βέλος, a firm and most evident instance to persuade me to believe, Clemens Alexandrinus uses the same word frequently. Chrysostome (in Hom. 1. On the Epistle to the Ephesians,) notes, that this is a common but homely term, whereby is meant a certain vehemency and eagerness of will: his words are these, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ἐμπίσθιν τῷ δαλίμῳ δολέμετες, καὶ τὸ πείσμα ἡμεῶν λέγεται. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Κατὰ τῆς ἐδῶν. It must be κατὰ τῆς ἐδῶν πολυδύα πλάνης, &c. against the Error, &c. A little after I read, ἐμμένοντες αὐτοῖς τῇ πείσμα, shewing them the Trophies. The Eusebian Copy confirms both Emendations. Valef.

<sup>q</sup> Ἐπισημασμένων ὡς αὐτῶν ζωῶν. This place is not a little difficult. For how can what Eusebius says be understood, that that Life namely which Christ has promised, is the First-fruits of a future Life with God? Questionless, by the Life promised to us by Christ, Eusebius means the Resurrection, which is as 'twere the Entrance and Beginning of that eternal Life with God. Or rather he means the Resurrection of Christ's Body, which was the First-fruits and pledge as 'twere, of our Hope and Resurrection, as Eusebius tells us in the close of this Chapter. Valef.

\* Or, Himself.

And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but proposed that Trophy of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third Reason of Our Lord's Death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of Mankind, to God the Supreme King of the Universe. A Victim sacrificed <sup>†</sup> instead of the Flock of Men: a Victim which routed and destroyed the Error of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that one Victim an eximious Sacrifice, namely the most Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for Mankind,

kind,



And this was the Victim delivered unto Death, concerning which mention is made in the Expressions of the Sacred Scriptures; which are sometimes worded in this manner, † Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the World: sometimes they run thus, || as a Sheep He was led to the Slaughter, and as a Lamb before his Shearer [He was] dumb. And they likewise tell us the Reason, by adding these Words, He bears our Sins, and is tortured with pain for us: and we esteemed Him to be in labour and in stripes, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our Sins; and He was bruised by reason of our Iniquities. The Chastisement of our peace [was] upon Him; with his Stripes we are healed. All we like Sheep have gone astray; every one has wandered in his own Way: and the Lord hath delivered Him for our Sins. For these reasons therefore, the Humane Instrument of God the Word was sacrificed. But this Great High-Priest consecrated to God the Chief Governour and Supreme King, being something else besides a Victim; namely, The Word of God; The Power of God, and The Wisdom of God; soon recalled His mortal [Body] from Death; and presented it to His Father, as the First-fruits of Our common Salvation; having erected this for all Mankind, as the Trophy of that Victory which he had gain'd over Death, and over the Army of Dæmons, and [made it] the final Abolishment of those humane Victims which of old had been usually offered in Sacrifice.

CHAP. XVI. **B**UT whereas these things are thus, 'tis now seasonable we should come to the demonstration: if indeed <sup>a</sup> the truth of these matters has any need of Demonstration, and if it be

5 Σωτῆρος τῆν χάριν. This place  
ten in this manner; καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν  
διδασκαλίᾳ: which reading I have  
way of Religion and Salvation, says  
was delivered to Mem. Vales.

he must, in my judgment, be writ-  
 τὸ ἐκείνης ἀποστολῆς πρὸς τὴν ἑκκλησίαν.  
 followed in my Version. One  
 ἡ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 he, namely the Doctrines of Christ;



time of Christ; so also, at one and the very same time, in regard One Monarch was constituted over all the whole Roman Empire, a most profound peace \* prevailed over the whole world. Thus by the Appointment of one God, two signal Blessings as 'twere two Branches, shot forth at one time amongst Men; to wit the

\* Or, Em-profound peace \* prevailed over the whole world. Thus by the Appointment of one God, two signal Blessings as 'twere two Branches, shot forth at one time amongst Men; to wit the

† Or, Pious Empire of the Romans, and the † Doctrine of Christian Piety. Before that [Empire,] some in a separate and particular manner Governed Syria: others Reigned over Asia; others, over Macedonia. Also some were in possession of Egypt severed from the other [Provinces;] and in like manner others, of the Country of the Arabians. Moreover, the Nation of the Jews had reduced Palestine under their Jurisdiction and Power. In every Village and City, and in all Places, Men were seiz'd with a kind of a madness as 'twere and being really agitated by the Devil, committed murders one upon another, and made Wars and Fights their chief business.

But two mighty Powers starting together, from the same Barriers as 'twere, on a sudden made all things calm, and reduced them to an amicable Composure: I mean, the Empire of the Romans, which from that time was under the Government of a single Person; and the Doctrine of Christ: which two [Powers] flourish'd together, at one and the same time. Our Saviour's Power utterly destroyed those manifold Principalities and numerous Deities of Demons; publishing and declaring One Kingdom of God to all Men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, even to those who inhabit the remotest Regions of the Earth. But the Empire of the Romans, in regard the Causes of many Principalities were \* before hand taken away, reduced those [Principalities] which as yet remained visible, under its own Dominion; making this its chief business, to join together the whole Body of Mankind in one common Union and Agreement. And it hath already reconciled and knit together in one, most Nations: but within a short time it will reach even as far as the utmost Confines of the Earth: in regard the Salutory Doctrine [of Christ] joined with a Divine Power, does before hand make all things easie to it and renders them smooth and plain. Doubtless, this will be acknowledged a great Miracle by them, who, induced thereto by a love of truth, shall with attention weigh the thing, and shall not be desirous of detracting from, and reviling the eminentest † Blessings. For, at one and the very same juncture, the Error of Demons was confuted; and at the same time that hatred and strife, which from remote Ages had raged amongst the Nations, had an end put to it: and again, at the same time One God, and One Knowledge of that God was Preach'd amongst all; and at the same time One Empire was established amongst Men; and at the same time the whole race of Men was

reduced to peace and friendship; and all persons mutually profess themselves Brethren, and acknowledged their Own Nature. Immediately therefore, being as 'twere

Children begotten by the same Father, to wit one God, and born of the same Mother, namely true piety, they began to salute and receive one another peaceably and affectionately: in so much as from that time the whole World seem'd in no point to differ from one

well-governed House and Family; and any one might make a Journey whither he list'd, and travel to what place he pleased, with all imaginable security: and some might without danger pass from the Western to the Eastern Parts; again others might go from hence thither, as 'twere to their own Country: And the Responses of the ancient Oracles were fulfilled, as likewise numerous other predictions of the Prophets, which at present we have not leisure to cite: and moreover, those [Expressions] concerning the Divine Word, which run thus. \* He shall have dominion \* Psa. 72.

from Sea to Sea, and from the River, unto the ends of the Earth. And again † In his Days † Psa. 72. Righteousness shall rise, and abundance of Peace. [And in another place:] || And they shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and [their] spears into Pruning-hooks; and Nation shall not lay hand on Sword against Nation, and they shall not learn War any more. These things were predicted, and many Ages since proclaimed in the Hebrew Tongue: which appearing to be actually accomplished in our Days, do confirm the Testimonies of those ancient Oracles. But if, besides these, you desired plenty of other Demonstrations, take them, not in Words, but in Deeds, and Realities. Open the Eyes of your own Mind, and set open the Gates of Thought. Forbear speaking for some time, and consider with your self. Ask, your self, and enquire as 'twere of some other Person, and make researches into the Nature of Affairs in this manner. What King from the utmost memory of Men; or Prince; or Philosopher; or Law-giver; or Prophet whether Greek or Barbarian, ever attained to so much Power and Authority, (I do not say after Death, but whilst He was yet living, and breathing, and was able to perform many things;) as to fill the Ears and Tongues of all Men upon Earth, with [the Glory] of his own Name? 'Tis certain, no person hath performed this, except only Our One Saviour, after that Victory gain'd over Death: when He both \* gave his Disciples a Command in words, \* Or, and also afterwards actually accomplished it. Spake a

† Go therefore, said He to them, make Disciples of all Nations in my Name. And when He had foretold and affirmed to them, that His Gospel should be preach'd thoroughout the whole World, for a Testimony to all Nations; to his Words He forthwith added the actual Completion of the thing. Immediately therefore, and not after a long interval of time, the whole World was filled with his Doctrine. What then has He to return in answer hereto, who at the beginning of this Oration blamed us; especially in regard the Testimony || of the Eyes is superior to all manner of \* reasoning? But, who hath chased away that always-noxious and destructive Tribe of Demons (which heretofore prey'd upon the whole † Body of Mankind, and by the motion \* Or, and impulse of Images shewed many Impostures Reason. and delusions amongst Men; by an invisible † Or, Na- and potent Hand, being as 'twere fierce and raging Wild-beasts, from the Flock of Men? What other Person besides Our Saviour, by an invocation of Himself, and by the purest Prayers in His Name put up to the supream God, hath given a power of driving away the Remains of evil Spirits from among Men, to those who with purity and sincerity would follow || that || Or, Rule of Living and Discipline delivered by Him? The Life of that

Philosophy delivered, &c. What

Philosophy delivered, &c. What

Philosophy delivered, &c. What



What other Person, save only our Saviour, hath taught his Followers to offer unbloody and rational Sacrifices, which [are performed] by Prayers and a mysterious \* naming of God? On which account, Altars have been erected throughout the whole World, and Churches Consecrated: \* and Divine Ministrations of Intellectual and rational Sacrifices, are offer'd up by all Nations to the Only God the Supreme King. Who by a secret and invisible Power, hath caused those sacrifices, which were usually performed by Blood and Gore, Smoak and Fire: as likewise those cruel and furious slaughters of Men, and humane Victims, to be abolished and wholly extinguished? In so much that, this thing is attested even by the very Histories of the Heathens themselves. For, all those Sacrifices of Men, in all Places of the Earth, were not abolished till after [the Publication of] Our Saviour's Divine Doctrine, [namely] \* about the Times of [the Emperour] Hadrian. Whereas therefore, so many cogent Arguments and evident Demonstrations do give Confirmation to Our Saviour's Aflight and Power after his Death, who is so Iron-minded, as not together with others to give Evidence to the Truth, and not to acknowledge his Life [to be] Divine? For great Achievements [are the Performances] of the Living, not of the dead: on which account, ——— throughout the whole World. For so Eusebius is wont to express himself, as in the end of Chap. 13. Valef.

Valefius in his note at this place tells us, that the Geneva-Printers designedly left out this clause [νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν θυσιῶν] because, says he, it contained an illustrious Testimony concerning the unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass. But 'tis our Sentiment, that Valefius had as little ground for this Assertion, from these words; as the Geneva-men, had reason for that their omission. Our Church in one of its Prayers after the celebration of the Eucharist, makes mention of a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving. And I verily believe, Eusebius means no other Sacrifice than that here; witness the two Epithets He gives these Sacrifices, namely νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν, intellectual and rational.

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προσεπιτελεῖσθαι θυσίαις. I don't doubt but Eusebius wrote καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θυσιῶν ὑποκαταστήσας θυσίαις. τίς τε αἷμα, &c. Sacrifices ——— performed by Blood and Gore, Smoak and Fire; as likewise those cruel, &c. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. Valef.

Eusebius took this passage out of Porphyrius's second Book de Abstinentia where he writes thus. κατελευσάναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἡδὲν τὰς ὁδοὺς πᾶσι φησὶ πάλαι, ὁ δὲ αἷμα τὰ πᾶσι τῶν τῶν μύθῳ σωζομένων μυστηρίων, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀδελφεῖ τὸ ἀνθρώπου. That is, But Pallas, who wrote best of all concerning the mysterious Rites of Mithra, says that humane Victims were almost every where abolished, in the Reign of the Emperour Hadrian. Which Lactantius does likewise confirm, in the First Book of his Divine Institutes, Chap. 21. in these words. Apud Cyprios, [In Thyrsius's Edition 'tis Apud Cypri Salaminem; At Salamine [a City of Cyprus.] Humanam hostiam Jovi Tenece immolavit; idque Sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum. Amongst the Cypriots, Tenece offered an humane Sacrifice to Jupiter; and delivered that Sacrifice down to Posterity: which was lately abolished in the Reign of Hadrian. Tertullian in the ninth Chapter of his Apology relates, that in Africa infants were publicly offered in Sacrifice to Saturn, until Tiberius's Proconsulate, who for that reason crucified the Priests of Saturn. And he adds, that the Milice of his own Country (or, as some Copies have it written, Patris sui, of his own Father;) which executed that very office under Tiberius the Proconsul, were witnesses of this thing. Whence it appears that the memory of this matter was as yet fresh. For why should he cite the Soldiers or Apparitors of the Proconsular Office as witnesses, unless some of those had been yet alive, or could have been produced, who had attended upon the Proconsul Tiberius, at such time as he crucified those Priests. Wherefore, that Proconsulate of Tiberius might be fitly placed upon the times of the Emperour Hadrian; especially in regard both Porphyrius and Lactantius do persuade us to think so. Further, whereas Pallas only says, that they left off sacrificing Men almost every where; Eusebius without any exception affirms, that this custom was abolished amongst all Nations whatever. Which I can scarce be induced to believe. For, both Porphyrius and Lactantius, in their fore-cited Books, do attest, that Jupiter Latiaris was still in their Age worshipped with humane Blood at Rome. Besides, Tertullian witnesseth in his Apology, that in his Age Infants were in secret sacrificed to Saturn. Valef.

and those things which we see, do furnish us with a knowledge of things bidden. Not long since indeed, yesterday as 'twere, a Race of Men who fought against God; disturbed the Life of Men, turned all things upside down, and were possessors of great Power and Strength. But when they were departed from among Men; thenceforward they lay upon the Earth, \* more contemptible than Dung; without Breath; without Motion; without Voice. Nor is there now any account, or any mention made of them. For this is the \* Allotment of the Dead. And \* Or, He that is no longer, is no Body. But, what can He do, who is no Body? But on the contrary, He who acts and works, and who is more powerful than those that are alive, how can He be supposed not to be? And although He be invisible to eyes of Flesh, nevertheless the faculty of judging consists not in sense: nor do we by the senses of the Body perceive the reasons and Rules of Arts, or Speculations of Sciences. Neither did ever any with his Eyes see the Mind that is in Men, much less the strength and power of God: but things of this nature are wont to be known and perceived by the works themselves. Wherefore in our Saviour also, 'tis fit we should inspect and \* discern His invisible Power and Strength from his Works: namely, whether those many illustrious Acts, which even till this present time are done by Him, must be acknowledged [the Performances] of a Person Living; or whether 'tis to be said, that they are the works of One who is not; or rather whether this question be not altogether Foolish and † incoherent. For, how can any one with reason affirm Him to be, who is not? In regard 'tis manifest by the consent and suffrages of all, that that which is not, neither has any strength, nor can it act, or operate. For this is the Nature of the Living: but [the Nature] of the Dead is contrary.

chap. 46. κοτεῖων ἐκκλησιῶν, εἰ καὶ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία λέγει, more contemptible than Dung, if we should speak after the manner of Heraclitus. Julian, in his Oration against Heraclitus the Cynick, pag. 421. makes use of the same saying of Heraclitus, in these words: ὁμοῦ δὲ πάλιν τὸ σώματι, καὶ νομίζεν αὐτὸ, καὶ τὸν ἡγάκλειον, καὶ κοτεῖων ἐκκλησιῶν. ἐν τῷ σώματι δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς δεξιὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβη: but wholly to despise the Body, and to account it according to Heraclitus, even more contemptible than Dung. But with the greatest ease to perfect its cure, as long as God shall order the Body to be used as an Instrument. Which place I have mended and supplied; from Suidas in the word ἡγάκλειος. For in the ordinary Editions, this passage is corrupt and imperfect. Valef.

Πεῖθεϊ ἔπ. It must be written with an interrogation, thus, ὁ δὲ μὴδὲς ἐν πεῖθεϊ ἔπ; But, what can He do, who is no Body? And so Christopherson seems to have read. Indeed, in the Eusebian Manuscript the reading is, πεῖθεϊ ἔπ. Valef.

Οὐκ ἐν ἀιδίῳ τὸ κριμένον. 'Tis apparent that the reading should be, ἐν ἀιδίῳ, that is, judgment is not placed in sense. Therefore the verb ἐσι must be understood here; which Christopherson apprehended not; for he hath erroneously joyned these words with the following. There was a great dispute amongst the old Philosophers περὶ κριμένου. So they termed the Rule, whereby the truth of things is judged of by Men. The most ancient Philosophers did not place that power or faculty in the Senses, but in the Reason; as Sextus Empiricus informs us in his seventh book against the Mathematici. Farther, κριμένον is taken two ways, either for the faculty it self, whereby truth is discerned; or else for the instrument of that faculty: Poramo the Philosopher termed the first, ὁφ' ἔ, from which; the second, δι' ἔ, by which; as Laertius tell us, in the Proem of his own work. Valef.

Ἄντι δὲ φύσις νεκρῶν, For this is the nature of the dead. The words are misplaced here; a thing which, as I have already advertized, does frequently happen in these Books. I write therefore, ὅτι δὲ φύσις ζώντων. νεκρῶν δὲ ἡ ἐναντία. For this is the Nature of the Living: &c. A little before, some words are ill repeated; which fault the studious Reader will easily mend of himself. Valef.



CHAP. XVII. **B**UT 'Tis here seasonable, that we should inspect the Performances of our Saviour in this our Age; and should contemplate the living Works of the

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ ζῶν. It must, I think, be worded thus, πῶς δὲ ἐστὶ ζῶν, with an Interrogation; which reading I have followed in my Version. Valef.

enquire what those are? Hear them. Not long since, some Persons who had proclaimed war against God, with great obstinacy, and no less Power and Military Force, ruined and dug up from their very Foundations, the Edifices of his Oratories; and resolved upon rendring His Churches wholly invisible; and with all imaginable Engines and Stratagems fought against Him who is not to be seen with Eyes; casting and throwing against Him \* the darts of impious Expressions. But the invisible God was avenged on them in an invisible manner. Immediately therefore, by one only Nod of the Deity, they became extinct; [those Persons I mean] who a little before lived delicious and pleasant lives and were thrice-happy; who were celebrated amongst all Men, as equal with the Gods; who during many

<sup>b</sup> Τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐπονομασίαν. This place is corrupted with a double fault: nevertheless 'twas easie to restore it in this manner: διαπερπῶς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπονομασθέντες ὅτε δὴ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερῶν πολυμνησθέντα φίλα τε ἦν αὐτοῖς, &c. had governed the Empire, &c. Eusebius means Dioclesian and his Colleagues, who (says he) had governed the Republick gloriously and happily, as long as they maintained a peace with God and with the Churches. But after they attempted to bring a war upon God, and to persecute his most Holy Worshippers; immediately all affairs were altered, and put into a worse posture. Eusebius says the same in the end of his Eighth Book. Valef.

audacious attempts. In so much that, giving ground to Him with whom they were engaged in war, and turning their Backs upon Him, they acknowledged his Divinity as others had done; and hastned to grant and permit the clean contrary to those things, which a little before they had attempted. But our Saviour forthwith erected Valorous Trophies in all parts of the Earth; and did again adorn the whole World afresh, with

<sup>c</sup> Or, Splendid Consecrations of Oratories.

<sup>d</sup> Δεσποτὴν καὶ δεσποσάμενα. It must, I think, be δεσποτὴν καὶ δεσποσάμενα, ἑξ ἑνός, &c. And we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

King and Lord of all. Hence also 'tis, that those consecrated places are vouchsafed the name of the Lord; and take their appellation not from Men, but from the supream Lord Himself. For, from Him <sup>e</sup> they have the name of Churches.

<sup>f</sup> Καὶ ἐξ ἑνός. I had rather read τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, the name. Nothing occurs more frequently in Ecclesiastick writers, than the name of κυριακῆ or Dominica. Nor have only the Greeks termed Churches, thus, but the Germans also have borrowed this name from the Greeks, as Walafridus Strabo informs us in his Book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, Chap. 7. Valef. Hence likewise we have our name for them in English, to wit Churches; and hence 'tis that the Scots call them Kirks.

Let Him therefore that has a mind to it, come forth and inform us, who, after so great a Ruine and Devastation, hath raised the sacred Houses from their Foundations to so vast an Height? Who [hath bestowed a Resurrection] upon those [Structures,] † wholly despair'd of as to their being rebuilt, and has vouchsafed them a Re-edification, whereby they are become far more splendid and stately, than they had been before?

\* and, which is most to be admired, hath not new-built them after the death of those Enemies of God; but whilst those very Persons were yet alive, who had demolished them: in so much that, they themselves with their own Mouthes, and by their own Letters recanted their bold attempts: and this they did, not whilst they were surrounded with the delights and pleasures of Life, (for thus any one might perhaps suppose, that they

<sup>g</sup> Καὶ ἀνεκτίσθη αὐτὰ. In the Fuketian Copy the reading is, αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ ἑλπίε μέγιστον δόξαμα, which we follow. Valef.

<sup>h</sup> Φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῶ. Any one will easily perceive, though I hold my peace, that some words are wanting here. I write therefore, ἔπειτα τῶν φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῶν ἔπειτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς πᾶσι ἐν νομίμοις, for thus any one, &c. which words must be included in a Parenthesis. Indeed Christopherson seems to have read so, as it appears from his Version. Valef.

performed this <sup>i</sup> with a regard to kindness and clemency;) but at such time as they were pursued with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven. Who, after so many and such impetuous Storms of Persecution, and in the very heat and extremity of dangers, thorowout the whole world kept fix'd to the Precepts of his Divine Doctrine, infinite numbers of Men that were zealous followers of a Philosophick Life, and strict worshippers of the Deity, also Women that were in Holy Orders, and Quires of Virgins which Dedicated the whole time of their Lives to a perpetual chastity of body and mind: and taught them abstinence from food, and most willingly to continue without meat and wine during the space of many days, and to † lead a hard and austere

† Or, To make use of a singular modesty and temperance? Who hath so far prevailed upon with, &c. Women, and numerous multitudes of Men, that they should exchange the food of their Bodies, for that rational food that agrees with their rational Souls, [which food is gotten] by † a perusal of Divine Lessons? Who hath taught Bar-

<sup>j</sup> Γυναικῶν δὲ ἱερέας καὶ χοεῖς δειπαρδένων. Christopherson joynd the word γυναικῶν with the term δειπαρδένων, which I don't approve of. For, by the term γυναικῶν, Eusebius means those Women, who having been deprived of their Husbands, consecrated their widowhood to God; and he distinguishes these from the Quires of Virgins. Farther, out of the number of Widows, Deaconesses and Presbyteresses, were wont to be chosen, as Epiphanius attests in the Heresie of the Collyridiani, and in the Epilogue of his Books against Heresies. Whence 'tis, that at this place Eusebius terms them ἱερέας. For those Women did in a manner perform the Office of Priests; in regard they instructed Women that were to be baptized. But the reading must be, γυναικῶν τε ἱερέας, also Women that were in Holy Orders; and so 'tis in the Fuketian Copy. These Women, before they could be chosen Deaconesses, were wont to be examined. Amongst other things, they were asked, whether they had washed the Saints feet; as Origen informs us in his thirty second Tome on Saint John's Gospel. Valef.

barians and Peasants, Women, Children and Servants and innumerable multitudes of all Nations, to despise Death; and to perswade themselves, that their Souls are immortal, and that <sup>k</sup> there is an Eye of Justice which inspects humane Affairs; and that they should expect a future judgment from God [to pass upon] the pious and the impious; and that for that reason, they ought to lead just, holy, and sober lives? not that

<sup>l</sup> Καὶ δὴ οὐκ ὀφθαλμῶς ὑπάρχει. Who sees the reading should be δὴ οὐκ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπάρχει, there is an Eye of Justice. For the



Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς, ὡς δὲ ἡσύχα  
 Λεύσων φρεσώπτε, παῖθ' ὅμως αἰὲ βλάπτει.

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# THE INDEX

## Of the Chief Matters contained in the Text of these

# HISTORIANS.

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